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REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
THIRTY-NINTH ANNUAL
CONVENTION
OF
THE AMERICAN
FEDERATION OF LABOR



HELD AT ATLANTIC CITY, N. J.
June 9 to 23, Inclusive
1919



THE LAW REPORTER PRINTING COMPANY
WASHINGTON, D. C.
1919



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AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

1919-1920

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DELEGATES

TO THE

Thirty-Ninth Annual Convention

ORGANISATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Asbestos Workers, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators, and.....	1	18	Joseph A. Mullaney, 15 11th Street, Long Island, N. Y.
		70	A. A. Myrup, 310 Bush Temple, Chicago, Ill.
Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America.....	3	70	Peter Beisel, 13th and Chouteau Ave., St. Louis, Mo.
		70	R. O. Schneider, 29 Oakland St., Salem, Mass.
		72	Frank X. Noschang, 222 East Michigan St., Indianapolis, Ind.
Barbers' International Union, Journeymen.....	5	72	Jacob Fischer, 222 East Michigan St., Indianapolis, Ind.
		72	James C. Shanessy, 222 East Michigan St., Indianapolis, Ind.
		72	O. F. Foley, 420 N. Second St., Pottsville, Pa.
		71	Ed. Anderson, P. O. Box 1408, Denver, Colo.
Bill Posters and Billers of America, International Alliance of.....	1	16	Frank Harvey, 820 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa.
		95	James W. Kline, 1234 Transportation Bldg., Chicago, Ill.
Blacksmiths, International Brotherhood of.....	3	94	Wm. F. Kramer, 1234 Transportation Bldg., Chicago, Ill.
		94	W. G. Powlesland, 250 Beatrice St., Toronto, Ont., Can.
Boilermakers and Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, Brotherhood of.....	5	170	J. A. Franklin, Rooms 1 and 2, Law Bldg., Kansas City, Kans.
		170	Louis Weyand, Room 15, Law Bldg., Kansas City, Kans.
		170	Charles McGowan, 2104 3d Ave., Rock Island, Ill.
		170	Charles Scott, 417 Heed Bldg., Philadelphia, Pa.
		169	Dan McKillop, 214 Jefferson St., Seattle, Wash.
Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of.....	3	52	Daniel J. Ahern, 222 E. Michigan St., Indianapolis, Ind.
		52	Alfred Bleber, 1314 Arch St., Room 24, Philadelphia, Pa.
		51	Katherine V. Collins, 764 N. Croeskey St., Philadelphia, Pa.
		74	Collis Lovely, 246 Summer St., Boston, Mass.
		74	C. L. Baine, 246 Summer St., Boston, Mass.
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.....	5	74	Joseph Ferry, 637 Dudley St., Roxbury, Mass.
		73	Joseph E. La Couture, 916 Crescent St., Brockton, Mass.
		73	Patrick O'Byrne, cor. Main and Broad St., Brockton, Mass.
		80	Joseph Probstle, 2347 Vine St., Cincinnati, Ohio.
Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America, International Union of the United.....	5	80	John Sullivan, 25 Third Ave., New York City.
		80	Albert J. Kugler, 156 Grant Ave., Jersey City, N. J.
		80	John Rader, 2347 Vine St., Cincinnati, Ohio.
		80	Joseph Obergfell, 2347 Vine St., Cincinnati, Ohio.

ORGANISATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America.....	6	117	Wm. J. Bowen, University Park Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.
		117	Thos. R. Preece, University Park Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.
		117	Geo. Jones, University Park Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.
		117	George P. Greeley, 205 Pontiac Bldg., St. Louis, Mo.
		116	Walter V. Price, 174 St. Nicholas Ave., New York City.
		116	Thos. J. Murphy, 511 E. 86th St., New York City.
Brick and Clay Workers of America, The United.....	1	27	Frank Kasten, 166 W. Washington St., Suite 700, Chicago, Ill.
Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' International Association.....	4	43	P. J. Morrin, 304 American Central Life Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.
		43	S. P. Tobin, 331 Cass Ave., Detroit, Mich.
		42	Wm. J. McCain, Labor Temple, Kansas City, Mo.
Broom and Whisk Makers' Union.....	1	42	Michael J. Cunnane, 232 N. 9th St., Philadelphia, Pa.
		10	Will K. Boyer, 853 King Place, Chicago, Ill.
Carmen of America, Brotherhood of Railway.....	4	251	Matin F. Ryan, 503 Hall Bldg., Kansas City, Mo.
		251	O. J. Shoemaker, Box 35, Denison, Texas.
		251	Theodore Thompson, Route 4, Box 37, Fort Worth, Texas.
		251	Thomas F. Hyland, Horton, Kans.
		385	Wm. L. Hutcheson, Carpenters' Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.
		385	Frank Duffy, Carpenters' Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.
Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of.....	8	385	Bob White, 1002 W. 21st St., Oklahoma City, Okla.
		385	J. A. Ross, 813 Oakwood St., Pittsburgh, Pa.
		385	P. H. McCarthy, Merchants National Bank Bldg., San Francisco, Calif.
		385	E. W. Van Duyn, 517 Franklin Ave., Des Moines, Iowa.
		385	D. A. Post, care Carpenters' Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.
		384	George Lakey, care Carpenters' Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.
		73	G. W. Perkins, 440 S. Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.
		73	Samuel Gompers, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Cigarmakers' International Union of America.....	5	73	J. Mahlon Barnes, 355 N. 10th St., Philadelphia, Pa.
		72	R. S. Sexton, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		72	W. A. Campbell, care C. M. I. U., 440 S. Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.
		119	J. J. Forrester, 409-10-11 A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		119	H. B. Odell, 166 W. Washington St., Chicago, Ill.
		119	Wade Shurtleff, 1674 Delmont Ave., East Cleveland, Ohio.
Clerks, Brotherhood of Railway.....	6	119	Adam C. Hay, 80 Raglan Ave., Winnipeg, Man., Canada.
		119	J. W. Nelson, Maple St., Upper Tuckahoe, N. Y.
		119	Mabel Emery, 810 E. 38th St., Minneapolis, Minn.

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Clerks' International Protective Association, Retail.....	3	50	E. E. Baker, 195 Jefferson Road, Newark, Ohio.
		50	H. J. Conway, L. Drawer 248, Lafayette, Ind.
		50	John B. Schulte, 517 S. Pierce St., New Orleans, La.
Coopers' International Union of North America.....	2	20	Andrew C. Hughes, 1012 Boylston St., Newton Highlands, Mass.
		20	James J. Doyle, 615 South St., Roslindale, Mass.
Diamond Workers' Protective Union of America.....	1	5	Andries Meyer, 323 Washington St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Draftsmen's Union, The International Federation of.....	1	18	Anthony T. Oliver, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		188	F. J. McNulty, Dept. Public Safety, Newark, N. J.
		188	James P. Noonan, 402-434 Reisch Bldg., Springfield, Ill.
		188	Martin T. Joyce, 215 Kimball Bldg., Boston, Mass.
Electrical Workers of America, International Brotherhood of.....	7	187	James J. McAndrews, 175 W. Washington St., Rooms 302-3, Chicago, Ill.
		187	Julia S. O'Connor, 1108 Tremont Bldg., Boston, Mass.
		187	Edward J. Evans, 166 W. Washington St., Chicago, Ill.
		187	Henry Boyen, 1201 Nevada Bank Bldg., San Francisco, Calif.
Elevator Constructors, International Union of.....	1	30	Frank Feeney, 404 Perry Bldg., Philadelphia, Pa.
Engineers' Beneficial Association of the United States of America, National Marine.....	2	64	William S. Brown, 356 Ellicott Square, Buffalo, N. Y.
		64	Robert L. Goelet, Box 765, Norfolk, Va.
		63	Milton Snellings, 6334 Yale Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Engineers, International Union Steam and Operating.....	4	63	Herman M. Comerford, 6334 Yale Ave., Chicago, Ill.
		62	E. L. Edgerton, 312 Post-Standard Bldg., Syracuse, N. Y.
		62	Albert Peterson, 2501 N. Spaulding Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Engravers' Union of North America, International Photo.....	2	25	Matthew Woll, 6111 Bishop St., Chicago, Ill.
		25	Peter J. Brady, Room 812, Municipal Bldg., New York, N. Y.
		51	Luther C. Steward, Continental Trust Bldg., 14th and H Sts. N. W., Washington, D. C.
Federal Employees, National Federation of.....	4	51	William E. Junker, 76 Bay 26th St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
		51	Martin J. Leonard, 128 Federal St., Boston, Mass.
		51	Florence Etheridge, Vinita, Okla.
Fire Fighters, International Association of.....	2	77	Raymond E. Oden, Room 105, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		77	Samuel A. Fink, 2703 Bedford Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa.
		52	Timothy Healy, 211 E. 45th St., New York, N. Y.
Firemen, International Brotherhood of Stationary.....	4	51	O. L. Shamp, 3615 N. 24th St., Omaha, Nebr.
		51	Joseph W. Morton, 156 W. Washington St., Chicago, Ill.
		51	William J. Brennan, 66 S. Orange Ave., Newark, N. J.
Foundry Employees, International Brotherhood of.....	2	27	A. R. Linn, 810 Chestnut St., St. Louis, Mo.
		27	George Bechtold, 810 Chestnut St., St. Louis, Mo.

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Fur Workers' Union of United States and Canada, International.....	2	54	Morris Kaufman, 747 E. 182d St., Bronx, New York.
		54	Samuel Leibowitz, 9 Jackson Ave., Long Island City, N. Y.
		92	T. A. Rickert, Hotel Morrison, Chicago, Ill.
		92	B. A. Larger, 116 Bible House, New York City.
Garment Workers of America, United	5	92	J. J. Manning, 202 A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		92	Margaret C. Daley, 2825 W. 24th St., Coney Island, L. I.
		92	F. Doyle, Hotel Warren, Syracuse, N. Y.
		151	Benj. Schlesinger, 31 Union Square, New York, N. Y.
		151	Jacob Heller, care Reefer Makers' Union, 117 Second Ave., New York City.
		151	Max Gorenstein, care Cutters' Union, 7 W. 21st St., New York City.
Garment Workers, International Ladies	6	151	Alfred La Porta, care I. L. G. W. U., 31 Union Square, New York City.
		151	Molly Friedman, care Walstmakers' Union, 16 W. 21st St., New York City.
		150	Israel Feinberg, care Cloakmakers' Union, 40 E. 23d St., New York City.
Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada.....	3	34	John A. Voll, 1005-8 Colonial Trust Bldg., Philadelphia, Pa.
		33	Charles C. Call, 806 W. First St., Marion, Ind.
		33	James Donnelly, 202 Hague St., Rochester, N. Y.
		32	Wm. P. Clark, 738 Ohio Bldg., Toledo, Ohio.
Glass Workers' Union, American Flint	3	32	John B. O'Brien, N. Myrtle Ave., Vine-land, N. J.
		31	Edward Hasenauer, 1757 Erie St., Toledo, Ohio.
		25	Thos. Reynolds, 419 Electric Bldg., Cleveland, Ohio.
Glass Workers, Window, National.....	2	25	Victor Malre, 107 E. Monroe St., Alexandria, Ind.
Glove Workers' Union of America, International.....	1	7	Elizabeth Christman, 64 W. Randolph St., Chicago, Ill.
		36	James Duncan, 25 School St., Quincy, Mass.
Granite Cutters' International Association of America, The.....	3	36	Samuel Squibb, 507 Ridgewood Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.
		35	Alex. W. Russell, 25 School St., Quincy, Mass.
		34	Martin Lawlor, 72 Bible House, New York City.
Hatters of North America, United.....	3	33	Cornelius McCue, 251 Main St., Danbury, Conn.
		33	Richard Humphrey, 989 Lafayette Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.
		80	D. D'Alessandro, 25 School St., Quincy, Mass.
Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, International.....	5	80	J. B. Etchison, 120 N. Noble St., Indianapolis, Ind.
		80	J. V. Moreschi, 814 W. Harrison St., Chicago, Ill.
		80	John Carley, 2450 E. 9th St., Cleveland, Ohio.
		80	W. F. Dwyer, 200 Guerrero St., San Francisco, Calif.
Horseshoers of United States and Canada, International Union of Journeymen.....	2	27	Hubert S. Marshall, 608 Second National Bank Bldg., Cincinnati, Ohio.
		27	Henry F. Broening, 6 E. Lee St., Baltimore, Md.

DELEGATES TO THE THIRTY-NINTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

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ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America.....	5	122	Edward Flore, 375 Oak St., Buffalo, N. Y.
		122	Jere L. Sullivan, 528 Walnut St., Cincinnati, Ohio.
		122	Thomas S. Farrell, 1936 E. 83d St., Suite 6, Cleveland, Ohio.
		121	John J. McDevitt, 926 N. Broad St., Philadelphia, Pa.
		121	Emanuel Koveleski, 104 Reynolds Arcade, Rochester, N. Y.
Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, Amalgamated Association of.....	4	50	M. F. Tighe, House Bldg., Smithfield and Water Sts., Pittsburgh, Pa.
		49	John J. Sullivan, 913 144th St., East Chicago, Ind.
		49	Michael Mahoney, 1215 McCullough St., Wheeling, W. Va.
		49	Philip Edwards, 332 W. Delason Ave., Youngstown, Ohio.
		26	A. Greenstein, Room 714, 63 Park Row, New York, N. Y.
Jewelry Workers' Union, International	2	25	S. E. Beardsley, Room 714, 63 Park Row, New York City.
Lace Operatives of America, The Chartered Society of Amalgamated	1	9	David Wilson, 3224 N. A St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal.....	2	30	Wm. J. McSorley, 401 Superior Bldg., Cleveland, Ohio.
Laundry Workers' International Union	2	30	Joseph H. Duty, Room 5, Labor Temple, Pittsburgh, Pa.
		30	Harry L. Morrison, 799 Second Ave., Troy, N. Y.
Leather Workers, United, International Union.....	2	30	John O'Keefe, 1170 Florida St., San Francisco, Calif.
		34	W. E. Bryan, 504 Postal Bldg., Kansas City, Mo.
		33	F. P. Maloney, No. 6, Sheehans Beach, Keansburg, N. J.
Letter Carriers, National Association of.....	4	77	Edward J. Gainor, Kenois Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		77	John T. Mugavin, 3114 Woodburn Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio.
		77	Charles D. Duffy, 834 Elmwood Ave., Oak Park, Ill.
		76	Luther E. Swartz, 1200 Seventh Ave., North Nashville, Tenn.
Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada.....	2	28	Philip Bock, 499 Chestnut St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
		28	Frank Gehring, 26 Claremont Road, Ridgewood, N. J.
		63	Thomas V. O'Connor, 704 Brisbane Bldg., Buffalo, N. Y.
Longshoremen's Association, International.....	5	63	Anthony J. Chlopek, 3224 Lagrange St., Toledo, Ohio.
		63	M. J. Gahagan, 2015½ Avenue "D," Galveston, Texas.
		62	J. C. Bjorklund, 504 E. 64th St., Tacoma, Wash.
		62	Michael F. Keavy, 65 Monument St., Charlestown, Mass.
Machinists, International Association of.....	6	425	A. O. Wharton, Southern Railway Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		425	J. J. Connolly, Room 403, 665 Washington St., Boston, Mass.
		424	Harvey W. Brown, 756 Broad St., Room 28, Newark, N. J.
		424	Cyrus F. Grow, Union Labor Temple, 538 Maple St., Los Angeles, Calif.
		424	William Schoenberg, Rooms 24-25, Merchants Bldg., Chicago, Ill.
		424	Victor S. Gauthier, 301 A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.

DELEGATES TO THE THIRTY-NINTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Maintenance of Way Employes and Railway Shop Laborers, United Brotherhood of.....	5	109	A. E. Barker, 27 Putnam Ave., Detroit, Mich.
		109	T. H. Fljzodal, 455 Temple Court, Minneapolis, Minn.
		108	C. E. Crook, 4126 N. Colfax St., Minneapolis, Minn.
		108	Samuel J. Pegg, 5140 Page Ave., St. Louis, Mo.
		108	L. J. Kennedy, 1303 Lancaster St., Wilmington, Del.
Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, Rubbers and Sawyers, International Association of.....	1	10	Joseph McInerney, 727 E. 141st St., New York City.
Masters, Mates and Pilots, American Association of.....	2	31	John H. Pruett, 423½ 49th St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
		31	A. B. Devlin, care 308 Vine St., Camden, N. J.
		111	John F. Hart, 166 W. Washington St., Chicago, Ill.
		111	Dennis Lane, 166 W. Washington St., Chicago, Ill.
		111	Fred Schmidt, 4146 Osceola St., St. Louis, Mo.
Meat Outters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated.....	6	110	T. A. McCreash, 653 Kansas Ave., Kansas City, Kans.
		110	John Kennedy, 2 Lennox Ave., Winfield, Boro of Queens, New York.
		110	Phillip J. Guest, 31 Belmont St., Everett, Wash.
		51	John J. Hynes, 122 S. Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.
		51	Thos. Redding, 5019 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.
Metal Workers' International Alliance, Amalgamated Sheet.....	4	50	James T. Moriarty, 9 Appleton St., Boston, Mass.
		50	Richard Pattison, 32 Union Square, New York City.
		45	Chas. H. Moyer, 508 Denham Bldg., Denver, Colo.
		45	Joseph P. Cannon, 208 W. 71st St., New York City.
		44	James Roberts, Emma Mine, Eholt, B. C., Canada.
Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, International Union of.....	4	44	Emma Frances Langdon, 1395 Lowell Boulevard, Denver, Colo.
		493	Frank J. Hayes, 1106 Merchants Bank Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.
		493	John L. Lewis, 1109 Merchants Bank Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.
		492	William Green, 1107 Merchants Bank Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.
		492	John H. Walker, Danville, Ill.
Mine Workers of America, United.....	8	492	John Mitchell, 230 Fifth Ave., New York City.
		492	John P. White, 1143 W. 38th St., Des Moines, Iowa.
		492	Frank Farrington, Farmers National Bank Bldg., Springfield, Ill.
		492	John Moore, 75 Ruggery Bldg., Columbus, Ohio.
		104	Jos. F. Valentine, Box 699, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Molders' Union of North America, International.....	5	103	John P. Frey, Box 699, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		103	Harry Stevenson, 369 Lafayette St., Newark, N. J.
		103	Pierce F. Hayden, 41 S. Pine St., Newark, Ohio.
		103	Vinton L. Dillon, 303 Simms St., Aurora, Ill.

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
		164	Joseph N. Weber, 110-112 W. 40th St., New York City.
Musicians, American Federation of.....	4	164	C. A. Weaver, Musicians Club, 607 Locust St., Des Moines, Iowa.
		163	D. A. Carey, 170 Montrose Ave., Toronto, Can.
		163	Joseph F. Winkler, 175 W. Washington St., Chicago, Ill.
Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers of America.....	2	23	R. E. Evans, 413-15 Texas State Bank Bldg., Fort Worth, Texas.
		22	John Sheehan, care Waverly Hotel, Tulsa, Okla.
		138	Geo. F. Hedrick, Drawer 99, LaFayette, Ind.
Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, Brotherhood of.....	6	138	J. C. Skemp, Drawer 99, LaFayette, Ind.
		138	P. J. Guerin, 318 4th St., Troy, N. Y.
		138	A. J. McKeon, Box 571, Bridgeport, Conn.
		138	John J. Lynch, 23a Gove St., Medford, Hillside, Mass.
Paper Makers, International Brotherhood of.....	2	137	Jos. F. Kelly, 437 S. 55th St., Philadelphia, Pa.
		29	J. T. Carey, 25 S. Hawk St., Albany, N. Y.
		28	George J. Schneider, 941 State St., Appleton, Wis.
Pattern Makers' League of North America.....	3	30	James Wilson, 1007-9 Second National Bank Bldg., Cincinnati, Ohio.
		30	James L. Geron, 411 Albemarle Road, Brooklyn, N. Y.
		30	J. S. Forrest, 738 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.
Pavers, Rammermen, Flag Layers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters, International Union of.....	1	18	Edward I. Hannah, 249 E. 57th St., New York, N. Y.
Paving Cutters' Union of the United States of America and Canada.....	1	26	Carl Bergstrom, Box 27, Albion, N. Y.
Piano and Organ Workers' Union of America, International.....	1	20	Chas. Dold, Room 602, 166 W. Washington St., Chicago, Ill.
		48	Thomas George, 1321 Russell Road, Cleveland, Ohio.
Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada, Operative.....	4	48	John Donlin, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		47	James G. Allen, 530 St. Marks Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.
		47	John Carroll, 386 Harrison Ave., Boston, Mass.
		80	Thos. S. Kearney, 64 W. Randolph St., Chicago, Ill.
Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada, United Association of.....	4	80	Charles Anderson, Union Labor Temple, Chicago, Ill.
		80	Charles Rau, 126 W. Randolph St., Chicago, Ill.
		80	E. W. Leonard, 411-16 Bush Temple, Chicago, Ill.
		34	W. W. Britton, 408 Neave Bldg., Cincinnati, Ohio.
Polishers, Metal, International Union.....	3	33	George Leary, 408 Neave Bldg., Cincinnati, Ohio.
		33	H. C. Diehl, 11523 Harvard Ave., W. Pullman Station, Chicago, Ill.
Postal Employees, National Federation of.....	1	145	Thos. F. Flaherty, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative.....	2	37	Edward Menge, Box 6, East Liverpool, Ohio.
		37	Frank H. Hutchins, 1009-11 American Mechanics Bldg., Trenton, N. J.
Print Cutters' Association of America, National.....	1	4	Rudolph Hehl, 10 Hobson St., Jersey City, N. J.

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Printers' Union of North America, International Steel and Copper Plate....	1	13	William D. Clark, 220 8th St. S. E., Washington, D. C.
Printing Pressmen's and Assistants Union of North America, International.....	5	68	George L. Berry, Pressmen's Home, Tenn.
		68	Wm. H. McHugh, Pressmen's Home, Tenn.
		68	Edward McGrady, Pressmen's Home, Tenn.
		68	E. W. Edwards, 527 World Bldg., New York City.
Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of.....	3	68	Max J. Martin, 2505 Pacific Ave., Apt. 5, Atlantic City, N. J.
		28	John P. Burke, P. O. Drawer "K," Fort Edward, N. Y.
		28	S. Ed. Launer, Oregon City, Oreg.
Quarry Workers' International Union of North America.....	1	28	Maurice La Belle, 232 Turner St., Ottawa, Ont., Can.
		30	Fred W. Sultor, Scampini Bldg., Barre, Vt.
Railway Employees of America, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric.....	4	225	William Quinlan, 328-338 S. Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.
		224	Michael J. Cahill, 125 Illinois St., Central Falls, R. I.
		224	William Mylan, 332 S. Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.
		224	Peter Rooney, 63 Beverly Road, Worcester, Mass.
Railway Mail Association.....	3	45	Edward J. Ryan, 604 Colorado Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		45	Henry W. Strickland, 115 E. 31st St., Kansas City, Mo.
		44	Robert E. Plymale, 1407 N. Carolina Ave. N. E., Washington, D. C.
Roofers, Composition, Damp and Waterproof Workers of the United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of.....	1	10	Jeremiah T. Hurley, 16 S. 6th St., St. Louis, Mo.
Roofers' Union of America, International Slate and Tile.....	1	6	J. M. Gavlak, 3643 W. 47th St., Cleveland, Ohio.
Seamen's Union of America, International.....	5	86	Andrew Furuseth, 44 East St., San Francisco, Calif.
		86	V. A. Olander, 164-166 W. Washington St., Chicago, Ill.
		85	Percy J. Pryor, 1½ Lewis St., Boston, Mass.
		85	Patrick O'Brien, 164 Eleventh Ave., New York City.
Signalmen of America, Brotherhood of Railroad.....	2	85	I. N. Hylen, 49 Clay St., San Francisco, Calif.
		31	D. W. Helt, 533 S. Market St., Shamokin, Pa.
Spinners' International Union.....	1	31	D. C. Cone, 1535 Westchester Ave., New York City.
		22	Urban Fleming, 188 Lyman St., Holyoke, Mass.
Stage Employes of America, International Alliance of Theatrical.....	4	47	Chas. C. Shay, 107 W. 46th St., New York City.
		46	L. G. Dolliver, 107 W. 46th St., New York City.
		46	John J. Barry, 86 Draper St., Dorchester, Mass.
		46	P. J. Ryan, 448 Clarke St., Montreal, Que., Can.
Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union of North America, International.....	2	27	James J. Freel, 1839 85th St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
		27	Charles A. Sumner, 3110 Olive St., Kansas City, Mo.
Stonecutters' Association of North America, Journeymen.....	1	39	Sam Griggs, 528 American Central Life Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.

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ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Stove Mounters' International Union	1	19	W. L. Funder Burk, 1210 Jefferson Ave., East, Detroit, Mich.
		40	Samuel E. Heberling, 326 Brisbane Bldg., Buffalo, N. Y.
Switchmen's Union of North America	3	39	James B. Connors, Room 600, 164 W. Washington St., Chicago, Ill.
		39	Thomas C. Cashen, 823 E. 149th St., Cleveland, Ohio.
		40	Thomas Sweeney, 6700 Stony Island Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen.....	3	40	C. N. Bolander, 236 E. 41st St., New York City.
		40	Mas J. Sillinsky, 2450 E. 9th St., Cleveland, Ohio.
Teachers, American Federation of.....	1	28	Charles B. Stillman, 1620 Lake St., Wilmette, Ill.
		152	Daniel J. Tobin, 222 E. Michigan St., Indianapolis, Ind.
Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of.....	5	151	Thomas L. Hughes, 222 E. Michigan St., Indianapolis, Ind.
		151	John M. Gillespie, 170 W. Brookline St., Boston, Mass.
		151	Wm. A. Neer, 186 W. Washington St., Chicago, Ill.
		151	M. E. Decker, 2940 16th St., San Francisco, Calif.
		90	H. B. Perham, 813 Star Bldg., St. Louis, Mo.
Telegraphers, Order of Railroad.....	5	89	E. J. Manion, 813 Star Bldg., St. Louis, Mo.
		89	O. D. Gorman, Mauk, Ga.
		89	W. L. Braun, Milano, Texas.
		89	M. W. Atkins, Ridgeway, Va.
Telegraphers' Union of America, The, Commercial.....	1	20	Percy Thomas, 1024 World Bldg., New York City.
		112	John Golden, 86-87 Bible House, New York City.
		112	Sara A. Conboy, 86-87 Bible House, New York City.
Textile Workers of America, United.....	5	112	Thomas F. McMahon, 762 Atwells Ave., Providence, R. I.
		111	Thomas J. Reagan, 233 Central St., Lowell, Mass.
		111	Daniel J. O'Donnell, 3301 Hartville St., Philadelphia, Pa.
		21	A. McAndrew, 2002 Wayland Ave., Norwood, Ohio.
Tobacco Workers' International Union	2	21	E. Lewis Evans, 50-51 Iroquois Life Bldg., Louisville, Ky.
Transferrers' Association of America, The Steel Plate.....	1	1	John Prender, 211 E. Capitol St., Washington, D. C.
Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union.....	1	20	Thomas J. Curtis, 3067 Hull Ave., New York City.
		108	M. G. Scott, 611-614 Newton Claypool Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.
		108	Frank Morrison, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		108	Max S. Hayes, 979 Parkwood Drive, Cleveland, Ohio.
Typographical Union, International.....	6	108	T. W. McCullough, 1134 S. 33d St., Omaha, Nebr.
		108	William Young, 5947 Webster St., Philadelphia, Pa.
		107	J. W. Hays, 642 Newton Claypool Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.
Upholsterers' International Union of North America.....	2	28	Jas. H. Hatch, 142 E. 80th St., New York City.
		27	Denis F. Gorman, 142 E. 80th St., New York City.

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
White Rats Actors' Union of America	1	30	James William Fitzpatrick, 13 Wall St., Waterbury, Conn.
Alabama State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	John J. Russell, 28 S. Ann St., Mobile, Ala.
Arizona State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Thomas J. Croaff, 238 E. Washington St., Phoenix, Ariz.
California State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	George A. Tracy, 701 Underwood Bldg., 525 Market St., San Francisco, Calif.
Colorado State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Wm. Koch, 2435 Argyle Place, Denver, Colo.
Connecticut State Federation of Labor	1	1	George F. Mordacai, 215 Meadow St., New Haven, Conn.
Florida State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	B. H. Burton, 5505 Branch Ave., Tampa, Fla.
Georgia State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	T. E. Whitaker, Atlanta Machine and Mfg. Co., Atlanta, Ga.
Illinois State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Duncan McDonald, Reich Bldg., Springfield, Ill.
Indiana State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Chas. Fox, 1463 S. 9th St., Terre Haute, Ind.
Iowa State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	A. E. Hale, Mason City, Iowa.
Kansas State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	A. J. Johnson, 1205 E. English St., Wichita, Kans.
Maryland-District of Columbia Federation of Labor.....	1	1	C. A. Brelsford, 1637 W. North Ave., Baltimore, Md.
Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	George H. Wrenn, 421 Maple St., Springfield, Mass.
Michigan State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Stanley Anderson, 489 Hamilton Ave., Detroit, Mich.
Minnesota State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	E. G. Hall, 4124 Bryant Ave., South, Minneapolis, Minn.
Missouri State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Don C. Grafton, Miner's Bank Bldg., Joplin, Mo.
Montana State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	M. M. Donoghue, 531 Diamond St., Butte, Mont.
New Hampshire State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Richard A. Cooney, 49 Cass St., Portsmouth, N. H.
New Jersey State Federation of Labor	1	1	William Kavanaugh, care Walters' Union 508, Atlantic City, N. J.
New York State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	James P. Holland, 211 E. 45th St., New York, N. Y.
Ohio State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Henry Ott, 1009 Findlay St., Cincinnati, Ohio.
Oklahoma State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Edgar Fenton, 515 Baltimore Bldg., Oklahoma City, Okla.
Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Peter Bollenbacher, 609-611 Wabash Bldg., 410 Liberty Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa.
Rhode Island State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	John F. Murphy, Room 202, 511 Westminster St., Providence, R. I.
Tennessee State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Thos. M. Gann, Box 245, Chattanooga, Tenn.
Texas Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Harry L. Spencer, 4308 Wood St., Houston, Texas.
Virginia State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Wm. Boncer, 333 Lincoln St., Portsmouth, Va.
West Virginia State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Wm. W. Rogers, R. R. No. 1, Fairmont, W. Va.
Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Frank J. Weber, 213 Brisbane Hall, Milwaukee, Wis.
Wyoming State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Harry W. Fox, Drawer 892, Cheyenne, Wyo.
Aberdeen, S. Dak., Central Labor Union	1	1	Cyrus R. Evans, 424 S. First St., Aberdeen, S. Dak.
Albany, N. Y., Central Federation of Labor.....	1	1	James M. Nolan, 497 Washington Ave., Albany, N. Y.

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ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Atlanta, Ga., Federation of Trades.....	1	1	Chas. B. Gramling, R. F. D. No. 5, Box 100, Atlanta, Ga.
Balboa, C. Z., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	J. C. Putnam, Balboa, Canal Zone.
Baltimore, Md., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	John A. Banz, 26 Franklin Bldg., Baltimore, Md.
Battle Creek, Mich., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	E. E. Jones, 568 W. Main St., Battle Creek, Mich.
Bay City, Mich., Central Trades Council.....	1	1	John D. Rutherford, Bay City, Mich.
Beaumont, Texas, Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	A. E. Fisher, Box 942, Beaumont, Texas.
Bend, Oreg., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	C. P. Howard, 24 E. 53d St., Portland, Oreg.
Bethlehem, Pa., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Clarence Schldt, 522 Hess St., Bethlehem, Pa.
Birmingham, Ala., Trades Council.....	1	1	William L. Harrison, 913 Farley Bldg., Birmingham, Ala.
Bismark, N. D., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Stephen Ely, Bismark, N. Dak.
Bloomington, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	John B. Lennon, 614 E. Mulberry St., Bloomington, Ill.
Boston, Mass., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Michael J. O'Donnell, 81 Canal St., Boston, Mass.
Brockton, Mass., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Frank C. Kimball, 159 Clifton Ave., Campello, Mass.
Brooklyn, N. Y., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	J. P. Coughlin, 1499 St. Johns Place, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Buffalo, N. Y., Central Labor Council.....	1	1	Robert C. Lacey, 143 O'Connell Ave., Buffalo, N. Y.
Cambridge, Mass., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	John H. Mahoney, 18 Woodbridge St., Cambridge, Mass.
Camden, N. J., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	James J. Myers, 2112 River Ave., Camden, N. J.
Canton, Ohio, Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Frank H. Darr, 1387 Market Ave., South, Canton, Ohio.
Cedar Rapids, Iowa, Federation of Labor.....	1	1	R. G. Stewart, Cedar Rapids, Iowa.
Charleroi, Pa., Monongahela Valley Central Trades Council.....	1	1	John O'Leary, Charleroi, Pa.
Charleston, W. Va., Kanawha Valley Central Labor Union.....	1	1	E. F. Davis, Box 1106, Charleston, W. Va.
Cheyenne, Wyo., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Harry C. Hoffman, Cheyenne, Wyo.
Cincinnati, Ohio, Central Labor Council.....	1	1	William Niemeier, 217 W. 12th St., Cincinnati, Ohio.
Chicago, Ill., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Robert G. Fitchie, 640 N. Lotus Ave, Chicago, Ill.
Cleburne, Texas, Central Labor Council.....	1	1	J. R. McFadden, 106 N. Washington Ave., Cleburne, Texas.
Cle Elum, Wash., Central Labor Council.....	1	1	Robert Harlin, care of Merchants Bank Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.
Cleveland, Ohio, Federation of Labor.....	1	1	John G. Owens, 2450 E. 9th St., Cleveland, Ohio.
Coffeyville, Kans., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Frank L. Bryan, 706 W. 10th St., Coffeyville, Kans.
Coalinga, Calif., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Walter J. Yarrow, Room 11, Richmond Hotel, Coalinga, Calif.
Colorado Springs, Colo., Federated Trades Council.....	1	1	Stephen O'Donnell, care of Gazette Pub. Co., Colorado Springs, Colo.
Columbus, Ohio, Federation of Labor.....	1	1	C. J. Tucker, 1720 Walsh Ave., Columbus, Ohio.
Covington, Ky., Trades and Labor Assembly of Kenton and Campbell Counties.....	1	1	Harry V. Dill, 507 York St., Newport, Ky.

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Dallas, Texas, Central Labor Council	1	1	James A. Hooper, Labor Temple, Dallas, Texas.
Danbury, Conn., Central Labor Union	1	1	John J. Carrick, 287 Main St., Danbury, Conn.
Danville, Ill., Trades and Labor Council	1	1	Harry H. Mason, 405 N. Jackson St., Danville, Ill.
Dayton, Ohio, Central Labor Union	1	1	Grant Pink, Lock Box 24, Dayton, Ohio.
Denver, Colo., Trades and Labor Assembly	1	1	Fred Wessel, Page Hotel, Denver, Colo.
Des Moines, Iowa, Trades and Labor Assembly	1	1	Fred A. Canfield, Des Moines, Iowa.
Detroit, Mich., Federation of Labor	1	1	Julius Deutelbaum, 80 Brainard St., Detroit, Mich.
Easton, Pa., Central Labor Union	1	1	Jules Block, 433 Northampton St., Easton, Pa.
Elmira, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Assembly	1	1	John E. Murphy, 706 E. 5th St., Elmira, N. Y.
El Paso, Texas, Central Labor Union	1	1	W. T. Griffith, care Box 301, El Paso, Texas.
Fairmont, W. Va., Monongahela Valley Trades and Labor Council	1	1	H. L. Franklin, Fairmont, W. Va.
Fall River, Mass., Central Labor Union	1	1	John H. Carroll, 78 Park St., Fall River, Mass.
Flint, Mich., Federation of Labor	1	1	C. F. McClintic, 1206 Mason St., Flint, Mich.
Fort Worth, Texas, Trades Assembly	1	1	C. W. Woodman, 1800 Fairmont Ave., Fort Worth, Texas.
Gary, Ind., Central Labor Union	1	1	John W. Wagner, 504 Hohman St., Hammond, Ind.
Gloucester, Ohio, Central Labor Union	1	1	Fred A. Canfield, Gloucester, Ohio.
Granite City, Ill., Tri-City Central Trades Council	1	1	E. G. Galloway, 1928 State St., Granite City, Ill.
Grand Rapids, Mich., Trades and Labor Council	1	1	O. O. Taylor, 325 Ann St., Grand Rapids, Mich.
Harrisburg, Pa., Central Labor Union	1	1	Thom P. Moran, 2202 N. 3d St., Harrisburg, Pa.
Herrin, Ill., Trades Council	1	1	Hugh Willis, Herrin, Ill.
Houston, Texas, Labor Council	1	1	D. W. Tracy, 1210 Texas Ave., Houston, Texas.
Indianapolis, Ind., Central Labor Union	1	1	William E. Neu, 515 Woodlawn Ave., Indianapolis, Ind.
Jacksonville, Fla., Central Labor Union	1	1	W. J. Priestly, 530 E. Ashley St., Jacksonville, Fla.
Johnstown, Pa., Central Labor Union	1	1	Charles A. McKeown, Colonial Printing Co., Johnstown, Pa.
Joliet, Ill., Central Trades and Labor Council	1	1	Madge Argo, Joliet, Ill.
Kansas City, Kans., Central Labor Union	1	1	Charles R. Nuzum, 1215 Sumner Ave., Kansas City, Kans.
Kansas City, Mo., Central Labor Union	1	1	John T. Smith, 1402 Woodland Ave., Kansas City, Mo.
Kensington, Ill., Calumet Joint Labor Council	1	1	Thos. L. Gregson, 1448 E. 69th Place, Chicago, Ill.
Kingston, Ont., Can., Trades and Labor Council	1	1	John Noble, 176 Lamb Ave., Toronto, Ont., Can.
La Crosse, Wis., Trades and Labor Council	1	1	R. G. Knutson, 614 S. Third St., La Crosse, Wis.
La Junta, Colo., Central Labor Union	1	1	George H. Richter, La Junta, Colo.
Lancaster, Pa., Central Labor Union	1	1	Milton G. Evans, 759 Marietta Ave., Lancaster, Pa.
Lansford, Pa., Panther Creek Valley Central Labor Union	1	1	John B. Breslin, Lansford, Pa.
Lima, Ohio, Trades and Labor Council	1	1	William I. Gildas, 207 N. Union St., Lima, Ohio.

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Linton, Ind., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	J. L. Sims, L. Box 161, Linton, Ind.
Logansport, Ind., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	J. W. Newmyer, 1224 George St., Logans- port, Ind.
London, Ont., Can., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Ernest Ingles, 211 Wellington St., London Ont., Can.
Lorain, Ohio, Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Henry Ralase, 1200 Ansel Road, Clevel- land, Ohio.
Los Angeles, Calif., Central Labor Council.....	1	1	Edith S. Metz, 540 Maple Ave., Los Angeles, Calif.
Louisville, Ky., United Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Patrick E. Gorman, 112 S. Shelby St., Louisville, Ky.
Lynn, Mass., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Charles D. Keavney, P. O. Box 248, Lynn, Mass.
Meadville, Pa., Central Labor Union....	1	1	H. S. Gilbert, 654 Madison Ave., Mead- ville, Pa.
Meriden, Conn., Central Labor Union	1	1	Frank P. Ganey, 62 Cook Ave., Meriden, Conn.
Minneapolis, Minn., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Frank Hoffman, 239 Second Ave., South, Minneapolis, Minn.
Moberly, Mo., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	David R. Frampton, care of United Mine Workers Headquarters, Moberly Trust Co. Bldg., Moberly, Mo.
Montreal, Que., Can., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Gustave Franco, 2 St. Paul St., East, Montreal, Que., Can.
Nashville, Tenn., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	J. P. Ogletree, Nashville, Tenn.
Newark, N. J., Essex Trades Council....	1	1	Henry F. Hilfers, 16-18 Clinton St., New- ark, N. J.
New Bedford, Mass., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Walter Barnes, 36 Potter St., South Barnmouth, Mass.
New Haven, Conn., Trades Council.....	1	1	Ira M. Ornburn, P. O. Box 1107, New Haven, Conn.
Newport, R. I., Central Labor Union....	1	1	Harold C. Kingsley, 7 Merten Road, Newport, R. I.
Newport News, Va., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	J. B. Clineinst, 230 29th St., Newport News, Va.
New Ulm, Minn., Central Labor Union	1	1	Jean E. Spielman, 239 Second Ave., South, Minneapolis, Minn.
New York, N. Y., Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity.....	1	1	Timothy M. Daly, 463 4th Ave., Brook- lyn, N. Y.
Niagara Falls, N. Y., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Louis N. Thomas, 468 4th St., Niagara Falls, N. Y.
Niles, Ohio, Trumbull Co., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	John F. Ryan, 32 N. Hazel St., Niles, Ohio.
Norfolk, Va., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	J. J. Giles, 625 Armstrong St., Ports- mouth, Va.
Norfolk, Va., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	John A. Lacey, 1324 Chapel St., Norfolk, Va.
Oakland, Calif., Central Labor Council	1	1	Edgar S. Hurley, 778 19th St., Oakland, Calif.
Olympia, Wash., Trades Council.....	1	1	O. B. Young, West Side, Olympia, Wash.
Orange, Texas, Trades Council.....	1	1	J. E. Crain, Box 752, Orange, Texas.
Ottawa, Ont., Can., Allied Trades and Labor Association.....	1	1	P. M. Draper, Drawer 515, Ottawa, Ont., Can.
Philadelphia, Pa., Central Labor Union	1	1	Alec McGuire, care 152 W. Lehigh Ave., Philadelphia, Pa.
Pittsburgh, Pa., Iron City Central Trades Council.....	1	1	John Hoehn, Union Labor Temple, Pitts- burgh, Pa.
Pittston, Pa., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	I. N. Cathrall, 324 Exeter Ave., Pitts- ton, Pa.

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Portland, Oreg., Central Labor Council	1	1	C. A. Strickland, care 162 2d St., Portland, Oreg.
Portsmouth, N. H., Central Labor Union	1	1	Harry L. Hartford, 259 Raleigh Way, Portsmouth, N. H.
Portsmouth, Va., Central Labor Union	1	1	John H. Hall, Jr., 802 Washington St., Portsmouth, Va.
Poughkeepsie, N. Y., Trades and Labor Council	1	1	John Bradley, 17 Baker St., Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
Pueblo, Colo., Trades and Labor Assembly	1	1	Sol Jacobs, 107 W. 46th St., New York City.
Punxsutawney, Pa., Central Labor Union	1	1	James Maloney, Punxsutawney, Pa.
Quincy, Mass., Central Labor Union	1	1	M. A. Broderick, care 249 Washington St., Quincy, Mass.
Reading, Pa., Federated Trades Council	1	1	A. P. Bower, 105 N. 6th St., Reading, Pa.
Roanoke, Va., Central Trades and Labor Council	1	1	Lillie Barbour, 1501 Second Ave., N. W., Roanoke, Va.
Rochester, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council	1	1	Richard Curran, 107 Hobart St., Rochester, N. Y.
Roundup, Mont., Central Trades and Labor Council	1	1	Adam Wilkinson, Roundup, Mont.
St. Joseph, Mo., Central Labor Council	1	1	J. L. Wines, 515½ Edmond St., St. Joseph, Mo.
St. Louis, Mo., Central Trades and Labor Union	1	1	Joseph E. Woracek, 12th Floor, Holland Bldg., 209 N. 7th St., St. Louis, Mo.
Salem, Oreg., Central Labor Council	1	1	C. M. Rynerson, care 457 Court St., Salem, Oreg.
St. Paul, Minn., Trades and Labor Assembly	1	1	P. W. Flynn, St. Paul, Minn.
Salt Lake City, Utah, Federation of Labor	1	1	J. J. Sullivan, care Labor Temple, Salt Lake City, Utah.
San Francisco, Calif., Labor Council	1	1	Daniel C. Murphy, 325 Richland Ave., San Francisco, Calif.
Sault Ste. Marie, Mich., Trades and Labor Council	1	1	Elmer J. Ashmun, 819 Helen St., Sault Ste. Marie, Mich.
Scranton, Pa., Central Labor Union	1	1	C. J. Boyle, care 520 Luzerne St., Scranton, Pa.
Schenectady, N. Y., Trades Assembly	1	1	John J. Hourigan, 350 Veeder Ave., Schenectady, N. Y.
Seattle, Wash., Central Labor Council	1	1	James A. Duncan, Labor Temple, Seattle, Wash.
Somerville, Mass., Central Labor Union	1	1	John F. Barr, 151a Somerville Ave., Somerville, Mass.
South Bend, Ind., Central Labor Union	1	1	E. H. Metz, 328 Farmers Trust Bldg., South Bend, Ind.
South Chicago, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly	1	1	Frank E. Doyle, 7267 Coles Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Springfield, Ill., Federation of Labor	1	1	R. E. Woodmansee, Box 15, Springfield, Ill.
Springfield, Mass., Central Labor Union	1	1	Michael J. Scanlan, 14 Lyndale St., Springfield, Mass.
Springfield, Mo., Central Trades and Labor Assembly	1	1	R. T. Wood, care 1617 N. Florence St., Springfield, Mo.
Stockton, Calif., San Joaquin County Central Labor Council	1	1	Wm. Hannon, 3611 Ellis Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Superior, Wis., Trades and Labor Assembly	1	1	Jas. B. Campbell, Roger Ruger Bldg., Superior, Wis.

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Tacoma, Wash., Central Labor Council	1	1	T. F. Burns, 115½ Broadway, Tacoma, Wash.
Thurber, Texas, Trades Council	1	1	John Wilkinson, Thurber, Texas.
Topeka, Kans., Industrial Council	1	1	D. L. Chandler, 216 Klein St., Topeka, Kans.
Toronto, Ont., Can., District Labor Council	1	1	James Simpson, Labor Temple, Toronto, Ont., Can.
Troy, N. Y., Federation of Labor	1	1	James Lemke, 160 3d St., Troy, N. Y.
Tyrone, Pa., Central Labor Union	1	1	Matthew L. Dawson, 7th St., Tyrone, Pa.
Vancouver, Wash., Central Labor Union	1	1	A. G. Enright, 514 W. 6th St., Vancouver, Wash.
Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union	1	1	John B. Colpoys, 606 5th St. N. W., Washington, D. C.
Waterbury, Conn., Central Labor Union	1	1	James P. Donahue, 292 W. Main St., Waterbury, Conn.
Wilkes-Barre, Pa., Central Labor Union	1	1	William J. Kromelbein, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.
Wilmington, Del., Central Labor Union	1	1	George Sauter, 232 North Franklin St., Wilmington, Del.
Winona, Minn., Trades and Labor Council	1	1	G. W. Lawson, Room 205, Dakota Bldg., St. Paul, Minn.
Worcester, Mass., Central Labor Union	1	1	William J. Gullfoyle, care Box 485, Worcester, Mass.
Yonkers, N. Y., Federation of Labor	1	1	William J. McGeary, 56 Oak St., Yonkers, N. Y.
Youngstown, Ohio, United Labor Congress of Mahoning County	1	1	Edward J. Tinney, 308 Custer Ave., Youngstown, Ohio.
Zanesville, Ohio, Central Trades and Labor Council	1	1	Henry F. W. Stehmeyer, 611 Putnam Ave., Zanesville, Ohio.
Apartment House Janitors' Union No. 14936, Boston, Mass.	1	1	Patrick J. Reardon, 1875 Commonwealth Ave., Brighton, Mass.
Bollermakers, Blacksmiths and Machinist Helpers' Union No. 16199, Mobile, Ala.	1	2	Edmund Turner, 262 Kennedy St., Mobile, Ala.
Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646, New York, N. Y.	1	2	Ann Hogan, Room 208, 32 Union Square, New York City.
Building Custodians' Union No. 15234, Memphis, Tenn.	1	1	Jas. H. Cooper, care 251 Edgewood St., Memphis, Tenn.
City Employees' Union No. 15951, Manchester, N. H.	1	1	Patrick J. Cahillane, 335 Lake Ave., Manchester, N. H.
Civil Engineers' Union No. 15673, Boston, Mass.	1	1	John E. L. Monaghan, 17 Tower St., Boston, Mass.
Cloth Examiners and Spongers' Union No. 11680, New York, N. Y.	1	3	Joseph F. Mezzacapo, 1123 Broadway, New York, N. Y.
Counters, Timekeepers and Clerks' Local No. 15699, Philadelphia, Pa.	1	2	Harry L. Fincke, 411 Jefferson St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Court Reporters' Federation No. 14171, Chicago, Ill.	1	1	Grace H. Harte, Suite 501, 21 N. LaSalle St., Chicago, Ill.
Crane Followers and Platform Workers' Union No. 14451, Schenectady, N. Y.	1	1	Harry L. McDougall, 729 Pleasant St., Schenectady, N. Y.
Domestic Workers' Union No. 16108, New Orleans, La.	1	3	Mrs. Elenora Peete, care 742 General Taylor St., New Orleans, La.

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Elevator Starters and Operators No. 16429, Brooklyn, N. Y.	1	1	Thos. J. McGill, 1703 Putnam Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Federal Labor Union No. 14646, Denver, Colo.	1	1	Stanley P. Oplinger, 1645 Champe St., Denver, Colo.
Federal Labor Union No. 14914, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.	1	3	Thos. Crawford, 855½ Market St., Kingston Station, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.
Federal Labor Union No. 15228, Battle Creek, Mich.	1	1	H. Burke, 28 N. Jefferson Ave., Battle Creek, Mich.
Federal Labor Union No. 15681, Tampa, Fla.	1	2	W. M. Watson, 1508 11th St., Tampa, Fla.
Federal Labor Union No. 15792, Waycross, Ga.	1	1	J. W. Canady, Waycross, Ga.
Federal Labor Union No. 15938, Waynesboro, Pa.	1	3	W. O. Ringer, R. F. D. No. 1, Waynesboro, Pa.
Federal Labor Union No. 16072, Aberdeen, S. D.	1	1	R. S. Patterson, 214 First Ave. S. E., Aberdeen, S. D.
Federal Labor Union No. 16156, Cambridge, Ohio.	1	1	C. E. Brogan, 1223 E. Beatty Ave., Cambridge, Ohio.
Federal Labor Union No. 16191, Evanston, Ill.	1	2	Julius Grass, 1008 Ashland Ave., Evanston, Ill.
Federal Labor Union No. 16196, Kokomo, Ind.	1	1	E. Edwin Clark, Post Office Box 178, Kokomo, Ind.
Federal Labor Union No. 16206, Hagerstown, Md.	1	1	J. Cleveland Grice, 814 Oak Hill Ave., Hagerstown, Md.
Federal Labor Union No. 16251, Chambersburg, Pa.	1	1	B. D. Staley, 604 Philadelphia Ave., Chambersburg, Pa.
Federal Labor Union No. 16319, Weehawken, N. J.	1	1	James W. McNeice, Weehawken, N. J.
Federal Labor Union No. 16321, La Junta, Colo.	1	1	Harry A. Badgett, 403 E. Third St., La Junta, Colo.
Federal Labor Union No. 16380, Chicago, Ill.	1	1	Joseph Bledow, Chicago Heights, Ill.
Federal Labor Union No. 16398	1	1	Michael Goldsmith, 8118 Whitethorn Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.
Federal Labor Union No. 16441, Hudson Falls, N. Y.	1	1	Julius Colvin, Hudson Falls, N. Y.
Federal Labor Union No. 16450, New Brunswick, N. J.	1	1	Aubrey Setzer, 51 Quenton Ave., New Brunswick, N. J.
Federal Labor Union No. 16478, Chicago, Ill.	1	1	George J. Baumann, 2712 E. 93d St., Chicago, Ill.
Federal Labor Union No. 16485, Morehead, N. C.	1	1	Willie Brinston, Morehead City, N. C.
Felt, Straw, Panama and Velvet Hat Trimmers and Operators' Union No. 15850, United, Newark, N. J.	1	4	Mary Huston, 252 S. 8th St., Newark, N. J.
Flat Janitors' Union No. 14332, Chicago, Ill.	1	14	William F. Quesse, 4732 Indiana Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Freight Handlers' Union No. 16220, Richmond, Va.	1	1	Robert E. Burford, 412 Goddin St., Richmond, Va.
Freight Handlers' Union No. 16395, Salisbury, N. C.	1	1	J. W. Worthey, 715 S. Coldwell St., Salisbury, N. C.
Freight Handlers and Station Employees' Union No. 16381, Baltimore, Md.	1	1	William Carter, 703 Small St., Baltimore, Md.

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Freight Handlers' Union No. 16410, Louisville, Ky.....	1	1	T. H. Mason, 417½ S. 11th St., Louisville, Ky.
Freight Handlers' Union No. 16413, St. Louis, Mo.....	1	1	Oscar Williams, 925 S. 12th St., East St. Louis, Mo.
Freight Handlers' Union No. 16439, Jacksonville, Fla.....	1	1	Charles L. White, 1433 Davis St., Jacksonville, Fla.
Freight Handlers' Union No. 16549, Little Rock, Ark.....	1	1	Matt Lewis, 2505 Spring St., Little Rock, Ark.
Railroad Freight Handlers' Union No. 16406, Little Rock, Ark.....	1	1	Matt Lewis, 2505 Spring St., Little Rock, Ark.
Gardeners and Laborers' Union No. 16138, Boston, Mass.....	1	1	Peter J. Mullen, care 74 O St., South Boston, Mass.
Harbor Boatmen's Union No. 15554, Camden, N. J.....	1	1	Jesse T. Morris, 505 S. Broadway, Pitman, N. J.
Interior Freight Handlers' Union No. 16465, New Orleans, La.....	1	1	E. D. Johnson, 2831 Magnolia St., New Orleans, La.
Iron and Steel Workers' Union No. 16242, Steelton, Pa.....	1	15	Frank Tourison, High Spire, Pa.
Janitors' Protective Union No. 15876, St. Louis, Mo.....	1	1	William J. Schultz, 5015 Westminster Place (Tuscan Temple), St. Louis, Mo.
Janitors' Union No. 15481, Chicago, Ill.....	1	1	C. P. Shea, 219 S. Dearborn St., Room 718, Chicago, Ill.
Janitors, Helpers and Laborers' Union No. 16084, Charleston, S. C.....	1	1	Jacob Middleton, 51 Congress St., Charleston, S. C.
Japanners and Sheet Metal Truckers' Union No. 15255, Schenectady, N. Y.....	1	1	A. V. Gould, 521 Chrisler Ave., Schenectady, N. Y.
Ladies' Straw Hat Workers' Union No. 14996, Boston, Mass.....	1	1	Annie M. Miller, care 10 Dillway St., Boston, Mass.
Lead Burners' Union No. 15009, Philadelphia, Pa.....	1	2	John Catterson, 129 E. 15th St., New York City.
Motion Picture Players' Union No. 16377, Los Angeles, Calif.....	1	1	Seymour Hastings, 515 American Bank Bldg., Los Angeles, Calif.
Neckwear Workers' Union No. 11016, New York City.....	1	5	Louis D. Berger, New York City.
Neckwear Workers' Union No. 15200, Boston, Mass.....	1	1	Anna Weinstock, 665 Washington St., Boston, Mass.
Newsboys' Union No. 15834, Seattle, Wash.....	1	6	Nathan P. Birch, 917 E. Jefferson St., Seattle, Wash.
Office Employees' Association No. 12755, Chicago, Ill.....	1	4	Joseph J. Ellicott, 5250 W. Adams St., Chicago, Ill.
Oyster Shuckers' Union No. 15937, Hampton, Va.....	1	1	Arthur Herbert, 112 Pembroke Ave., Lincoln Park, Hampton, Va.
Oyster Shuckers' Union No. 16117, Norfolk, Va.....	1	2	James W. Fitts, 914 Denhart St., Norfolk, Va.
Peanut Workers' Union No. 15856, Suffolk, Va.....	1	1	J. W. Richardson, 128 N. Connecticut Ave., Suffolk, Va.
Power Plate and Die Stampers' Union No. 16471, Philadelphia, Pa.....	1	1	Joseph Coogan, 3548 N. Mervine St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Railroad Freight Handlers' and Helpers' Union No. 16407, Memphis, Tenn.....	1	1	Oliver L. Leonard, 699 Trigg Ave., Memphis, Tenn.

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Railway Coach Cleaners' Union No. 16088, St. Louis, Mo.....	1	4	Jordan W. Chambers, 3026 Lucas Ave., St. Louis, Mo.
Railway Coach and Station Cleaners and Porters' Union No. 16351, Chicago, Ill.....	1	1	Garrett Rice, 709 Oakwood Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.
Railroad Coach and Station Cleaners and Porters' Union No. 16586, Minneapolis, Minn.....	1	1	John Eklund, 1107 6th St. South, Minneapolis, Minn.
Railway Employes' Union No. 16486, Atlantic City, N. J.....	1	1	Miller L. Campbell, 606 South New Road, Pleasantville, N. J.
Sailmakers' Union No. 14911, Norfolk, Va.....	1	1	R. B. Ealeak, 333 Lincoln St., Portsmouth, Va.
Shipyard Helpers and Laborers' Union No. 15392, Berkley, Va.....	1	2	Willie E. Vaughan, Jr., 814 Liberty St., Berkley, Va.
Shipyard Laborers' Union No. 15745, Philadelphia, Pa.....	1	4	James Patrick Gallagher, 2253 N. Mutter St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Shipyard Laborers' Union No. 15980, Baltimore, Md.....	1	2	Wm. E. McKinnon, 588 Preestman St., Baltimore, Md.
Shipyard Laborers' Union No. 15922, Newport News, Va.....	1	1	Robert J. Lane, 1149 35th St., Newport News, Va.
Shipyard Laborers' Union No. 16455, New London, Conn.....	1	1	S. A. Jackson, 10 Thompson Court, New London, Conn.
Shipyard Workers' Union No. 16487, Wilmington, Del.....	1	1	Charles Thompson, 1124 Poplar St., Wilmington, Del.
Sign Hangers' Union No. 14661, Kansas City, Mo.....	1	1	H. S. Helgesen, 2020 Lawn Ave., Kansas City, Mo.
Sign and Bulletin Board Hangers' Union No. 14872, Chicago, Ill.....	1	1	George Rincker, General Delivery, Villa Park, Ill.
Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 11597, Indianapolis, Ind.....	1	1	Jessie M. Sharon, 222 E. Michigan St., Indianapolis, Ind.
Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 14491, Denver, Colo.....	1	1	Thos. O. Spacey, 202 City Hall, Denver, Colo.
Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 14965, Boston, Mass.....	1	1	Agnes Burns, 1109 Tremont Bldg., Boston, Mass.
Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 16384, Pittsburgh, Pa.....	1	1	Dalton T. Clarke, 401 Fulton Bldg., Pittsburgh, Pa.
Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 11773.....	1	1	E. C. Scott, 719 Taylor St. N. W., Washington, D. C.
Superintendents, Janitors and Assistants' Union No. 15923, New York, N. Y.....	1	1	Ivan E. Holm, 622 W. 141st St., New York City.
Theater Ushers' Union No. 15293, New York, N. Y.....	1	1	Benjamin Witashkin, 104 Division Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Theatrical Tailors and Dressers' Union No. 12719, New York, N. Y.....	1	1	Sigmund Weintraub, 239 E. 5th St., New York City.
Train Porters' Union No. 16526, Kansas City, Mo.....	1	1	George M. Brown, 324 Parrellel Ave., Kansas City, Kans.

DELEGATES TO THE THIRTY-NINTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

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ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
United Felt, Panama and Straw Hat Trimmers and Operators' Union No. 14569, New York, N. Y.....	1	3	Minnie Teitelbaum, 243 Suydam St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
United Umbrella Handle and Stick Makers' Union No. 14581, New York, N. Y.....	1	1	M. Abramson, 175 E. Broadway, New York, N. Y.
British Trades Union Congress.....	2	1	Miss M. Bonfield, Dilke House, Malet St., London W. C., England.
Trades and Labor Congress of Canada	1	1	S. Finney, M. P., Miners' Office, Burslem, England.
Women's International Union Label League.....			J. M. Walsh, 66 St. Joseph St., Quebec, Que., Canada.
National Women's Trade Union League.....			Anna Fitzgerald, 421 S. Homan Ave., Chicago, Ill.
			Maud Swartz, 64 W. Randolph St., Chicago, Ill.

Number of Unions.	NAME.	Number of Delegates.	Number of Votes.
102	National and International.....	312	31,829
31	States.....	131	31
144	Central.....	144	144
86	Trade and Federal Labor Unions.....	85	152
4	Fraternal Organizations.....	5	3
367		577	32,159

List of Delegates and Fraternal Delegates

Delegates from the American Federation of Labor to the International Federation of Trade Unions

1909. Samuel Gompers. *1915. 1911. James Duncan. 1913. George W. Perkins.
*1917.

To British Trades Union Congress

1895 { Samuel Gompers.	1903 { Max S. Hayes.	1912 { George L. Berry.
1896 { P. J. McGuire.	1904 { Martin Lawlor.	1913 { John H. Walker.
1897 { J. W. Sullivan.	1905 { W. D. Ryan.	1913 { Chas. L. Baine.
1898 { Adolph Strasser.	1906 { D. D. Driscoll.	1914 { Louis Kemper.
1899 { Martin Fox.	1907 { John A. Moffitt.	1914 { W. D. Mahon.
1900 { Geo. E. McNeill.	1908 { James Wood.	1915 { Matthew Woll.
1901 { James Duncan.	1909 { Frank K. Foster.	1916 { W. D. Mahon.
1902 { Harry Lloyd.	1910 { James Wilson.	1917 { Matthew Woll.
1903 { James O'Connell.	1911 { John T. Dempsey.	1918 { John Golden.
1904 { Thomas F. Tracy.	1912 { W. E. Klapetzky.	1919 { James Lord.
1905 { J. M. Hunter.	1913 { Andrew Furuseth.	1920 { J. A. Franklin.
1906 { Sidney J. Kent.	1914 { James J. Creamer.	1921 { Wm. J. Bowen.
1907 { Daniel J. Keefe.	1915 { John P. Frey.	1922 { Wm. L. Hutcheson.
1908 { Eugene F. O'Rourke.	1916 { B. A. Larger.	1923 { John J. Hynes.
1909 { Patrick Dolan.	1917 { W. B. Wilson.	
1910 { Henry Blackmore.	1918 { T. V. O'Connor.	
	1919 { Wm. B. Macfarlane.	
	1920 { Daniel J. Tobin.	

From British Trades Union Congress.

1894 { John Burns.	1902 { M. Arrandale.	1911 { G. H. Roberts.
1895 { David Holmes.	1903 { E. Edwards.	1912 { J. Crinion.
1896 { Edward Cowey.	1904 { William Mullin.	1913 { J. A. Seddon.
1897 { James Mawdsley.	1905 { James O'Grady.	1914 { R. Smillie.
1898 { Sam Woods.	1906 { William Abraham.	1915 { I. H. Gwynne.
1899 { John Mallinson.	1907 { James Wignall.	1916 { T. Greenall.
1900 { Edward Harford.	1908 { William Mosses.	
1901 { J. Havelock Wilson.	1909 { David Gilmour.	
1902 { William Inskip.	1910 { Allen Gee.	
1903 { William Thorne.	1911 { J. N. Bell.	
1904 { James Haslam.	1912 { David J. Shackleton.	
1905 { Alexander Wilkie.	1913 { John Hodge.	
1906 { John Weir.	1914 { John Wadsworth.	
1907 { Pete Curran.	1915 { H. Skinner.	
1908 { Frank Chandler.	1916 { A. H. Gill.	
1909 { Ben Tillett.	1917 { J. R. Clynes.	
	1918 { W. Brace.	
	1919 { Ben. Turner.	

To Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

1898 Thomas I. Kidd.	1905 Frank Feeney.	1913 Wm. J. McSorley.
1899 James H. Sullivan.	1906 Thomas A. Rickert.	1914 M. M. Donoghue.
1900 W. D. Mahon.	1907 Robert S. Maloney.	1915 H. J. Conway.
1901 John R. O'Brien.	1908 Hugh Frayne.	1916 Harry P. Corcoran.
1902 D. D. Driscoll.	1909 Jerome Jones.	1917 Emanuel Koveleski.
1903 John Coleman.	1910 John J. Manning.	1918 Stuart H. Hayward.
1904 John H. Richards.	1911 Wm. J. Tracy.	1919 Sam Griggs.
	1912 John T. Smith.	

From Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

1898 David A. Carey.	1905 William V. Todd.	1913 Gus Francq.
1899 David A. Carey.	1906 Samuel L. Landers.	1914 R. A. Rigg.
1900 David A. Carey.	1907 W. R. Trotter.	1915 Fred Bancroft.
1901 P. M. Draper.	1908 P. M. Draper.	1916 Thomas A. Stevenson.
1902 John H. Kennedy.	1909 F. Bancroft.	1917 Wm. Lodge.
1903 James Simpson.	1910 R. P. Pettipiece.	1918 Thos. Moore.
1904 John A. Flett.	1911 Wm. Glockling.	1919 J. M. Walsh.
	1912 John W. Bruce.	

*No convention.

**No delegates.

***Delegates did not attend.

Conventions of American Federation of Labor

Year.	City and State.	Date.
1881	Pittsburgh, Pa.	December 15-18.
1882	Cleveland, Ohio.	November 21-24.
1883	New York, N. Y.	August 21-24.
1884	Chicago, Ill.	October 7-10.
1885	Washington, D. C.	December 8-11.
1886	Columbus, Ohio.	December 8-12.
1887	Baltimore, Md.	December 13-17.
1888	St. Louis, Mo.	December 11-15.
1889	Boston, Mass.	December 10-14.
1890	Detroit, Mich.	December 8-13.
1891	Birmingham, Ala.	December 14-19.
1892	Philadelphia, Pa.	December 12-17.
1893	Chicago, Ill.	December 11-19.
1894	Denver, Colo.	December 10-18.
1895	New York, N. Y.	December 9-17.
1896	Cincinnati, Ohio.	December 14-21.
1897	Nashville, Tenn.	December 13-21.
1898	Kansas City, Mo.	December 12-20.
1899	Detroit, Mich.	December 11-20.
1900	Louisville, Ky.	December 6-15.
1901	Scranton, Pa.	December 5-14.
1902	New Orleans, La.	November 13-22.
1903	Boston, Mass.	November 9-23.
1904	San Francisco, Cal.	November 14-26.
1905	Pittsburgh, Pa.	November 13-25.
1906	Minneapolis, Minn.	November 12-24.
1907	Norfolk, Va.	November 11-23.
1908	Denver, Colo.	November 9-21.
1909	Toronto, Ont., Can.	November 8-20.
1910	St. Louis, Mo.	November 14-26.
1911	Atlanta, Ga.	November 13-25.
1912	Rochester, N. Y.	November 11-23.
1913	Seattle, Wash.	November 10-22.
1914	Philadelphia, Pa.	November 9-21.
1915	San Francisco, Cal.	November 8-22.
1916	Baltimore, Md.	November 13-25.
1917	Buffalo, N. Y.	November 12-24.
1918	St. Paul, Minn.	June 10-20.
1919	Atlantic City, N. J.	June 9-23.

CONSTITUTION

OF THE

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

1919-1920

PREAMBLE.

WHEREAS, A struggle is going on in all the nations of the civilized world between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries, a struggle between the capitalist and the laborer, which grows in intensity from year to year, and will work disastrous results to the toiling millions if they are not combined for mutual protection and benefit.

It, therefore, behooves the representatives of the Trade and Labor Unions of America, in convention assembled, to adopt such measures and disseminate such principles among the mechanics and laborers of our country as will permanently unite them to secure the recognition of rights to which they are justly entitled.

We, therefore, declare ourselves in favor of the formation of a thorough Federation, embracing every Trade and Labor Organization in America, organized under the Trade Union system.

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.—NAME.

This Association shall be known as THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, and shall consist of such Trade and Labor Unions as shall conform to its rules and regulations.

ARTICLE II.—OBJECTS.

SECTION 1. The object of this Federation shall be the encouragement and formation of local Trade and Labor Unions, and the closer federation of such societies through the organization of Central Trade and Labor Unions in every city, and the further combination of such bodies into State, Territorial, or Provincial organizations to secure legislation in the interest of the working masses.

SEC. 2. The establishment of National and International Trade Unions, based upon a strict recognition of the autonomy of each trade, and the promotion and advancement of such bodies.

SEC. 3. The establishment of Departments composed of National or International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, of the same industry, and which Departments shall be governed in conformity with the laws of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 4. An American Federation of all National and International Trade Unions, to

aid and assist each other; to aid and encourage the sale of union label goods, and to secure legislation in the interest of the working people, and influence public opinion, by peaceful and legal methods, in favor of organized labor.

SEC. 5. To aid and encourage the labor press of America.

ARTICLE III.—CONVENTION.

SECTION 1. The Convention of the Federation shall meet annually at 10 a. m., on the second Monday in June, at such place as the delegates have selected at the preceding Convention.

SEC. 2. At the opening of the Convention the President shall take the chair and call the Convention to order, and preside during its sessions.

SEC. 3. The following committees, consisting of fifteen members each, shall be appointed by the President: First, Rules and Order of Business; second, Report of Executive Council; third, Resolutions; fourth, Laws; fifth, Organization; sixth, Labels; seventh, Adjustment; eighth, Local and Federated Bodies; ninth, Education; tenth, State Organizations; eleventh, Boycotts; twelfth, Building Trades (to which shall be referred all grievances and other matters pertaining exclusively to the building trades).

SEC. 4. The President shall direct the chief executive officers of three National or International Unions, at least ten days previous to the holding of the Annual Convention, to appoint one delegate each from their respective delegations-elect, who shall compose an Auditing Committee. The committee shall meet at such place as the President of the American Federation of Labor may direct, and at such time prior to the Convention as the President may determine is necessary for the proper performance of their duty; and they shall audit the accounts of the Federation for the preceding twelve months, and report upon credentials immediately upon the opening of the Convention. The expense of said committee shall be paid out of the funds of the Federation.

SEC. 5. Resolutions of any character or propositions for changes in this Constitution can not be introduced after the second day's session, except by unanimous consent.

SEC. 6. The Convention shall have power to order an executive session at any time.

SEC. 7. None other than members of a bona fide Trade Union shall be permitted to address the Convention or read papers therein, except by a two-thirds vote of the Convention.

SEC. 8. Party politics, whether they be Democratic, Republican, Socialistic, Populist, Prohibition, or any other, shall have

no place in the Conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 9. The rules and order of business governing the preceding Convention shall be in force from the opening of any Convention of the American Federation of Labor until new rules have been adopted by action of the Convention.

Sec. 10. A quorum for the transaction of business shall consist of not less than one-fourth of the delegates attending a Convention.

Sec. 11. No grievance shall be considered by any Convention that has been decided by a previous Convention, except upon the recommendation of the Executive Council, nor shall any grievance be considered where the parties thereto have not previously held a conference and attempted to adjust the same themselves.

ARTICLE IV.—REPRESENTATION.

SECTION 1. The basis of representation in the Convention shall be: From National and International Unions, for less than four thousand members, one delegate; four thousand or more, two delegates; eight thousand or more, three delegates; sixteen thousand or more, four delegates; thirty-two thousand or more, five delegates, and so on. From Central Bodies, State Federations, National Departments, Federal Labor Unions, and Local Unions having no National or International Union, one delegate; provided, however, that Local Unions and Federal Labor Unions herein referred to, located in one city, shall have the right to unite in sending a delegate to represent them unitedly. Only bona fide wage workers who are not members of, or eligible to membership in, other Trade Unions, shall be eligible as delegates from Federal Labor Unions.

Sec. 2. The delegates shall be elected at least two weeks previous to the Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, and the names of such delegates shall be forwarded to the Secretary of this body immediately after their election.

Sec. 3. Questions may be decided by division or a show of hands, but if a call of the roll is demanded by one-tenth of the delegates present, each delegate shall cast one vote for every one hundred members or major fraction thereof which he represents, provided that the delegate's union has been affiliated with the Federation for the full fiscal year preceding the Convention. When affiliated for a period of less than one year, each delegate shall cast one-twelfth of one vote for each one hundred members or major fraction thereof which he represents for each month for which per capita tax has been paid upon the members of his union. No City or State Federation shall be allowed more than one vote.

Sec. 4. The Secretary shall prepare for use of the Convention printed poll lists, containing the number of votes the delegates from National and International Unions are entitled to, based upon the average membership during the year, from reports made to the office of the Federation not later than April 30 preceding the Annual Convention.

Sec. 5. No organization or person that has seceded, or has been suspended, or expelled, by the American Federation of Labor, or by any National or International organization connected with the Federation, shall, while under such penalty, be allowed representation or recognition in this Federation, or in any Central Body or National or International Union connected with the American Federation of Labor, under the penalty of the suspension of the body violating this section.

Sec. 6. No organization shall be entitled to representation unless such organization has applied for and obtained a certificate of affiliation at least one month prior to the Convention, and no person shall be recognized as a delegate who is not a member in good standing of the organization he is elected to represent.

ARTICLE V.—OFFICERS.

SECTION 1. The officers of the Federation shall consist of a President, eight Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, and a Treasurer, to be elected by the Convention on the last day of the session, and these officers shall be the Executive Council.

Sec. 2. The President and Secretary shall be members of the succeeding Convention in case they are not delegates, but without vote.

Sec. 3. All elective officers shall be members of a local organization connected with the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 4. The terms of the officers of the American Federation of Labor shall expire on the first day of August succeeding the Convention.

Sec. 5. The President and Secretary shall engage suitable offices in the same building at Washington, D. C., for the transaction of the business of the organization.

Sec. 6. All books and financial accounts shall at all times be open to the inspection of the President and Executive Council.

ARTICLE VI.—DUTIES OF PRESIDENT.

SECTION 1. It shall be the duty of the President to preside at the Annual Convention; to exercise supervision of the Federation throughout its jurisdiction; to sign all official documents, and to travel, with the consent of the Executive Council, whenever required, in the interest of the Federation.

Sec. 2. The President shall submit to the Secretary, at the end of each month, an itemized account of all moneys, traveling and incidental, expended by him in the interest of the Federation; and shall report to the Annual Convention of the Federation, through the report of the Executive Council.

Sec. 3. The President, if not a delegate, shall have the casting vote in case of a tie, but shall not vote at other times. He shall be required to devote all his time to the interest of the Federation.

Sec. 4. The President shall call meetings of the Executive Council, when necessary, and shall preside over their deliberations, and shall receive for his services \$10,000 per annum, payable weekly.

Sec. 5. In case of a vacancy in the office of President by death, resignation, or other cause, the Secretary shall perform the duties of the President until his successor is elected. In that event it shall be the duty of the Secretary to issue, within six days from the date of vacancy, a call for a meeting of the Executive Council at headquarters for the purpose of electing a President to fill said vacancy.

ARTICLE VII.—DUTIES OF SECRETARY.

SECTION 1. The duties of the Secretary shall be to take charge of all books, papers, and effects of the general office; to conduct the correspondence pertaining to his office; to furnish the elective officers with the necessary stationery; to convene and act as Secretary at the Annual Convention, and to furnish the Committee on Credentials at the Convention a statement of the financial standing of each affiliated body; to forward on March 1st and September 1st of each year to the secretaries of all affiliated organizations a list of the names and addresses of secretaries and organizers.

Sec. 2. The Secretary shall keep all letters, documents, accounts, etc., in such manner as the Annual Convention may direct; he shall receive and collect all moneys due the Federation and pay them to the Treasurer, taking his receipt therefor; provided, that he may retain in his hands a sum not exceeding \$2,000 for current expenses, which money shall be paid out only on the approval of the President.

Sec. 3. The Secretary shall submit to the Auditing Committee, for their inspection, vouchers for all moneys expended; close all accounts of the Federation on April 30 of each year, and all moneys received or disbursed after such date shall not be reported in the general balance account of the ensuing Convention. He shall print the financial statement quarterly as a separate document and forward copy to all affiliated national and international unions, state federations of labor, city central bodies and directly affiliated local unions.

Sec. 4. The Secretary shall give a bond of \$2,000 for the faithful performance of his duties, and shall report to the Annual Convention of the Federation, through the report of the Executive Council, and for his services he shall receive \$7,500 per annum, payable weekly.

Sec. 5. The Secretary shall issue stamps to Local and Federal Labor Unions, which shall be used by such unions with which to receipt for members' dues.

Sec. 6. It shall be the duty of each International, National, Local Trade and Federal Labor Union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to furnish to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor a copy of all official reports issued by such affiliated organizations containing a statement of their membership in good standing, and to furnish such additional statistical data as may be called for by the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor as may be in the possession of the respective unions.

ARTICLE VIII.—DUTIES OF TREASURER.

SECTION 1. The Treasurer shall receive and take charge of all moneys, property, and securities of the Federation delivered to him by the Secretary or other officers of the American Federation of Labor. All funds of the American Federation of Labor exceeding fifteen thousand dollars shall be deposited by the Treasurer in bank, or banks, on interest-bearing certificates of deposit in the name of the American Federation of Labor, and in order to be cashed shall require the signatures of the Treasurer, the President, and Secretary of the Federation. The Treasurer shall collect the interest on all such certificates or other deposit at the expiration of each six months and pay the same over to the Secretary. The Treasurer shall deposit in open account in bank or banks, in the name of the American Federation of Labor as Treasurer, all amounts in his possession not on certificates of deposit, and before any money thus deposited can be drawn each check shall be signed by him as Treasurer. A copy of this section shall be forwarded by the President of the Federation to each bank upon which the Federation holds certificates of deposit.

Sec. 2. The Treasurer shall pay, through the Secretary, all warrants regularly drawn on him, signed by the President and countersigned by the Secretary, as required by this Constitution, and none others.

Sec. 3. The Treasurer shall submit to the Annual Convention, through the report of the Executive Council, a complete statement

of all receipts and disbursements during his term of office, and at the expiration of his term of office he shall deliver up to his successor all moneys, securities, books, and papers of the Federation under his control; and for the faithful performance of his duties he shall give a bond in such sum as the Executive Council may determine. The annual salary of the Treasurer shall be \$500.

ARTICLE IX.—EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

SECTION 1. It shall be the duty of the Executive Council to watch legislative measures directly affecting the interests of working people, and to initiate, whenever necessary, such legislative action as the Convention may direct.

Sec. 2. The Executive Council shall use every possible means to organize new National or International Trade or Labor Unions, and to organize Local Trade and Labor Unions, and connect them with the Federation until such time as there is a sufficient number to form a National or International Union, when it shall be the duty of the President of the Federation to see that such organization is formed.

Sec. 3. When a National or International Union has been formed, the President shall notify all Local Unions of that trade to affiliate with such National or International Union, and unless said notification be complied with, within three months, their charters shall be revoked.

Sec. 4. The Executive Council shall also prepare and present to the Convention, in printed form, a concise statement of the details leading up to approved and pending boycotts (and all matters of interest to the Convention), and no indorsement for a boycott shall be considered by the Convention except it has been so reported by the Executive Council.

Sec. 5. While we recognize the right of each trade to manage its own affairs, it shall be the duty of the Executive Council to secure the unification of all labor organizations, so far as to assist each other in any trade dispute.

Sec. 6. Whenever the revenue of the Federation shall warrant such action, the Executive Council shall authorize the sending out of Trade Union speakers from place to place in the interests of the Federation.

Sec. 7. The remuneration for organizers of the American Federation of Labor shall be \$8.00 per day as salary, actual railroad fare, and hotel expenses of \$6.00 per day when traveling away from their home city. The remuneration for services of members of the Executive Council, fraternal delegates, interpreters and speakers, or other persons temporarily employed by the American Federation of Labor shall be determined by the Executive Council.

Sec. 8. The Executive Council shall have power to make the rules to govern matters not in conflict with this Constitution, or the constitution of affiliated unions, and shall report accordingly to the Federation.

Sec. 9. In the event of a vacancy of any member of the Executive Council, other than that of the President, by reason of death, resignation, or other cause, the President shall make such vacancy known to the Executive Council, and shall call for nominations. The names of all nominees shall be submitted to the Executive Council, and it shall require a majority vote of the Executive Council to elect. Upon each unsuccessful balloting the name of the candidate receiving the lowest number of votes shall be dropped.

Sec. 10. All Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions holding charters direct from the American Federation of Labor, desiring the assistance of the American Federation of Labor in trade disputes, shall submit to the President of the American Federation of Labor for approval by the Executive Council the full statement of the grievance, and shall receive within twenty (20) days from the President an answer as to whether they will be sustained or not, and no benefits shall be paid where a strike takes place before the Local Union has received the approval of the Executive Council.

Sec. 11. No charter shall be granted by the American Federation of Labor to any National, International, Trade, or Federal Labor Union without a positive and clear definition of the trade jurisdiction claimed by the applicant, and the charter shall not be granted if the jurisdiction claimed is a trespass on the jurisdiction of existing affiliated unions, without the written consent of such unions; no affiliated International, National, or Local Union shall be permitted to change its title or name, if any trespass is made thereby on the jurisdiction of an affiliated organization, without having first obtained the consent and approval of a Convention of the American Federation of Labor; and it is further provided, that should any of the members of such National, International, Trade, or Federal Labor Union work at any other vocation, trade, or profession, they shall join the union of such vocation, trade, or profession, provided such are organized and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 12. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall only have power to revoke the charter of an affiliated National or International Union when the revocation has been ordered by a two-thirds majority of a regular Convention of the American Federation of Labor, by a roll-call vote.

ARTICLE X.—REVENUE.

SECTION 1. The revenue of the Federation shall be derived from a per capita tax to be paid upon the full paid-up membership of all affiliated bodies, as follows: From International or National Trade Unions, a per capita tax of one cent per member per month; from Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions, twenty cents per member per month, five cents of which must be set aside to be used only in case of strike or lockout; Local Unions, the majority of whose members are less than eighteen (18) years of age, two cents per member per month; from Central and State bodies, \$10 per year, payable quarterly.

Sec. 2. Delegates shall not be entitled to a seat in the Annual Convention unless the tax of their organization, as provided for in section 1, Article X, has been paid in full to April 30 preceding the Convention.

Sec. 3. Any organization affiliated with this Federation not paying its per capita tax on or before the 15th of each month shall be notified of the fact by the Secretary of the Federation, and if at the end of three months it is still in arrears it shall become suspended from membership by the Federation, and can be reinstated only by a vote of the Convention when such arrearages are paid in full, as provided in section 2 of this Article.

ARTICLE XI.—LOCAL CENTRAL BODIES.

SECTION 1. No Central Labor Union, or any other central body of delegates, shall admit to or retain in their councils delegates from any local organization that owes its allegiance to any other body, National or

International, hostile to any affiliated organization, or that has been suspended or expelled by, or not connected with, a National or International organization of their trade herein affiliated; nor are delegates to be seated from locals of National or International organizations which are not affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, under penalty of having their charter revoked for violation of their charter, subject to appeal to the next Convention.

Sec. 2. It shall be the duty of all National and International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to instruct their Local Unions to join chartered Central Labor Bodies, Departments, and State Federations in their vicinity where such exist. Similar instructions shall be given by the American Federation of Labor to all Trade and Federal Labor Unions under its jurisdiction.

Sec. 3. Where there are one or more Local Unions in any city belonging to any National or International Union affiliated with this Federation they may organize a Trades Assembly or Central Labor Union, or shall join such body if already in existence.

Sec. 4. The Executive Council and Local Central Labor Unions shall use all possible means to organize and connect as Local Unions to National or International Unions the organizations in their vicinity; to aid the formation of National or International Unions where none exist, and to organize Federal Labor Unions where the number of craftsmen precludes any other form of organization.

Sec. 5. No Central Labor Union, or other central body of delegates, shall have the authority or power to order any organization, affiliated with such Central Labor Union, or other central labor body, on strike, or take a strike vote, where such organization has a national organization, until the proper authorities of such National or International organization have been consulted and agreed to such action. A violation of this law shall be sufficient cause for the Executive Council to revoke the charter.

Sec. 6. Separate charters may be issued to Central Labor Unions, Local Unions, or Federal Labor Unions, composed exclusively of colored members, where, in the judgment of the Executive Council, it appears advisable and to the best interest of the Trade Union movement to do so.

Sec. 7. No Central Labor Union, or other central body of delegates, shall have authority or power to originate a boycott, nor shall such bodies indorse and order the placing of the name of any person, firm, or corporation on an unfair list until the Local Union desiring the same has, before declaring the boycott, submitted the matter in dispute to the Central Body for investigation, and the best endeavors on its part to effect an amicable settlement. Violation of this section shall forfeit charter.

Sec. 8. No Central Body or Department affiliated with the American Federation of Labor shall reject credentials presented by a duly elected or appointed delegation of a Local Union chartered by a National or an International Union having affiliation with the American Federation of Labor; provided, however, that upon written charges, signed by at least three delegates, any delegate of an affiliated Union may, upon conviction after a fair trial, be expelled or suspended. Action of the Central Body under this section shall be subject to appeal to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and no delegation representing Local Unions affiliated,

as herein described, shall be suspended or expelled until like action is taken.

Sec. 9. No Central Body shall take part in the adjustment of wage contracts, wage disputes or working rules of Local Unions, affiliated with a National or International Union, unless the laws of the National or International Union permit, except upon the request or consent of the executive officer of the National or International Union affected.

Sec. 10. Local Unions of National or International Unions affiliated with the Departments attached to the American Federation of Labor, in any city where a Local Department exists, shall not be eligible to membership in any Local Department unless they are connected with the chartered Central Body, nor shall they be eligible to membership in the Central Body unless they are affiliated with the Local Department.

ARTICLE XII.—ASSESSMENT IN DEFENSE OF NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS.

SECTION 1. The Executive Council shall have power to declare a levy of one cent per member per week on all affiliated unions for a period not exceeding ten weeks in any one year, to assist in the support of an affiliated National or International Union engaged in a protracted strike or lockout.

Sec. 2. Any Union, International, National, or Local, failing to pay within sixty days the levies declared in accordance with Section 1 shall be deprived of representation in Convention of the American Federation of Labor and in City Central Bodies affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

ARTICLE XIII.—DEFENSE FUND FOR LOCAL TRADE AND FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS.

SECTION 1. The money of the defense fund shall be drawn only to sustain strikes or lockouts of Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions when such strikes or lockouts are authorized, indorsed, and conducted in conformity with the following provisions of this Article:

Sec. 2. In the event of a disagreement between a Local Union and an employer which, in the opinion of the Local Union, may result in a strike, such Union shall notify the President of the American Federation of Labor, who shall investigate, or cause an investigation to be made of the disagreement, and endeavor to adjust the difficulty. If his efforts should prove futile, he shall take such steps as he may deem necessary in notifying the Executive Council, and if the majority of said Council shall decide that a strike is necessary such Union shall be authorized to order a strike, but that under no circumstances shall a strike or lockout be deemed legal, or moneys expended from the defense fund on that account, unless the strike or lockout shall have been first authorized and approved by the President and Executive Council.

Sec. 3. When a strike has been authorized and approved by the President and Executive Council, the President of the Local Union interested shall, within twenty-four hours, call a meeting of said Union, of which every member shall be regularly notified, to take action thereon and no member shall vote on such question unless he is in good standing. Should three-fourths of the members present decide, by secret ballot, on a strike, the president of the Local Union shall imme-

diately notify the President of the American Federation of Labor of the cause of the matter in dispute; what the wages, hours, and conditions of labor then are; what advances, if any, are sought; what reductions are offered, if any; state the number employed and unemployed; the state of trade generally in the locality, and the number of persons involved, union and non-union; also the number of members who would become entitled to the benefits herein provided should the application be authorized and approved.

Sec. 4. No Local shall be entitled to benefit from the defense fund unless it has been in continuous good standing for one year; and no member shall be entitled to benefit from said defense fund unless he has been a member in good standing in the American Federation of Labor for at least one year.

Sec. 5. When a strike has been inaugurated under the provisions of Sections 2 and 3, the American Federation of Labor shall pay to the bonded officer of the Union involved, or his order, for a period of six weeks, an amount equal to six (\$6) dollars per week for each member. Each Local Union shall require its treasurer to give proper bond for the safe-keeping and disbursement of all funds of the Local. No benefit shall be paid for the first two weeks of the strike. The Executive Council shall have the power to authorize the payment of strike benefits for an additional period.

Sec. 6. No member of a Local Union on strike shall be entitled to weekly benefits unless he reports daily to the proper officer of the Local Union while the strike continues, and no member who shall receive a week's work, three days to be a week, shall receive benefits. Any member refusing other work while on strike (providing said work is not in conflict with labor's interests) shall not be entitled to any benefits.

Sec. 7. Any Union inaugurating a strike without the approval of the Executive Council shall not receive benefits on account of said strike.

Sec. 8. In case of lockout or the victimization of members, the Executive Council shall have power to pay benefits if, upon investigation, it is found that the Local Union whose members are involved did not by their actions or demands provoke the lockout by their employer.

Sec. 9. During the continuance of a strike the executive board of the Local Union shall make weekly reports to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, showing the amount of money distributed for benefits, and to whom paid, furnishing individual receipts to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor from all members to whom such benefits have been paid, and all other facts that may be required.

Sec. 10. Before a strike shall be declared off a special meeting of the Union shall be called for that purpose, and it shall require a majority vote of all members present to decide the question either way.

Sec. 11. In the event of the defense fund becoming dangerously low through protracted strike or lockout, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall have the power to levy an assessment of ten cents on each member of Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, assessments to be restricted to not more than five per year; and further, that there shall always be a surplus of five thousand (\$5,000) dollars in the defense fund.

Sec. 12. No Local shall be entitled to any of the benefits of the defense fund unless it requires its members to pay not less than

seventy-five (75) cents per month. The financial secretaries and the treasurers of each Local Trade or Federal Labor Union directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor shall, through the Secretary of the Federation, bond said financial officers in such sums as shall be adequate to protect its funds.

Sac. 13. Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions shall set aside for the maintenance of a local defense fund not less than five cents a month from each member.

Sac. 14. That initiation fees charged by directly affiliated Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions shall be not less than \$2.00 or more than \$10.00, and that one-fourth of each initiation fee received by such Local Trade or Federal Labor Union shall be forwarded to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, together with the per capita tax, accompanied by a monthly report giving the number of members paid for, and names of those initiated, reinstated, suspended and expelled, and number of members upon whom back per capita tax is being paid and months paid for, on blanks to be furnished by the Secretary of the Federation. When dues are paid, the Financial Secretary of the Local Union shall place a per capita tax stamp in the member's due book. These stamps must be used. Suspended members can be reinstated only by the payment of three months' back per capita tax, in addition to the tax for the current month, and a fee of 25 cents for reinstatement stamp.

Sac. 15. That traveling cards issued to members by Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions shall admit members presenting the same to membership in Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor.

Sac. 16. That Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions shall be prohibited from assessing their members or appropriating their funds for any purpose other than union or American Federation of Labor purposes. That each directly affiliated union shall forward monthly to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor a complete statement of all funds received and expended.

Sac. 17. No Local Trade or Federal Labor Union shall disband so long as seven members desire to retain the charter. Upon the dissolution of any Local Trade or Federal Labor Union all funds and property of any character shall revert to the American Federation of Labor.

ARTICLE XIV.—MISCELLANEOUS.

SECTION 1. Certificates of affiliation shall be granted by the President of the Federation, by and with the consent of the Executive Council, to all National and International Unions and local bodies affiliated with this Federation.

Sac. 2. Seven wage-workers of good character, following any trade or calling, who are favorable to Trade Unions, whose trade or calling is not organized, and are not members of any body affiliated with this Federation, who will subscribe to this Constitution, shall have the power to form a local body to be known as a "Federal Labor Union," and they shall hold regular meetings for the purpose of strengthening and advancing the Trade Union movement, and shall have power to make their own rules in conformity with this Constitution, and shall be granted a local certificate by the President of this Federation; provided, the request for a certificate be indorsed by the nearest Local or National Trade Union officials connected with this Federation, but not more

than three Federal Labor Unions shall be chartered in any one city. Employers who are working for wages, may, upon regular ballot, be admitted to membership in Federal Labor or Local Unions, directly affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, subject to the approval of the President of the American Federation of Labor. Such members shall not attend meetings of the unions or have a vote in controlling the affairs of the unions; they must comply with the scale of wages and rules adopted by the union of which they are members. The President of the American Federation of Labor shall have authority to appoint any person who is a member of any affiliated union to audit the accounts of such Federal Labor or Local Trade Unions as the President of the American Federation of Labor may direct and report the result thereof to the President of the American Federation of Labor. The books and accounts of each Federal Labor and Local Trade Union shall be at all times open to the inspection of auditors appointed under this section.

Sac. 3. The certificate fee for affiliated bodies shall be five (\$5) dollars, payable to the Secretary of the Federation, and the fee shall accompany the application.

Sac. 4. The American Federation of Labor shall refer all applications for certificates of affiliation from Local Unions or Federal Labor Unions from a vicinity where a chartered Central Labor Union exists to that body for investigation and approval.

Sac. 5. Certificates of affiliation shall not be granted by State Federations of Labor. That power is vested solely in the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the executive officers of National and International Unions affiliated therewith.

Sac. 6. Fraternal delegates attending the Convention of the American Federation of Labor shall be entitled to all the rights of delegates from Central Bodies.

ARTICLE XV.—GENERAL RULES GOVERNING DEPARTMENTS OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

SECTION 1. For the greater development of the labor movement, departments subordinate to the American Federation of Labor are to be established from time to time as in the judgment of the American Federation of Labor, or of its Executive Council, may be deemed advisable. Each department is to manage and finance its own affairs.

Sac. 2. To be entitled to representation in any department, organizations eligible to join it must first be and remain in affiliation to the American Federation of Labor.

Sac. 3. To be entitled to representation in Local Councils, or Railway System Federations of departments, Local Unions are required to be part of affiliated National or International Unions affiliated to departments, or directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor. Said Local Unions shall first be and remain in affiliation to Central Labor Unions chartered by the American Federation of Labor.

Sac. 4. The fundamental laws and procedure of each department are to conform to, and be administered in the same manner as the laws and procedure governing the American Federation of Labor. No Department, Local Council or Railway System Federation of same shall enact laws, rules, or regulations in conflict with the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor, and in the event of change of laws and procedure of the latter, Department, Local Councils, and Rail-

way System Federations are to change their laws and procedure to conform thereto.

Sec. 5. Each department to be considered the official method of the American Federation of Labor for transacting the portion of its business indicated by the name of the department in consequence of which affiliated and eligible organizations should be part of their respective departments and should comply with their actions and decisions, subject to appeal therefrom to the Executive Council and the conventions of the American Federation of Labor. When an organization has interests in departments other than the one of its principal affiliation, in which it shall pay per capita tax upon its entire membership, it is to be represented in and pay per capita tax to the other departments upon the number of members whose occupations come under such other departments, but this in no instance shall be less than 20 per cent of the membership upon which it pays per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 6. Departments of the American Federation of Labor are to have their headquarters located in the city of Washington, D. C., and if possible in the same building with the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor, unless there are reasons to the contrary satisfactory to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 7. Departments of the American Federation of Labor shall hold their conventions immediately before or after the Convention of the American Federation of Labor and in the same city where the Convention of the American Federation of Labor is held, at which time and place their laws and procedure shall be made to conform to the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor and to go into effect the first day of August immediately following, to conform to the date when the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor go into effect. For reasons of transportation, expediency and the methods of representation the Railway, Metal Trades and Mining Departments may hold conventions at other dates and places, and in that event said departments shall authorize their

executive boards to have said departments' laws conform to the preceding portion of this section.

Sec. 8. The Executive Council of each department shall consist of not more than seven members, including the executive officer or officers thereof. This not to apply to or interfere with the procedure on this subject found to be essential in the Railway Department.

Sec. 9. The officers of each department shall report to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor that the department has conformed to the laws, procedure and actions of the American Federation of Labor as they affect each department.

Sec. 10. In the Building Trades Department (on the basis of its law of 1913), organizations having seven or more delegates, each such delegate shall on roll-call be entitled to two votes. A roll-call shall be held upon the demand of one-fourth of all delegates whose credentials have been accepted and who have been seated in the conventions.

Sec. 11. The officers of the various departments shall submit a quarterly report to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor of the work done by their department, and its general condition.

Sec. 12. At all regular meetings of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, there shall be present, during some period of the Council meeting, the executive officer or officers of each department, to take up with the Council matters that may be of mutual interest.

Sec. 13. A page of each issue of the *American Federationist* to be available to and to be used by each department for official report or for publication of some subject identified with the department, each department to designate its officer to submit the report.

ARTICLE XVI.—AMENDMENTS.

This Constitution can be amended or altered only at a regular session of the Convention and to do so it shall require a two-thirds vote.

THIRTY-NINTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

of the

American Federation of Labor

1919

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

FIRST DAY--Monday Morning Session

The Steel Pier,
Atlantic City, N. J., June 9, 1919.

Pursuant to law, the thirty-ninth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor was called to order at ten o'clock A. M. by President Samuel Gompers.

President Gompers: It becomes my pleasurable duty to call this convention to order and to ask the secretary to read a cable message to this convention from the President of the United States.

Secretary Morrison read the following:

THE WHITE HOUSE,

Washington. June 5, 1919.

My dear Mr. Gompers:

I am enclosing a message from the President to the 39th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor.

With kind regards,

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) J. P. TUMULTY,

Secretary to the President.

Mr. Samuel Gompers,
Alamac Hotel,
Atlantic City, N. J.

Enclosure.

(Copy VLY)

Cablegram.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington.

Paris, (Recd. 10.54 a. m. June 5, '19.)

American Federation of Labor,
Atlantic City, New Jersey.

May I not send my warm greetings to the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor and express my deep gratification that the international conferences which have grown out of the discussions of peace have led to a much fuller and more adequate comprehension of the questions of labor to which statesmen throughout the world must direct their most thoughtful attention? It has been a real happiness to me to be of a little service in these great matters.

I cannot justly refrain when sending this message from expressing in very warm terms the appreciation felt by all who have been dealing with labor matters of the invaluable service rendered by Mr. Gompers. He has won universal confidence and has firmly established in international circles as well as at home the reputation of the American Federation of Labor for sane and helpful counsel.

WOODROW WILSON.

The message was enthusiastically received by the delegates and was made a part of the records.

Hon. Harry Bacharach, mayor of Atlantic City, welcomed the delegates on behalf of the city.

ADDRESS OF MAYOR BACHARACH

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: I am sure that it is a mere matter of form for the mayor to welcome you to this city, if for no other reason than that you have in your midst one of the most distinguished citizens of the United States, one of the most loyal and patriotic men this country has ever produced, one who this country can thank God is at the head of the labor movement and who the labor movement can thank God is at the head of it, in the person of your President, Samuel Gompers. I repeat that if for no other reason than that you have this stalwart patriot among you and as your leader it would be a mere matter of form for me to welcome you.

But in addition to that, the fact that you represent over four millions of our people, that you represent and stand for what you do, makes you feel and know that you are welcome, not only in Atlantic City, but in any city in this great country of ours, because if there is any bulwark that stands today before this country and means so much to the country, it is organized labor. If we are going to be saved from the strife and turmoil of what has happened in Europe, it is because of conservative organized labor. And so, my friends, it is a great honor as well as a privilege and a pleasure, to welcome you here today. It has been my pleasure to welcome many conventions to our city, and we have been proud to welcome them, but I assure you that if for no other reasons than patriotic reasons, we deem it an honor and a privilege to have you here. We are proud of our city, proud of many things, proud of its magnificent boardwalk, of our magnificent streets, better lighted and paved and kept cleaner than those of any city in the country, proud of our business enterprises and magnificent hotels. Above all, we are proud of the loyalty of our citizens. There wasn't a drive made for funds of any description but what we went "over the top," but over and above that, from the day the first boy left here—we didn't wait for Congress to act—we organized what we called the Liberty Club and we took care of the dependents of our soldiers and sailors, not in a mean and miserly manner, but in a manner befitting the soldiers and sailors of the United States. In this great playground of ours, more than 3500 young men went forth to fight for your country and my country.

And I want to say this to you—while we want conventions of all kinds here, we want no convention that does not contain men and women one hundred per cent. American citizens. We believe that the man or the woman who is willing to fight and die, if necessary, for Old Glory, who is not willing to stand for the things Old Glory stands for, should go back to the country from whence he or she came.

So, my friends, we feel that we are welcoming a patriotic convention in a patriotic city. We feel that this war has settled more or less, or will settle the great prob-

lems that are confronting labor and capital. We cannot help but feel that when the boy from the mill was fighting alongside of, perhaps the son of the owner of the mill on the fields of France, they understood each other better, and that when they come back and get settled down the questions that are confronting this country, not you alone, but the questions between capital and labor, will be more easily settled without strike and without turmoil. If this war has done nothing else it has at least shown us that there is no north, south, east or west in this country.

Mr. President, in behalf of the citizens of Atlantic City, I extend to you and through you to your convention a most cordial welcome to our city, and we trust that your stay will be enjoyable and profitable—not profitable to you alone as individuals, not profitable alone to your wonderful organization, but above all that it will be profitable to this great and glorious country of ours. In behalf of our citizens I present to you, and through you to the convention, not only the key to Atlantic City, but the key to our hearts as well.

President Gompers stated that invitations had been extended to Hon. William B. Wilson, Secretary of the Department of Labor, and to Hon. William N. Runyon, Governor of the State of New Jersey, to address the convention, and that the Governor's visit would be delayed on account of an engagement in another part of the State. He stated that Secretary Wilson would address the convention later.

ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT ARTHUR A. QUINN, OF THE NEW JERSEY STATE FEDERATION OF LABOR.

Mr. President and Delegates: There is a saying that "all things come to him who waits," and after many, many years waiting on the part of the trade unionists of this State our wishes were at last gratified when the American Federation of Labor decided to hold what I believe will be the most important convention in its history within the boundaries of our State. It therefore gives me great pleasure, in behalf of the trade unionists of historic old New Jersey, to extend to you a sincere and hearty welcome, and to express the hope that the deliberations of this convention will be of such a character and nature as to bring hope to the toiling masses of this country.

It is fitting that the most important convention ever held by labor should be held in New Jersey, for New Jersey is replete with history, for it was here that many of the great events in the early periods of this great nation took place, when the early patriots were battling for freedom and the right to govern themselves. Labor is now confronted—and not only is labor concerned, but society as we understand it is concerned—with very many vital problems, and society as a whole believes there is no gathering of men better fitted or better qualified to promulgate some plan whereby these problems may be solved than in this convention here today. The men and women composing this gathering are in their daily lives confronted with these great problems. They are confronted with the problem of self-preservation, they are dealing with real questions, not with theories, and you men and women assembled here today will have these questions coming

before you during the coming two weeks, and the action that you take will be watched carefully by not only the working people, but by all classes of society. We trade unionists in New Jersey and of the entire nation, in fact, the men in all walks of life, have their ears close to the ground to hear what the American Federation of Labor convention is going to propose to bring about this readjustment that we hear so much about.

We also hear the word "reconstruction," but there is nothing to be reconstructed in our country. There is, however, a readjustment, there are certain exposures to be made, there are certain drastic steps to be taken in order that justice may be attained. There seems to be at the present time a wave of profiteering extending over our entire nation; there seems to be a craze for money on the part of our business people. In the building line, in which I am directly connected, we find it impossible to go ahead with our work. Why? Because the large supply companies have apparently combined to keep prices up; the cement companies, the brick companies, the lumber companies have got material beyond the reach of men who are willing to invest their money; they have got material beyond the reach of those industries, and material must come down if we are to restore normal conditions in the building line.

We expect the American Federation of Labor to make some suggestion whereby we can bring about some solution of this apparently intricate question. The lumber men, the supply men and others are apparently standing pat and will not reduce the cost of materials, and we expect therefore, Mr. President, that the American Federation of Labor will make some suggestions whereby we can bring both parties together and restore the building line to its normal basis. It is not my intention to dictate your line of policy, but merely to say that we expect these things to be done, and to again reaffirm the thought of the trade unionists of New Jersey: that we hope the deliberations of this convention will redound to the good of society as a whole.

ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT GOMPERS

To you, Mr. Mayor, and Mr. Quinn, I think that I but faintly interpret the feelings of the delegates when I say that we are deeply grateful for your words of welcome and your commendation of our efforts. We rather like Atlantic City and once in a great while we come here. There is one particular thing that you, Mr. Mayor, omitted in your address to us. I have reference to the wonderful qualities and attributes of Atlantic City you made no reference at all to your ocean. A small thing like the Atlantic Ocean—it was my duty to cross the Atlantic four times within the past ten months and I can't forget it. I assume that having it before you all the year round, it is a commonplace thing. However, I think it is not taking anything from any other resort when I express the belief that in my judgment, having travelled pretty well all over America and considerably in Europe, there is no place, all things considered, comparable to Atlantic City, in winter or in summer. Although you sometimes have the severity of it all, it is really wonderful.

However, it is not to that that I should address my thoughts this morning. The

American people were one hundred per cent. determined to see to it that the opportunity of the democratic peoples of the world to live their own lives should be made secure. To us it seems, or we were convinced, that if the representatives of militarism and autocracy could win in the war there would be no opportunity for freedom generally, nor could there be room in the whole world for a well-ordered and well-developed labor movement to protect the rights and interests of the working people. It was the fuller opportunity and the larger freedom, the atmosphere in which the labor movement can only live—these were menaced and at stake, and in our judgment, made good by our actions, we threw our lot upon the side of those who stood for the largest measure of freedom in the controversy. And our movement has made good; there hasn't been any question as to the straightforwardness of our course.

The war, for all practical purposes, is over and the day for reconstruction or readjustment is at hand. The war has brought into play new thoughts of the rights of man, has brought into play and developed the thought that the relations between nation and nation must be better than they have ever been in the history of the world, and that the relations between man and man, whether he occupy a position of supposed power or wealth, be he an employer, be he a skilled mechanic or a ditch digger—the man who produces the wealth, the workers of America, the workers of the world are determined that this new concept of the relation between man and man and this new concept of the right of the workers to have a voice in the determination of the conditions of their labor and of their lives shall be recognized.

I am very proud and gratified to know that to a very large extent this new concept is being accepted and expressed by employers, yet there are other employers who, like the Bourbons of old, never learned anything, never forgot anything because they never learned anything, and to whom the whole war and all the sacrifices and all the untold numbers of men and women who gave up their lives that the principles for which the war was conducted should be made living issues, not for the war itself, not for fighting, not for taking other human beings' lives, but for an ideal, for a principle—these are the thoughts that prompted the men and the women of our time to make such tremendous sacrifices—sacrifices unknown in any other period of the world's history. In making those sacrifices it was not the intention, nor was it even within the innermost recesses of the mind that the principles for which we contended in making those sacrifices should be lost when the war was won. In all the history of the world it has been the men of labor, the hewers of wood and the drawers of water who have been compelled to bear the burdens of life. If there was any unfreedom, it was they who suffered; if there was any tyranny it was they upon whom it was imposed.

Well, in the year of grace 1919, sanctified by more than four years of blood-letting, the day of tyranny and autocracy, whether it be in the political life or the industrial life of our peoples, has gone. Very recently an industrial concern in Toledo refused point-blank to reconsider an arbitrary action taken by the company in increasing the

hours of labor of the workers. If any employer believes that industrial autocracy or industrial despotism is going to prevail in the United States of America, he has counted and is counting without his host. The principles for which this labor movement has been contending from its very inception must come to full fruition. We are making no unjust or unwarranted demands upon society or upon employers as such, but for the service which the men and the women of labor give to society, a service without which civilization itself would perish—for that service we insist upon a return that shall give us the opportunity to live a full-rounded life, ourselves, our wives, our children, our dependents, and to make of this country of ours and of this world of ours a place worthy of the civilization of our time.

We have some concept of our duties and our responsibilities, and we have been honored by being told frankly and freely that we have shown our full appreciation of the responsibilities which rest upon us. The history of the labor movement will, to the future historian, be the greatest source of information and inspiration. We are growing in numbers, in power and in influence. To carry that power and that influence to the fullest extent and to realize our duties to ourselves and to our fellows, and in great appreciation of all that has been done in the past, having a conscious vision for the future, to carry on our work according to the best judgment for results to our fellows—that is the thing to which we will give our attention.

I am confident that out of this gathering of delegates, coming from workshop, mill, mine and store, men representing the bone and sinew of our land, men who know and have experience, will come an accounting to their constituents and to the masses of the people of our country that will do honor and credit to you delegates, as well as bring wonderful achievements for the toiling masses of our country.

We are glad to be here, Mr. Mayor and Mr. President of the State Federation of Labor, and we are profoundly impressed with your words of welcome. For the presentation of the key of the city, with all that it implies, I personally thank you, and inasmuch as we have only this one key the delegates will, metaphorically speaking, regard themselves as being in possession of it. If you don't bother me too much for it outside of the convention, I may let you touch it for good luck.

I now declare this convention open for business.

President Gompers: In order that we may organize as speedily as possible, I will ask the Secretary to read the names suggested for the positions necessary to fill.

Secretary Morrison read the following appointments, which were confirmed by the convention:

Assistant Secretary, William G. Plummer, President Typographical Union No. 377, Atlantic City, N. J.

Sergeant-at-Arms, Charles N. Fox, Jr., Secretary Paperhangers' Union No. 1061, Atlantic City, N. J.

Messenger, Robert D. Hefferin, President Printing Pressmen's Union No. 198, Atlantic City, N. J.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Edwards, Printing Pressmen, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Atlantic City, N. J., June 9, 1919.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Ladies and Gentlemen:

Your Committee on Credentials begs leave to report that they have examined the credentials of 547 delegates, representing 99 International and National Unions, 31 State Branches, 133 Central Bodies, 78 Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, and 4 Fraternal delegates; and recommend that the following be seated:

Asbestos Workers, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators, and — Joseph A. Mullaney, 18 votes.

Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America—A. A. Myrup, Peter Beisel, E. O. Schneider, 210 votes.

Barbers' International Union, Journeymen, Frank X. Noschang, Jacob Fischer, James C. Shanessy, C. F. Foley, Ed. Anderson, 359 votes.

Bill Posters and Billers of America, International Alliance of—Frank Harvey, 16 votes.

Blacksmiths, International Brotherhood of—James W. Kline, Wm. F. Kramer, W. G. Powlesland, 283 votes.

Boiler Makers and Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, Brotherhood of.—J. A. Franklin, Louis Weyand, Charles MacGowan, Charles Scott, Dan McKillop, 849 votes.

Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of.—Walter N. Reddick, Alfred Bieber, Katherine V. Collins, 155 votes.

Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.—Collis Lovely, C. L. Baine, Joseph Ferry, Joseph E. La Couture, Patrick O'Byrne, 868 votes.

Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America, International Union of the United.—Joseph Proebstle, John Sullivan, Albert J. Kugler, John Rader, Joseph Oberfell, 400 votes.

Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America—Wm. J. Bowen, Wm. Dobson, James Hickey, George P. Greeley, Walter V. Price, Edward M. Reynolds, 700 votes.

Brick and Clay Workers' of America, The United—Frank Kasten, 27 votes.

Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' International Association—P. J. Morrin, S. P. Tobin, Thomas F. Slatery, Michael J. Cunnane, 170 votes.

Broom and Whisk Makers' Union, International—Will E. Boyer, 10 votes.

Carmen of America, Brotherhood of Railway—Martin F. Ryan, O. J. Shoemaker, Theodore Thompson, Thomas P. Hyland, 1,004 votes.

Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of—Wm. L. Hutcheson, Frank Duffy, Bob White, J. A. Ross, E. W. Van Duzyn, P. H. McCarthy, 3,079 votes.

Carvers' Association of North America, International Wood—10 votes.

- Cigarmakers' International Union of America—G. W. Perkins, Samuel Gomper, J. Mahlon Barnes, R. S. Sexton, W. A. Campbell, 363 votes.
- Clerks, Brotherhood of Railway—J. J. Forrester, H. B. Odell, Wade Shurtleff, Adam C. Hay, J. W. Nelson, Mabel Emery, 714 votes.
- Clerks' International Protective Association, Retail—E. E. Baker, H. J. Conway, John B. Schulte, 150 votes.
- Coopers' International Union of North America—Andrew C. Hughes, James J. Doyle, 40 votes.
- Cutting, Die and Cutter Makers, International Union of—2 votes.
- Diamond Workers' Protective Union of America—Andries Meyer, 5 votes.
- Draftsmen Union, The International Federation of—Anthony J. Oliver, 13 votes.
- Electrical Workers of America, International Brotherhood of—F. J. McNulty, James P. Noonan, Martin T. Joyce, James J. McAndrews, Julia S. O'Connor, Edward J. Evans, Henry Boyen, 1,312 votes.
- Elevator Constructors, International Union of—Frank Feeney, 30 votes.
- Engineers' Beneficial Association of the United States of America, National Marine—William S. Brown, Robert L. Goelt, 123 votes.
- Engineers, International Union of Steam and Operating—Milton Snellings, Herman M. Comerford, E. L. Edgerton, Albert Peterson, 250 votes.
- Engravers' Union of North America, International Photo—Matthew Woll, Theo. E. Greifyn, 50 votes.
- Engravers' League, International Steel and Copper Plate—1 vote.
- Federal Employees, National Federation of—Luther C. Steward, William E. Junker, Martin J. Leonard, Florence Etheridge, 204 votes.
- Fire Fighters, International Association of—Raymond E. Oden, 154 votes.
- Firemen and Oilers, International Brotherhood of Stationary—Timothy Healy, C. L. Shamp, Joseph W. Morton, Wm. J. Brennan, 205 votes.
- Foundry Employees, International Brotherhood of—A. R. Linn, George Bechtold, 54 votes.
- Fur Workers Union of United States and Canada, International—108 votes.
- Garment Workers Union of America, United—T. A. Rickert, B. A. Larger, J. J. Manning, Margaret C. Daley, F. Doyle, 460 votes.
- Garment Workers, International Ladies—Benj. Schlesinger, Jacob Heller, Max Gorenstein, Alfred La Porta, Molly Friedman, Israel Feinberg, 905 votes.
- Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada—John A. Voll, Charles C. Call, James Donnelly, 100 votes.
- Glass Workers' Union, American Flint—Wm. P. Clark, John B. O'Brien, Edward Hasenauer, 95 votes.
- Glass Workers, Window, National—J. M. Noonan, Victor Maire, 50 votes.
- Glove Workers' Union of America, International—7 votes.
- Granite Cutters' International Association of America—James Duncan, Samuel Squibb, Alex. W. Russell, 107 votes.
- Hatters of North America, United—Martin Lawlor, Cornelius McCue, Richard Humphrey, 100 votes.
- Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, International—D. D'Alessandro, J. B. Etchison, J. V. Moroschi, John Carley, W. F. Dwyer, 400 votes.
- Horse Shoers of the United States and Canada, International Union of Journeymen—Hubert S. Marshall, Henry F. Broening, 54 votes.
- Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America—Edward Flors, Jere L. Sullivan, Thomas S. Farrell, John J. McDevitt, Emanuel Koveleski, 608 votes.
- Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, Amalgamated Association of—M. F. Tighe, John J. Sullivan, Michael Mahoney, Philip Edwards, 197 votes.
- Jewelry Workers' Union, International—51 votes.
- Lace Operatives of America, The Chartered Society of Amalgamated—David Wilson, 9 votes.
- Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal—Wm. J. McSorley, Joseph H. Duty, 60 votes.
- Laundry Workers' International Union—Harry L. Morrison, John O'Keefe, 60 votes.
- Leather Workers, United, International—W. E. Bryan, F. P. Maloney, 67 votes.
- Letter Carriers, National Association of—Edward J. Gainer, John T. Mugavin, Charles D. Duffy, Luther E. Swartz, 307 votes.
- Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada—Philip Bock, Frank Gehring, 56 votes.
- Longshoremen's Association, International—Thomas V. O'Connor, Anthony J. Chlopek, M. J. Gahagan, J. C. Bjorklund, Michael F. Keavy, 313 votes.
- Machinists, International Association of—Wm. H. Johnston, A. O. Wharton, J. J. Connolly, Harvey W. Brown, Cyrus F. Grow, William Schoenberg, 2,546 votes.
- Maintenance of Way Employees and Railway Shop Laborers, United Brotherhood of—A. E. Barker, T. H. Fljosdal, O. E. Crook, Samuel J. Pegg, L. I. Kennedy, 542 votes.
- Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, Rubbers and Sawyers, International Association of—Joseph McInerney, 10 votes.
- Masters, Mates and Pilots, American Association of—John H. Pruett, A. B. Devlin, 62 votes.
- Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated—John F. Hart, Dennis Lane, Fred Schmidt, T. A. McCreash, John Kennedy, Phillip J. Guest, 663 votes.
- Metal Workers' International Alliance, Amalgamated Sheet—John J. Hynes, Thos. Redding, James T. Moriarty, Richard Patison, 202 votes.
- Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, International Union of—Charles H. Moyer, Jos. D. Cannon, James Roberts, Emma Frances Langdon, 178 votes.
- Mine Workers of America, United—Frank J. Hayes, John L. Lewis, William Green, John H. Walker, John Mitchell, John P. White, Frank Farrington, John Moore, 3,938 votes.
- Molders' Union of North America, International—Jos. F. Valentine, John P. Frey, Harry Stevenson, Pierce F. Hayden, Vinton L. Dillon, 516 votes.
- Musicians, American Federation of—Joseph N. Weber, C. A. Weaver, D. A. Carey, Joseph F. Winkler, 654 votes.
- Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers of America—R. E. Evans, John Sheehan, 45 votes.

Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, Brotherhood of—George F. Hedrick, J. C. Skemp, P. J. Guerin, A. J. McKeon, John J. Lynch, Abraham Avins, 827 votes.

Papermakers, International Brotherhood of—57 votes.

Pattern Makers' League of North America, James Wilson, James L. Gernon, J. S. Forrest, 90 votes.

Pavers, Rammersmen, Flag Layers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters, International Union of—Edward I. Hannah, 18 votes.

Paving Cutters' Union of the United States of America and Canada—Carl Bergstrom, 26 votes.

Piano and Organ Workers' Union of America, International—Charles Dold, 20 votes.

Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada, Operative—Ed. J. McGivern, John Donlin, James G. Allen, John Carroll, 190 votes.

Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada, United Association of—Thomas S. Kearney, Charles Anderson, Chas. Rau, E. W. Leonard, 820 votes.

Polishers, Metal, International Union—W. W. Britton, George Leary, H. C. Diehl, 100 votes.

Postal Employees, National Federation of—Thomas F. Flaherty, 145 votes.

Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative—Edward Menge, Frank H. Hutchins, 74 votes.

Powder and High Explosive Workers of America, United—3 votes.

Print Cutters' Association of America, National—Rudolph Heini, 4 votes.

Printers and Color Mixers of the United States, Machine, National Association of—5 votes.

Printers' Union of North America, International Steel and Copper Plate—William D. Clark, 13 votes.

Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union of North America, International—George L. Berry, William H. McHugh, Joseph C. Orr, E. W. Edwards, Max J. Martin, 840 votes.

Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of—John P. Burke, S. Ed. Lauer, Maurice La Belle, 84 votes.

Quarry Workers' International Union of North America—Fred W. Sutor, 30 votes.

Railway Employees of America, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric—W. D. Mahon, William Quinlan, Michael J. Cahill, William Mylan, 897 votes.

Railway Mail Association—Edward J. Ryan, Henry W. Strickland, Robert E. Plymale, 184 votes.

Roofers, Composition, Damp and Waterproof Workers of the United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of—Jeremiah T. Hurley, 10 votes.

Roofers' Union of America, International State and Tile—J. M. Gaviak, 6 votes.

Seamen's Union of America, International—Andrew Furuseth, V. A. Olander, Percy J. Pryor, Patrick O'Brien, I. N. Hylen, 427 votes.

Signalmen of America, Brotherhood Railroad—D. W. Helt, D. C. Cone, 82 votes.

Spinners' International Union—Urban Fleming, 22 votes.

Stage Employees of America, International Alliance of Theatrical—Chas. C. Shay, L. G. Dolliver, John J. Barry, P. J. Ryan, 185 votes.

Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union of North America, International—James J. Freel, Charles A. Sumner, 54 votes.

Stonecutters' Association of North America, Journeymen—Sam Griggs, 89 votes.

Stove Mounters' International Union—W. L. Funder Burk, 19 votes.

Switchmen's Union of North America—Samuel E. Heberling, James B. Connors, Thomas C. Cashen, 118 votes.

Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen—Thomas Sweeney, C. N. Bolander, Max J. Sillinsky, 120 votes.

Teachers, American Federation of—Chas. B. Stillman, 28 votes.

Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of—Daniel J. Tobin, Thomas L. Hughes, John M. Gillespie, William A. Neer, M. E. Decker, 756 votes.

Telegraphers, Order of Railroad—H. B. Perham, E. J. Manion, O. D. Gorman, W. L. Braun, M. W. Atkins, 446 votes.

Telegraphers' Union of America, The Commercial—Percy Thomas, 20 votes.

Textile Workers of America, United—John Golden, Sara A. Conboy, Thomas F. McMahon, Thomas J. Reagan, Daniel J. O'Donnell, 558 votes.

Timber Workers' International Union of—82 votes.

Tobacco Workers' International Union—A. McAndrew, E. Lewis Evans, 42 votes.

Transferrers' Association of America, The Steel Plate—John Prender, 1 vote.

Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union—Thomas J. Curtis, 20 votes.

Typographical Union, International—M. G. Scott, Frank Morrison, Max S. Hayes, T. W. McCullough, William Young, J. W. Hays, 647 votes.

Upholsterers' International Union of North America—James H. Hatch, Dennis F. Gorman, 55 votes.

Weavers' Amalgamated Association, Elastic Goring—1 vote.

Weavers' Protective Association, American Wire—3 votes.

White Rats Actors' Union of America—James William Fitzpatrick, 30 votes.

Alabama State Federation of Labor—Jno. J. Russell, 1 vote.

Arizona State Federation of Labor—Thomas J. Croaff, 1 vote.

Arkansas State Federation of Labor—1 vote.

California State Federation of Labor—George A. Tracy, 1 vote.

Colorado State Federation of Labor—Wm. Koch, 1 vote.

Connecticut State Federation of Labor—George F. Mordecai, 1 vote.

Florida State Federation of Labor—R. H. Burton, 1 vote.

Georgia State Federation of Labor—T. E. Whitaker, 1 vote.

Idaho State Federation of Labor—1 vote.

Illinois State Federation of Labor—Duncan McDonald, 1 vote.

Indiana State Federation of Labor—Chas. Fox, 1 vote.

Iowa State Federation of Labor, A. E. Hale—1 vote.

Kansas State Federation of Labor—A. J. Johnson, 1 vote.

Kentucky State Federation of Labor—1 vote.

Louisiana State Federation of Labor—1 vote.

Maine State Federation of Labor—1 vote.

Maryland—District of Columbia State

- Federation of Labor—C. A. Brelsford, 1 vote.
- Massachusetts State Federation of Labor—George H. Wrenn, 1 vote.
- Michigan State Federation of Labor—Stanley Anderson, 1 vote.
- Minnesota State Federation of Labor—E. G. Hall, 1 vote.
- Mississippi State Federation of Labor—1 vote.
- Missouri State Federation of Labor—Don C. Grafton, 1 vote.
- Montana State Federation of Labor—M. M. Donoghue, 1 vote.
- Nebraska State Federation of Labor—1 vote.
- New Hampshire State Federation of Labor—Richard A. Cooney, 1 vote.
- New Jersey State Federation of Labor—William Kavanaugh, 1 vote.
- New Mexico State Federation of Labor—1 vote.
- New York State Federation of Labor—James P. Holland—1 vote.
- North Carolina State Federation of Labor—1 vote.
- Ohio State Federation of Labor—Henry Ott, 1 vote.
- Oklahoma State Federation of Labor—Edgar Fenton, 1 vote.
- Oregon State Federation of Labor—1 vote.
- Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor—Peter Bollenbacher, 1 vote.
- Porto Rico—Free Federation of Workingmen—Santiago Iglesias, 1 vote.
- Rhode Island State Federation of Labor—John F. Murphy, 1 vote.
- South Carolina State Federation of Labor—1 vote.
- Tennessee State Federation of Labor—Thos. M. Gann, 1 vote.
- Texas State Federation of Labor—Harry L. Spencer, 1 vote.
- Utah State Federation of Labor—1 vote.
- Vermont State Federation of Labor—1 vote.
- Virginia State Federation of Labor, Wm. Boncer, 1 vote.
- Washington State Federation of Labor—1 vote.
- West Virginia State Federation of Labor—Wm. W. Rogers, 1 vote.
- Wisconsin State Federation of Labor—Frank J. Weber, 1 vote.
- Wyoming State Federation of Labor—Harry W. Fox, 1 vote.
- Aberdeen, S. D., Central Labor Union—Cyrus R. Evans, 1 vote.
- Albany, N. Y., Central Federation of Labor—James M. Nolan, 1 vote.
- Atlanta, Ga., Federation of Trades—Charles B. Gramling, 1 vote.
- Balboa, C. Z., Central Labor Union—J. C. Putnam, 1 vote.
- Baltimore, Md., Federation of Labor—John A. Bann, 1 vote.
- Battle Creek, Mich., Trades and Labor Council—E. E. Jones, 1 vote.
- Bay City, Mich., Central Trades Council—John D. Rutherford, 1 vote.
- Beaumont, Texas, Trades and Labor Assembly—A. E. Fisher, 1 vote.
- Bethlehem, Pa., Central Labor Union—Clarence Schldt, 1 vote.
- Birmingham, Ala., Trades Council, Wm. L. Harrison—1 vote.
- Bismarck, N. D., Central Labor Union—Stephen Ely, 1 vote.
- Bloomington, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly—John B. Lennon, 1 vote.
- Boston, Mass., Central Labor Union—Michael J. O'Donnell, 1 vote.
- Brockton, Mass., Central Labor Union—Frank C. Kimball, 1 vote.
- Brooklyn, N. Y., Central Labor Union—J. P. Coughlin, 1 vote.
- Buffalo, N. Y., Central Labor Council—Robert C. Lacey, 1 vote.
- Cambridge, Mass., Central Labor Union—John H. Mahoney, 1 vote.
- Camden, N. J., Central Labor Union—James J. Myers, 1 vote.
- Canton, Ohio, Central Labor Union—Frank H. Darr, 1 vote.
- Cedar Rapids, Iowa, Federation of Labor, R. G. Stewart—1 vote.
- Charleston, West Va., Kanawha Valley Central Labor Union—E. F. Davis, 1 vote.
- Cheyenne, Wyo., Trades and Labor Assembly, Harry C. Hoffman, 1 vote.
- Cincinnati, Ohio, Central Labor Council—William Niemeier, 1 vote.
- Chicago, Ill., Federation of Labor—Robert G. Fitchie, 1 vote.
- Cleburne, Texas, Central Labor Council—J. R. McFadden, 1 vote.
- Cle-Elum, Wash., Central Labor Council—Robert Harlin, 1 vote.
- Coalinga, Cal., Central Labor Union—Walter J. Yarrow, 1 vote.
- Cleveland, Ohio, Federation of Labor—John G. Owens, 1 vote.
- Coffeyville, Kan., Central Labor Union—Frank L. Bryan, 1 vote.
- Colorado Springs, Colo., Federated Trades Council—Stephen O'Donnell, 1 vote.
- Columbus, Ohio, Federation of Labor—C. J. Tucker, 1 vote.
- Covington, Ken., Trades and Labor Assembly of Kenton and Campbell Counties—Harry V. Dill, 1 vote.
- Dallas, Tex., Central Labor Council—Jas. A. Hooper, 1 vote.
- Danville, Ill., Trades and Labor Council—Harry H. Mason, 1 vote.
- Dayton, Ohio, Central Labor Union—Grant Fink, 1 vote.
- Denver, Colorado, Trades and Labor Assembly—Fred Wessel, 1 vote.
- Detroit, Mich., Federation of Labor—Julius Deutelbaum, 1 vote.
- Des Moines, Iowa, Trades and Labor Assembly, Fred A. Canfield, 1 vote.
- Easton, Pa., Central Labor Union—Jules Block, 1 vote.
- Elmira, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Assembly—John E. Murphy, 1 vote.
- El Paso, Texas, Central Labor Union—W. T. Griffith, 1 vote.
- Fairmount, W. Va., Monongahela Valley Trades and Labor Council—H. L. Franklin, 1 vote.
- Fall River, Mass., Central Labor Union—John H. Carroll, 1 vote.
- Fort Worth, Texas, Trades Assembly—C. W. Woodman, 1 vote.
- Glouster, Ohio, Central Labor Union—Fred Hensley, 1 vote.
- Granite City, Ill., Tri-City Central Trades Council, E. G. Galloway, 1 vote.
- Grand Rapids, Mich., Trades and Labor Council—C. O. Taylor, 1 vote.
- Hammond, Ind., Central Labor Union—John W. Wagner, 1 vote.

Harrisburg, Pa., Central Labor Union—Thomas P. Moran, 1 vote.

Herrin, Ill., Trades Council—Hugh Willis, 1 vote.

Houston, Texas, Labor Council—D. V. Tracy, 1 vote.

Indianapolis, Ind., Central Labor Union—William E. Nue, 1 vote.

Jacksonville, Fla., Central Labor Union—W. J. Prestly, 1 vote.

Johnstown, Pa., Central Labor Union—Charles A. McKeown, 1 vote.

Joliet, Ill., Central Trades and Labor Council—Madge Argo, 1 vote.

Kansas City, Kan., Central Labor Union—Charles R. Nuseum, 1 vote.

Kansas City, Mo., Central Labor Union—John T. Smith, 1 vote.

Kensington, Ill., Calumet Joint Labor Council—Thos. L. Gregson, 1 vote.

Kingston, Ont., Canada, Trades and Labor Council—John Noble, 1 vote.

La Crosse, Wis., Trades and Labor Council—R. G. Knutson, 1 vote.

La Junta, Colo., Central Labor Union—George H. Richter, 1 vote.

Leicester, Pa., Central Labor Union—Milton G. Evans, 1 vote.

Lansford, Pa., Panther Creek Valley Central Labor Union—John B. Breslin, 1 vote.

Lima, Ohio, Trades and Labor Council—W. J. Gildas, 1 vote.

Linton, Indiana, Central Labor Union—J. L. Sims, 1 vote.

Logansport, Ind., Trades and Labor Assembly—J. W. Newmyer, 1 vote.

London, Ont., Can., Trades and Labor Council—Ernest Ingles, 1 vote.

Lorain, Ohio, Central Labor Union—Harry Balse, 1 vote.

Los Angeles, Cal., Central Labor Council—Edith S. Mets, 1 vote.

Louisville, Kentucky, United Trades and Labor Assembly—Patrick E. Gorman, 1 vote.

Lynn, Mass., Central Labor Union—Chas. D. Keaveney, 1 vote.

Meadville, Pa., Central Labor Union—H. S. Gilbert, 1 vote.

Minneapolis, Minn., Trades and Labor Assembly—Frank Hoffman, 1 vote.

Moberly, Mo., Central Labor Union—David R. Frampton, 1 vote.

Mobile, Ala., Central Labor Union—Edmun Turner, 1 vote.

Montreal, Que., Can., Trades and Labor Council—Gustave Franco, 1 vote.

Nashville, Tenn., Trades and Labor Council—J. P. Ogletree, 1 vote.

Newark, N. J., Essex Trades Council—Henry F. Hillers, 1 vote.

New Bedford, Mass., Central Labor Union—Walter Barnes, 1 vote.

New Haven, Conn., Trades Council—Ira M. Ornburn, 1 vote.

Newport, R. I., Central Labor Union—Harold C. Kingsley, 1 vote.

Newport News, Va., Central Labor Union—J. E. Clineinst, 1 vote.

New Ulm, Minn., Central Labor Union—Jean E. Spielman, 1 vote.

New York, N. Y., Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity—Timothy M. Daly, 1 vote.

Niagara Falls, N. Y., Trades and Labor Council—Louis N. Thomas, 1 vote.

Norfolk, Va., Central Labor Union—John A. Lacey, 1 vote.

Oakland, Cal., Central Labor Council—Edgar S. Hurley, 1 vote.

Olympia, Wash., Trades Council—C. B. Young, 1 vote.

Orange, Tex., Trades Council—J. E. Crain, 1 vote.

Ottawa, Ont., Can., Allied Trades and Labor Association—P. M. Draper, 1 vote.

Philadelphia, Pa., Central Labor Union—Alec. McGuire, 1 vote.

Pittsburgh, Pa., Iron City Central Trades Council—John Hoshn, 1 vote.

Portsmouth, N. H., Central Labor Union—Harry L. Hartford, 1 vote.

Portsmouth, Va., Central Labor Union—John H. Hall, Jr., 1 vote.

Pueblo, Colo., Trades and Labor Assembly—Sol. Jacobs, 1 vote.

Poughkeepsie, N. Y., Trades and Labor Council—John Bradley, 1 vote.

Punxsutawney, Pa., Central Labor Union—James Maloney, 1 vote.

Quincy, Mass., Central Labor Union—M. A. Broderick, 1 vote.

Reading, Pa., Federated Trades Council—A. P. Bower, 1 vote.

Roanoke, Va., Central Trades and Labor Council—Lillie Barbour, 1 vote.

Rochester, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council—Richard Curran, 1 vote.

Roundup, Montana, Central Trades and Labor Council—Adam Wilkinson, 1 vote.

Saint Joseph, Mo., Central Labor Council—J. L. Wines, 1 vote.

Saint Louis, Mo., Central Trades and Labor Union—Joseph E. Woracek, 1 vote.

Saint Paul, Minn., Trades and Labor Assembly—P. W. Flynn, 1 vote.

Salt Lake City, Utah, Federation of Labor—J. J. Sullivan, 1 vote.

San Francisco, Cal., Labor Council—Daniel C. Murphy, 1 vote.

Sault Ste. Marie, Mich., Trades and Labor Council—Elmer J. Ashmun, 1 vote.

Schneetady, N. Y., Trades Assembly—John J. Hourigan, 1 vote.

Seattle, Wash., Central Labor Council—James A. Duncan, 1 vote.

Somerville, Mass., Central Labor Union—John F. Barr, 1 vote.

South Bend, Ind., Central Labor Union—E. H. Mets, 1 vote.

South Chicago, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly—Frank E. Doyle, 1 vote.

Springfield, Ill., Federation of Labor—R. E. Woodmansee, 1 vote.

Springfield, Mass., Central Labor Union—Michael J. Scanlan, 1 vote.

Stockton, Cal., San Joaquin County Central Labor Council—William Hannon, 1 vote.

Superior, Wis., Trades and Labor Assembly—James B. Campbell, 1 vote.

Tacoma, Wash., Central Labor Council—T. F. Burns, 1 vote.

Thurber, Texas, Trades Council—John Wilkinson, 1 vote.

Topeka, Kan., Industrial Council—D. L. Chandler, 1 vote.

Toronto, Ont., Canada, District Labor Council—James Simpson, 1 vote.

Troy, N. Y., Federation of Labor—James Lemke, 1 vote.

Tyrone, Pa., Central Labor Union—Matthew L. Dawson, 1 vote.

Vancouver, Wash., Central Labor Union—A. G. Enright, 1 vote.

Wilkes-Barre, Pa., Central Labor Union—William J. Kromelbein, 1 vote.

Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union—John B. Colpoys, 1 vote.

Waterbury, Conn., Central Labor Union—James P. Donahue, 1 vote.

Wilmington, Delaware, Central Labor Union—George Sauter, 1 vote.

Winona, Minn., Trades and Labor Council—G. W. Lawson, 1 vote.

Worcester, Mass., Central Labor Union—Wm. J. Guilfoyle, 1 vote.

Yonkers, N. Y., Federation of Labor—William J. McGeory, 1 vote.

Youngstown, Ohio, United Labor Congress of Mahoning County—Edward J. Tinney, 1 vote.

Zanesville, Ohio, Central Trades and Labor Council—Henry F. W. Stehmeyer, 1 vote.

Apartment House Janitors' Union No. 14936—Patrick J. Beardon, 1 vote.

Boilermakers, Blacksmiths and Machinist Helpers' Union No. 16199—Edmund Turner, 2 votes.

Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646—James P. Boyle, 2 votes.

Building Custodians' Union No. 15234—James H. Cooper, 1 vote.

City Employees' Union 15951—Patrick J. Cahillane, 1 vote.

Cloth Examiners and Spongers' Union No. 11680—Joseph F. Mexacapo, 8 votes.

Counters, Timekeepers and Clerks Union, No. 15699—Harry L. Fincke, 2 votes.

Court Reporters' Federation No. 14171—Grace H. Harte, 1 vote.

Crane Followers and Platform Workers' Union No. 14451—Harry L. McDougal, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 14646—Stanley P. Oplinger, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 14914—Thomas Crawford, 3 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 15228—H. Burk, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union, No. 15681—W. W. Watson, 2 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 15792—J. W. Canady, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 15938—W. O. Ringer, 3 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 16072—E. S. Patterson, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 16191—Julius Grasse, 2 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 16156—C. E. Brogan, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 16196—E. Edwin Clark, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 16206—J. Cleveland Grice, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 16251—B. D. Staley, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 16321—Harry A. Badgett, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 16380—Joseph Bledow, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union 16319—James W. McNeice, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 16441—Julius Colvin, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 16450—Aubrey Setzer, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 16478—George J. Baumann, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Unions, 16,485 and 16,533—Willie Brinson, 1 vote.

Felt, Straw, Panama and Velvet Hat Trimmers and Operators' Union No. 15850, United—Mary Huston, 4 votes.

Flat Janitors' Union No. 14332—William F. Quesse, 14 votes.

Freight Handlers' Union No. 16395—J. W. Worthey, 1 vote.

Freight Handlers' Union No. 16220—Robert E. Burford, 1 vote.

Freight Handlers' Union, No. 16,410—T. H. Mason, 1 vote.

Freight Handlers' Union, No. 16549—Matt Lewis, 1 vote.

Freight Handlers' Union No. 16413—Oscar Williams, 1 vote.

Freight Handlers' Union No. 16439—Chas. L. White, 1 vote.

Freight Handlers and Station Employees' Union No. 16381—William Carter, 1 vote.

Gardeners and Laborers' Union 16138—Peter J. Mullen, 1 vote.

Harbor Boatmen's Union No. 15554—Jesse T. Morris, 1 vote.

Interior Freight Handlers' Union No. 16,465—E. D. Johnson, 1 vote.

Iron and Steel Workers' Union No. 16242—Frank Tourison, 15 votes.

Janitors, Helpers and Laborers' Union No. 16034—Jacob Middleton, 1 vote.

Janitors' Protective Union No. 15876—William J. Schultz, 1 vote.

Janitors' Union No. 15481—C. P. Shee—1 vote.

Japanners and Sheet Metal Truckers' Union No. 15255—A. V. Gould, 1 vote.

Ladies Straw Hat Workers' Union No. 14996—Annie Miller, 1 vote.

Lead Burners' Union No. 15009—John Catterson, 2 votes.

Motion Picture Players' Union No. 16377—Seymour Hastings, 1 vote.

Neckwear Makers' Union, United No. 11016—Louis D. Berger, 5 votes.

Neckwear Workers' Union No. 15200—Anna Weinstock, 1 vote.

Newsboys' Union No. 15884—Nathan P. Birch, 6 votes.

Office Employees' Association No. 12755—Joseph L. Ellicott, 4 votes.

Oyster Shuckers' Union No. 15937—Arthur Herbert, 1 vote.

Oyster Shuckers' Union No. 16117—James W. Fitts, 2 votes.

Peanut Workers' Union No. 15856—J. W. Richardson, 1 vote.

Power Plate and Die Stampers' Union No. 16471—Joseph Coogan, 1 vote.

Railroad Freight Handlers' Union No. 16406—Matt Lewis, 1 vote.

Railroad Freight Handlers and Helpers' Union No. 16407—Oliver L. Leonard, 1 vote.

Railroad Coach and Station Cleaners and Porters' Union 16586—John Eklund, 1 vote.

Railway Coach Cleaners' Union No. 16088—Jordan W. Chambers, 1 vote.

Railway Coach and Station Cleaners' and Porters' Union No. 16851—Garrett Rice, 1 vote.

Railway Employees' Union No. 16486—Miller L. Campbell, 1 vote.

Sailmakers Union No. 14911—R. B. Esleek, 1 vote.

Shipyards Helpers and Laborers' Union No. 15892—Willie E. Vaughn, Jr., 2 votes.

Shipyards Laborers' Union No. 15745—Jas. Patrick Gallagher, 4 votes.

Shipyards Laborers' Union No. 15980—Wm. E. McKinnon, 2 votes.

Shipyards Laborers' Union No. 15922—Robert J. Lane, 1 vote.

Shipyards Laborers' Union No. 16455—S. A. Jackson, 1 vote.

Shipyards Workers' Union No. 16437—Charles Thompson, 1 vote.

Sign and Bulletin Board Hangers' Union No. 14872—George Rincker, 1 vote.

Sign Hangers' Union No. 14661—H. S. Helgerson, 1 vote.

Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 14491—Thomas O. Spacey, 1 vote.

Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 11597—Jessie M. Sharon, 1 vote.

Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 16384—Dalton T. Clark, 1 vote.

Superintendents, Janitors and Assistants' Union No. 15928—Ivan E. Holm, 1 vote.

Theatre Ushers' Union No. 15293—Benjamin Witaszkin, 1 vote.

United Felt, Panama and Straw Hat Trimmers and Operators' Union No. 14569—Minnie Teitelbaum, 3 votes.

United Umbrella Handle and Stick Makers' Union No. 14581—M. Abramson, 1 vote.

British Trades Union Congress—Miss M. Bondfield, S. Finney, 2 votes.

Trades and Labor Congress of Canada—J. M. Walsh, 1 vote.

Women's International Union Label League, Anna Fitzgerald, 1 vote.

Your Committee reports that protest has been filed by the delegates of the Inter-

national Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen and Oilers against the seating of the delegates of the United Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees and Railway Shop Laborers.

Hearing will be held on the protest in the parlor of the Hotel Alamac at 2.30 P. M. today.

Respectfully submitted,
CHARLES F. SCOTT, Chairman,
WALTER V. PRICE,
E. W. EDWARDS, Secretary.
Committee on Credentials.

Secretary Edwards: I move that the report of the committee be concurred in and the delegates whose names have been read stated. (Seconded and carried.)

President Gompers: Under the constitution the President of the American Federation of Labor is directed to appoint a number of committees. The Secretary will read the committees appointed.

The following list was read by Secretary Morrison:

Appointment of Committees

Committee on Rules and Order of Business
—John Sullivan, Wm. F. Kramer, Theodore Thompson, Jos. D. Cannon, Edw. J. Evans, Edw. J. Menge, Walter N. Reddick, R. C. Snyder, P. J. Morrin, Frank Kasten, Jas. H. Hatch, J. T. Carey, J. V. Moreschi, A. C. Hughes, J. J. Connelly.

Committee on Report of Executive Council
—James Wilson, Matthew Woll, George L. Berry, Martin Lawlor, T. V. O'Connor, Wm. L. Hutcheson, Jere L. Sullivan, Frank X. Noschang, Wm. F. Clark, Victor Olander, Wm. A. Campbell, A. O. Wharton, Thos. S. Kearney, H. B. Perham, Jos. N. Weber.

Committee on Resolutions—James Duncan, John P. Frey, G. W. Perkins, Geo. F. Hedrick, B. A. Larger, C. L. Baine, John A. Voll, Martin F. Ryan, A. A. Myrup, J. W. Morton J. A. Franklin, Jas. L. Gernon, John Moore, John F. Hart, H. M. Comerford.

Committee on Law—Daniel J. Tobin, S. E. Heberling, Wm. Dobson, Thos. F. Flaherty, Timothy Healy, Dennis Lane, J. A. Ross, E. E. Baker, Martin T. Joyce, Joseph Proebstle, James Donley, Edgar S. Hurley, James P. Holland, Florence Etheridge, D. A. Carey.

Committee on Organization—Frank Duffy, Sarah A. Conboy, John L. Lewis, A. J. Kugler, William A. Neer, Thomas S. Farrell, Harry L. Morrison, W. S. Brown, John P. Colpoys, Charles H. Moyer, Patrick O'Brien, E. J. Manion, John B. Lennon, John P. Burke, Edward J. Ryan.

Committee on Labels—John J. Manning, R. S. Sexton, Thomas Sweeney, A. McAndrews, Max Hayes, Cornelius McCue, H. S. Marshall, W. R. Boyer, Peter Beisel, Alfred LaPorta, C. F. Foley, James E. LaCouture, T. E. Greifyn, Joseph F. Winkler, Daniel J. O'Donnell.

Committee on Adjustment—Thomas Rickert, John Golden, Collis Lovely, James O. Shanessy, William Quinlan, H. J. Conway, Milton Snellings, T. W. McCullough, Edward Flore, A. W. Russell, John H. Walker, Sam Tobin, C. L. Shamp, J. B. Etchison, William E. Bryan.

Committee on Local and Federated Bodies
—Jacob Fischer, John J. Barry, Emanuel

Koveleski, Jacob Heller, Thomas L. Hughes, Robert G. Fitchie, P. M. Draper, Daniel C. Murphy, E. E. Woodmansee, William H. McHugh, Henry Ott, John T. Smith, George J. Tracy, G. H. Wrenn, H. B. Odell.

Committee on Education—Joseph Valentine, Charles C. Shay, Charles B. Stillman, Thomas J. Curtis, Margaret C. Daley, John P. White, J. C. Orr, John J. Sullivan, M. G. Scott, Charles A. Sumner, Luther C. Steward, J. W. Nelson, John D. O'Brien, Ira N. Ornburn, Henry Hilfers.

Committee on State Organizations—Frank J. Hayes, J. W. Kline, Bob White, E. J. Hall, Stanley Anderson, Thomas P. Hyland, John T. Mugavin, P. J. Guerin, Albert Peterson, Michael Mahoney, M. J. Gahagan, H. W. Brown, C. M. Crook, George A. Whitaker, A. J. Johnson.

Committee on Boycotts—W. D. Mahon, James J. Freel, John M. Gillespie, W. H. Johnston, W. W. Britton, M. M. Donaghue, W. L. Funderburk, J. J. Forrester, F. H. Fljosdal, Thomas Reynolds, Charles Call, T. A. McCreash, J. T. Moriarty, Harry Stevenson, James B. Conners.

Committee on Building Trades—John Donlin, James P. Noonan, William J. McSorley, D. D'Alessandro, J. C. Skemp, Charles A. Rau, Sam Griggs, Frank Feeney, John J. Hynes, J. H. Gavalak, William J. Bowen, T. F. Shattery, P. H. McCarthy, Samuel Squibbs, Jeremiah Hurley.

Committee on Shorter Workday—William Green, J. W. Hays, George Leary, Thomas Redding, Charles MacGowan, Benjamin Schlesinger, John J. Lynch, E. J. Gainer, John H. Pruett, Carl Bergstrom, Lewis Weyand, E. J. McGivern, A. R. Linn, Edw. I. Hannah, Anthony J. Chlopek.

Committee on International Relations—George W. Perkins, James Duncan, Max Hayes, Martin Lawlor, James Wilson, John P. Frey, E. A. Larger, T. V. O'Connor, D. J. Tobin, George L. Berry, John H. Walker, C. L. Baine, W. D. Mahon, Matthew Woll, John Golden, James Lord, W. J. Bowen, Samuel Gompers.

Vice-President Duncan: I move that the Secretary be authorized to add the name of Samuel Gompers to the Committee of International Relations. (Seconded and carried.)

The committees as announced were confirmed by the convention.

President Gompers: The Executive Council has a report which is already in print and will be distributed to the delegates.

In recent years we have adopted the practice of having a summary of the subjects in the report read, with a few comments that might be submitted.

Vice-President Duncan read a summary of the Report of the Executive Council.

Reference of Subjects in Executive Council's Report

"Report of Trustees of A. F. of L. Building"—Committee on E. C. Report.

"Reconstruction Program"—Committee on E. C. Report.

"International Labor Relations"—Committee on International Relations.

"Peace Terms"—Committee on International Relations.

"Pan-American Federation of Labor"—Committee on International Relations.

"Fraternal Delegates to British Trade Union Congress"—Committee on International Relations.

"Triumph of Labor Panel"—Committee on International Relations.

"Committee on Labor"—Education.

"Compulsory Military Service"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Judicial Construction of Law"—Committee on E. C. Report.

"Coronada Coal Company vs. United Mine Workers of America"—Committee on E. C. Report.

"Labor Political Policy"—Committee on E. C. Report.

"Report of Labor Legislation"—Committee on E. C. Report.

"Hindrances to Legislation"—Committee on E. C. Report.

"Child Labor Legislation"—Committee on Education.

"Education"—Committee on Education.

"Education of Adult Illiterates"—Committee on Education.

"National Conservatory of Music"—Committee on Education.

"Rehabilitation Bills"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Minimum Wage Legislation"—Committee on Resolutions.

"The Nolan Bill"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Better Social and Industrial Conditions"—Committee on E. C. Report.

"Unemployment and Lands for Soldiers"—Committee on E. C. Report.

"Retirement System for Employees in the Classified Civil Service"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Work or Fight in the Draft Bill"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Prohibition of Immigration"—Committee on E. C. Report.

"Woman Suffrage"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Department of Labor"—Committee on E. C. Report.

"Railroad Operation"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Porto Rican Conditions"—Committee on E. C. Report.

"Meat Packing Monopoly"—Committee on Resolutions.

"National War Housing"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Convict Labor"—Committee on State Bodies.

"Workmen's Compensation"—Committee on E. C. Report.

"Postal Wage Legislation"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Navy Yard and Arsenal Service"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Investigation Educational System Ladies' Garment Workers' Union"—Committee on Education.

"Health Insurance"—Committee on E. C. Report.

"The Shorter Workday"—Committee on Shorter Workday.

"Co-operative Plan"—Committee on Education.

"International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers vs. Building Trades Department, A. F. of L."—Committee on E. C. Report.

"Proposed Amalgamation of Textile Workers"—Committee on E. C. Report.

"Machinists—Carpenters"—Committee on Building Trades.

"Flint-Glass Workers—Machinists"—Committee on E. C. Report.

"Carpenters—Sheet Metal Workers"—Committee on Building Trades.

"Electrical Workers—Engineers"—Committee on E. C. Report.

"Longshoremen—Steam Engineers—Marine Engineers"—Committee on Adjustment.

"Metal Trades—Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers"—Committee on Organization.

"Lithographers—Photo Engravers—Pressmen"—Committee on E. C. Report.

"Year Book"—Committee on E. C. Report.

"Voluntary Financial Assistance"—Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

"Canadian Trades and Labor Congress"—Committee on E. C. Report.

"Mooney Case"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Porto Rico"—Committee on E. C. Report.

President Gompers: The Executive Council requests the appointment of a special Committee on Jurisdiction over Construc-

tion of Concrete Ships. The Council recommends that the committee be appointed immediately. Until the convention decides to approve that recommendation of the Executive Council it follows that the President is not in a position to appoint the committee, and the recommendation of the Executive Council is before the convention.

Jurisdiction Over Construction Concrete Ships

The last convention directed the Executive Council to decide the jurisdictional rights of the several organizations whose members are employed in the construction of concrete ships; that is, providing an understanding or agreement should not be reached through conference.

Owing to the failure of the organizations concerned to reach an agreement on this controversy and as the claims involved conflict with one another the E. C. recommend that this matter be referred to a special committee of the Atlantic City Convention.

Delegate Gornstein, Ladies' Garment Workers, moved that the recommendation of the Executive Council be approved. The motion was seconded and carried.

At 12.30 the convention was adjourned to 2.30 p. m.

FIRST DAY—Monday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2.30 P. M., Monday, June 9th, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Craoff, Mordecai, McDonald, Donoghue, Iglesias, Evans, Schildt, Rutherford, Myrup, Slattery, Boyer, Hyland, Forrester, Hay, McNulty, O'Connor, Greifyn, Tighe, Duty, O'Connor, Bjorklund, Johnston, Fljoedal, Oreck, Segg, McCreash, Guest, Cannon, Hayes, Mitchell, Hannah, Dold, Anderson, Clark, Burke, Funderburk, Heberling, Oshen, Thomas, Curtis, Scott, Hatch, Gorman, Cooper, Harte, Burk, Canady, Brogan, Grass, Clark, Bledon, Oolvin, Setzer, Bauman, Houston, White, Mullen, Johnson, Tourison, Shea, Oaterson, Berger, Birch, Ellicott, Herbert, Lewis, Jackson, Thompson, Clarke, Tittelbaum, Abramson, Bonfield, Finney, Mahoney, Davis, McFadden, Harlin, Yarrow, Bryan, O'Donnell, Woodman, Moran, Willis, Grestly, Evans, Sims, Newmyer, Ogletree, Ornburn, Thomas, Young, Draper, Curran, Barr, Hannon, Wilkinson, Dawson, Enright, Kromelheim.

ADDRESS OF HON. WM. E. BUNYON Governor of New Jersey

Mr. President and Representatives of the American Federation of Labor: Voicing the sentiment of New Jersey, as its executive head for the time being, I desire to extend to you in convention assembled a most sincere and cordial welcome, a welcome that is two-fold in its nature. In the narrower sense, it is a cordial feeling existing be-

tween the host and those he has bidden come to his home to abide with him for the while; in the larger sense I represent the outstretched arms of every New Jersey man and every New Jersey woman who recognizes devotion, who recognizes consecration, who recognizes patriotism, and I speak for them whole-heartedly, unaffectedly, sincerely, when I say to you who are representing the mighty army of workers, you are indeed welcome, for you represent to us the spirit and the genius and the hope of America—welcome to you, sirs and mesdames.

In greater measure than ever before is this convention fraught with potential consequences. Up to a short time ago we in America were a host unto ourselves, but by reason of that which America through the workers thereof, has done for the world, and in the doing of which has compelled its admiration, the doings of this convention are not only of moment to America but they contain the anxious thought and expectancy of the entire world.

As ye wrought and as ye accomplished in the years of the war, as ye set a new standard for patriotism and accomplishments, so now the attitude of the American worker in these days of reconstruction, in these days of perplexity and complexity, is a matter of extreme moment to the entire world. And I speak as one who has watched with intense interest that which you have done, I speak, and say it is with confidence; that we in America look to the

outcome of this convention. We realise what you have within your grasp, what potentiality is yours; but in judging by that which is past, that which is history, we know full well that the proceedings of this convention shall be fraught with wide and statesmanlike views, that the viewpoint of all shall be taken into consideration and that which shall be brought to pass shall be brought to pass from this viewpoint; that the greatest good to the greatest number shall be your aim and ideal and ambition, and as long as that is the aim of American labor this country, great as she is today, shall go on to a greater and higher plane, now and henceforth.

There was a great meeting in New York City last night, and one of the speakers arose and said that unless their very plans were carried out chaos would be the result—and he was applauded to the echo. And I say a great thing it is for America that this body and the mighty army this body represents stands unalterably opposed to that gospel. Yours is a policy of construction and not destruction, and, so long as this is true, they can belch their mouthings in vain. When the history of these momentous and perilous years shall come to be written, when some meed of praise is given to all those who have played mighty parts therein, I know there shall be a bright and golden chapter devoted to one who, by reason of the genius that was his, by reason of the power that was given into his hands used it for the good of his fellowman. No greater accomplishment has been done for the sake of the world at large than was done by him who today presides over your body and who is one of the great men of God's world today.

I saw at the entrance to this hall that great tribute of affection and regard given to this American Federation of Labor by the trade unions of Britain, and I thought I read in that mighty bronze your spirit. It shows the spirit of labor bearing aloft the torch, surrounded on all sides by those who work; the fruits of the field were in evidence borne in great profusion; on the other side they who labor in the factories and mills and upon the ships of the sea, those contributed their parts to humanity. It is a story of law, a story of order and in recognition of that which is the basis of it all, the spirit of labor leads on. And I say to you, blessed are ye that so much is given into your hands as stewards, blessed that ye have a chance in this day and generation to do so much for your people.

And may I say for this little state of New Jersey that we wish you wisdom in abundance, we wish you statesmanlike resources, and we say unto ye that if ye be wise in your day and generation the world, because of that which is wrought in New Jersey today, will be the better. May success attend your efforts and may generations yet unborn rise up and call ye blessed by reason of that which ye shall do here today.

I thank you.

President Gompers: Vice-President Duncan, as one of the delegates from the American Federation of Labor to Europe, will submit the report of that delegation.

Vice-President Duncan read the following report:

REPORT OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR DELEGATION TO THE PEACE CONFERENCE

Realizing the difficult problems of peace and reconstruction, your conventions of 1914, 1916, 1917 and 1918, after declaring that a labor conference should be held at the same time and place as the official Peace Conference, adopted resolutions providing that an American Federation of Labor delegation not to exceed five in number, one of whom should be the President, should attend, to promote and protect the rights and welfare of the work people.

Accordingly, shortly after the signing of the armistice, at a meeting of the Executive Council at Laredo, Texas, November 12, 1918, the following members of the Council were appointed delegates:

James Duncan, President Granite Cutters' International Association of America.

John R. Alpine, President United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters.

Frank Duffy, Secretary United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America.

William Green, Secretary-Treasurer United Mine Workers of America, who, together with Samuel Gompers, President, A. F. of L., composed the A. F. of L. delegation.

This delegation also hoped to aid in re-organizing or organizing a new International Federation of Labor, having its basis in the bona fide trade union movement.

Immediate arrangements were made to sail for Europe, and the delegation left New York for Liverpool on the steamship "Carmania" January 8, 1919.

The following correspondence explains the circumstances surrounding the calling of a labor conference concurrent with the official Peace Conference:

"AMSTERDAM,
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR,
Washington, D. C.

Request appointment delegates to international conference of trade union centers to be held at same place and time as peace deliberations agenda new rules and regulations transfer bureau international secretariat peace demands (Leeds and Berne programs) election committee trade union representation for peace deliberations. Further particulars following.

OUDEGEST.

7 A. M., October 29th, 1918."

"WASHINGTON, D. C.,
November 20th, 1918.

OUDEGEST.

Amsterdam, Holland.

In compliance with instructions of several conventions American Federation of Labor Executive Council will issue invitations for international labor conference to consider and help in peace discussions and to establish new international trade union federation. We can not be committed to either Berne or Leeds program.

GOMPERS."

"LONDON, December 20, 1918.

SECRETARY OF STATE,
Washington.

The following letter dated December 19 has been received from Arthur Henderson: "I should like you to inform Gompers how the British parties stand in relation to the concurrent international working class conference. They met this week and considered a request for our opinion on the question whether

the Bureau of the Labor International should meet and appoint a committee which would convoke a conference truly representative of the international labor movement. Vandervelde made this suggestion to me. It had also been made to me by Vankol and Huysmans. The British parties discussed the questions of the apportionment of votes and representation, the composition of the delegation, of place of meeting. I was given complete liberty of action in regard to the bringing about of the conference.

'With regard to the delegation and voting we immediately came face to face with the fact that the socialist parties in this country have been separately affiliated in the past to the labor international, although three of them—the Fabian Society, Independent Labor Party and British Socialist Party—are also affiliated to the labor party, which in its turn is affiliated to the international. In view of conference decision, we were obliged to object to any representation of the British labor movement by bodies outside the trade union congress and the British labor party. On the other hand, we should not deny the reasonableness of the view that the minority point of view should be represented. Our solution of the problem is as follows: Great Britain will be represented by five delegates who are members of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress—Bowerman, composers; Stuart, Bunning, postmen, (?) miners; Thomas, railway men; Thorne, general workers—and five delegates from members of the Executive Committee of the Labor Party—Henderson, iron founders; Clynes, general workers; Doff, railway men, and MacDonald and Mrs. Snowden, socialist. MacDonald and Mrs. Snowden were chosen from a panel of socialist members of the executive who were also members of affiliated socialist societies.

"I should like you to inform Gompers, that while we should prefer the conference to be held in Paris, we are advised by Vandervelde, Huysmans and others that the personal liberty of the Austrian-German delegates could not be guaranteed there. We are therefore in favor of Lausanne. It is important that the conference should be called immediately and that Gompers and his colleagues should now leave the United States for Europe. I have suggested that the invitation might be issued by the executive of the Socialist International and some persons representing the Trades Union International, and have insisted that the conference should be described as an International Labor and Socialist Conference and should be called on conditions permitting the British representative as arranged (*). The representation of the industrial sections of the labor movement in the United States, British Dominions and all other countries.

"If executive of the international, which consists of the Belgian section of the International Socialist Bureau (Vandervelde, Huysmans, Anseele and Bertrand) should refuse to act at once, I proposed that the special commission of the inter-allied conferences (Vandervelde, Thomas, Henderson and Gompers) should execute their mandates. Vandervelde would send a draft invitation to me and I would approve of it, obtain the approval of Thomas and Gompers, issue it to the press, and communicate by telegram to all the organizations represented or entitled to be represented at the Inter-Allied Labor and Socialist Conference of February and September, 1918. I have suggested to Branting that in this case he might issue invitations

to the neutrals. Means would be found of conveying to the parties in the central powers that the delegations from the allied and neutral countries would expect to meet their delegation in Lausanne on a certain date. Huysmans, I have suggested, should act as Secretary in any case and proceed to Lausanne an once.

Gompers may ask why we have chosen ten delegates when the inter-allied conference resolution provided for only four delegates being sent. We have considered this matter and came to the conclusion that four delegates would not permit the representation of all the sections and the various tendencies of opinion. We have therefore accepted the suggestions of Huysmans that the maximum number of delegates from each country should correspond with the number obtained by halving the number of votes allowed to the country at the international conference. That number in the case of the United States is twenty. In the plan proposed, the United States would therefore be entitled to be represented by ten delegates. The British delegation will also be accompanied by half a dozen secretarial and technical assistants. When I have heard Vandervelde's reply to my suggestion, I will communicate with you again."

DAVIS."

"LONDON, December 24th, 1918.

SECRETARY OF STATE,

Washington, D. C.

Henderson writes under date December 23: 'Mr. Hjalmar Branting, Sweden, has telegraphed that he accepts my suggestion and will take action on receipt of instructions from the executive of the International Socialists' Bureau.

'Mr. Branting thinks that the conference ought not to open before the 20th January, after the German general elections, and purposes that the settlement of all the difficult questions surrounding the admission of new parties and tendencies should be referred to the International Socialist Bureau, which would meet at the same time and in the same place.

"This bureau is composed of two or three representatives from each country and I agree that it should regulate the admission of political parties to the conference. On the other hand, I have proposed that a similarly constituted trades union bureau should regulate the admission of industrial sections of the labor movement and that a joint committee should determine all other questions.

"I have also suggested that the secretariat of the trades union international or some other trades union representative should be associated with Mr. Branting in the invitation of the neutrals to the conference.

"The procedure which I have outlined in my letter to you would enable us to bring about a gathering completely representative of the labor movement on its political and industrial sides in every country petitioned. I now await the opinion of France, Italy and the United States."

DAVIS."

"December 28, 1918.

CHARLES R. BOWERMAN, Secretary,
British Trade Union Congress,
Parliamentary Committee,
London, England.

Received by cable through American Embassy two letters from Henderson dated December 19 and 23. You either know or can learn purport from Henderson.

Thereupon, I immediately called meeting of the Executive Council, American Federa-

tion of Labor. I am directed by them to say that American Federation of Labor delegation will meet with delegation from trade unions of all national centers, but must decline to be governed by political parties and hence regard meetings with representatives of political parties conducive to no good results. We propose to help at conferences not only upon peace treaty terms but to build a bona fide International Trade Union Movement. American Federation of Labor delegation will leave the United States about January eight and will be pleased to confer with Parliamentary Committee, British Trade Union Congress, and Federation Generale du Travail upon arrival.

Please communicate above to Jouhaux, Paris, France, and inform Henderson.

SAMUEL GOMPERS."

"LONDON, December 30, 1918.

SECRETARY OF STATE,

Washington, D. C.

Henderson sends today the following message for communication to Samuel Gompers: 'Emil Vandervelde, Albert Thomas and I have agreed upon the immediate issue of an invitation in the following terms: Throughout the war the great organizations of workers and socialists in every country have always declared that when peace negotiations began a meeting of the international (*) must be convened immediately. The hour has come. The Peace Conference summoned by the governments will meet in a few days. The common interests of the working class demand that a conference shall sit concurrently in which labor can declare its fixed resolve to have peace that is based on justice and not a peace that will lead to fresh conflicts and catastrophes.

"In order that the conference of workers and socialists may be as representative as possible, there must be a different method of convocation from that obtaining before the war. The old order has changed. New organizations have sprung into being. Others have for the first time entered into the sphere of action of the International. On this account and in accordance with the mandate given them by the London conference of workers and socialists in February, 1918, the undersigned have thought it their duty to take the initiative in summoning once more under the same conditions those organizations which were invited to that conference.

"They request them to meet on January thirteenth, 1919, at Lausanne, to which place the International Socialist Bureau will also be summoned.

"The British parties have already appointed their delegates, fixing their number at half the votes at the disposal of Great Britain. There will, therefore, be ten at the conference, five of whom will represent the trades unions and five the labor party. The other nationalities will doubtless consider that the number of their delegates should also be equal to half the number of votes they have in Congress.

"It is, of course, understood that the mandate of the undersigned is limited to the organizations of workers and socialists which were invited to London. But in agreement with Huysmans, Secretary of the International Socialist Bureau, Branting proposes to summon labor and socialist delegates from neutral countries at the same time and to the same town. A similar summons will be addressed to the workers of the central empires.

'Any difficulties of detail which may arise from this summons will be dealt with on the spot.

'If all agree nothing will prevent then simultaneous convocations from resulting in an unique assembly in which the workers will declare it to be their will to sweep aside forever the perils of imperialism and the horrors of war by establishing the right of free disposition of the peoples.

'Kindly signify by return that I may add your signature.'

For your private information I add that as the above invitation is criticised by Snowden in this week's Labor Journal and is distasteful to British and foreign socialists it must be issued promptly, so Henderson hopes that authorization to attach Gompers' signature will be sent as soon as possible. If necessary the date of conference can be postponed one week to suit his convenience. Should no reply be received from him in a few days the invitation will almost certainly be issued without his name, so as to avoid delay and forestall possible counter moves by socialists.

DAVIS."

"WASHINGTON, D. C., January 4, 1919.

Sir: Will you please transmit to Mr. Charles W. Bowerman, Secretary, British Trades Union Congress, Parliamentary Committee, General Buildings, Aldwych, W. O. London, England, the following message: BOWERMAN,

London.

American Federation of Labor delegation, Samuel Gompers, James Duncan, Frank Duffy, John E. Alpine, William Green, sail on Cunard Steamship "Carmania" January eighth, due Liverpool about January sixteenth. We will proceed immediately to London and hope to have conference with Parliamentary Committee that day or day following. Also hope to have committee French Confederation of Labor present.

GOMPERS."

Thanking you in advance for your kindness and hoping to get this message to Mr. Bowerman, I have the honor to remain,
Yours very respectfully,

President,

American Federation of Labor.

Honorable Frank L. Polk,

Acting Secretary of the State Department,
Washington, D. C.

[CABLEGRAM.]

"LONDON.

MORRISON, American Federation of Labor.
Washington.

International Labour Socialist Conference opens Lausanne thirteenth January.

HENDERSON, Britain.

THOMAS, France.

VANDERVELDE, Belgium.

Jan. 4, '19."

"January 6th, 1919.

GOMPERS,

801-809 G Street N. W.,

Washington.

French Confederation of Labor, by virtue of powers conferred by Leeds meeting, 1916, summons conference International Syndicate in same time and place as socialist conference of workmen under request. Prepare to send delegates.

Shall inform you by telegraph last details date and place conference. Letter follows.

L. JOUHAUX.

1.03 P. M., Jan. 6."

BOWERMAN, "New York City, January 8.
London.

American Federation of Labor, delegation leaves Steamship Cambria January eight. We expect conference at London with Parlia-

mentary Committee and if possible with executive of Confederation Generale du Travail on arrival there to make arrangements for a general conference in furtherance of assisting in peace treaty terms which shall make for international peace, justice and freedom, and which should include labor conditions in the various countries. Our delegation also hopes to aid in founding a new international federation of labor, having its basis in the trade union movements of the different countries.

GOMPERTS."

C. W. BOWERMAN, Secretary,
Parliamentary Committee,
British Trades Union Congress.

Same cable was sent to L. Jouxhaux, Secretary, French Federation of Labor, Paris, France.

On the steamer en route to Liverpool meetings of the delegation were held daily, and the records, declarations and war aims of the A. F. of L. and the European labor organizations were read and discussed.

The delegation arrived in Liverpool January 17, proceeding directly to London, where the following day a conference was held with Hon. John W. Davis, United States Ambassador to Great Britain.

On Monday, January 20, a conference was held with the Parliamentary Committee of the British Trades Union Congress, at which there were also present representatives of the Metal Workers' Federation of Great Britain and the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada. A letter was read from the Secretary of the Confederation Generale du Travail explaining that it had been decided not to attend this meeting for the reason that the matters could be discussed when our delegation arrived in Paris.

Two matters were considered:
The proposed international conferences at Berne, Switzerland.

The formation of an international trade union organization.

As to the proposed Berne conference, it appears that the British parties had given Mr. Arthur Henderson complete liberty of action in regard to the bringing about the conference. He proposed that the call should be issued by Vandervelde of Belgium, Thomas of France, Henderson of England and Gompers of the United States, a committee without jurisdiction or authority to convoke any conference. President Gompers refused to allow his name to be used, but a call for a conference at Lausanne was sent out for January 18.

Chairman Bunning, of the Parliamentary Committee, explained that the conference was called for Lausanne, Switzerland, because the French government found itself at this early period unable to guarantee the personal liberty of German and Austrian delegates at Paris. Therefore, that part of the mandate directing that the conference should be held "at the same place" as the official Peace Conference was ignored by those convoking the conference and all its opportunities and advantages sacrificed in order to meet with representatives of the enemy countries.

It then developed that the feeling of the French-Swiss population at Lausanne was so manifestly hostile to the Germans and Austrians that the government forbade the holding of the conference at that place, whereupon those who convoked the conference decided to call it at Berne, Switzerland, the people of which city were known to be more

in sympathy with German thought and feeling.

On the part of the British delegates there seemed to be some doubt and conflict of opinion with regard to the Berne conference, yet the general view was that they were committed by instructions of their Congresses to send their committee of five to said conference, regardless of its make-up, place of meeting, or the legality of its convocation. This position was adhered to, although three of the original delegation of five resigned because they were not in sympathy with the conference.

Our position was made perfectly clear and plain, namely, that the American delegates were ready and willing to meet the representatives of labor of the allied countries in a purely trade union conference, but that we were disinclined to sit in conference with representatives of enemy countries for the present at least, or in a conference in which the aims and purposes of organized labor would be subordinated to those of any partisan political movement. It was also made plain that in all the official declarations of the A. F. of L. in conventions it was clearly set forth that a labor conference should be held at the same time and place as the official Peace Conference, and that we believed no good purpose could be served by a premature conference with representatives of the central powers in a neutral country, which would destroy inter-allied labor's opportunity of presenting through personal contact demands untainted by enemy influence or propaganda.

As to the formation of an international trade union movement, following our appeal for action relative thereto, the following resolution was unanimously adopted by the Parliamentary Committee:

"That this Parliamentary Committee welcome the invitation of the A. F. of L. to take part in the formation of an international trade union movement, and hereby pledge our support to the formation of such movement, and will appoint representatives to attend the first meeting, to be held at a time and place to be mutually agreed upon."

With this accomplished we proceeded to Paris, arriving there late in the evening of January 22, 1919, having arranged for a conference with the Executive of the Confederation Generale du Travail the following morning. Secretary Jouxhaux, after welcoming our delegation, confirmed that the labor conference was not to be held "at the same place" as the official Peace Conference because the French government could not guarantee the personal liberty of the Austrian and German delegates at Paris.

At this conference we stressed the extreme importance of holding an inter-allied conference immediately at Paris, as directed by our conventions and the inter-allied conference at London in September, 1918, not only for the purpose of personally presenting to the Inter-Allied Commissioners then in session in Paris the demands of inter-allied labor, but to remove the International Trade Union Secretariat from Berlin.

The Executive of the Confederation Generale du Travail was entirely agreeable that an inter-allied conference should be held as soon as possible, but at the same time expressed the belief that those things which labor intended to present to the Peace Conference should be presented as the expression of the labor representatives of all countries in conference at Berne. The tenor of the discussion throughout was that the French delegates were willing to attend a conference

of the British, French, Canadian, Belgian and American representatives, but that it must be purely informal in the way of a "conversation" and that the proposed conference at Berne was the one they looked to for an official expression of Labor's demand to be presented to the Peace Conference. It was finally agreed that such informal meeting should be called within a week to convene at Paris and that the representatives of the British, French, Belgian, Canadian and the United States trade union movements be invited to attend.

This second conference was held on January 31 at the headquarters of the Confederation Generale du Travail, with representatives of the French, Belgian, Canadian and American trade union movements present. The British Trade Union Congress sent a letter stating that the invitation arrived too late to permit of their being present.

Here again the French delegation made it clear that the only conference they would officially recognize was the Berne conference, in spite of our determined stand that this proposed conference was premature and that our mandate to meet at "the same place" as the official Peace Conference would be violated if we were to meet unrepentant enemy representatives in a city dominated by German and Austrian thought and sentiment. President Gompers also explained that he had refused to allow his name to be used in connection with the call, and that the other two men suggested by Mr. Arthur Henderson—Thomas of France and Vandervelde of Belgium—denied giving authority to use their names, although Vandervelde had explained to our delegation that he had given authority to use his name to call an *inter-allied* meeting to consider the question of an *international* conference, as directed by the labor organizations of Belgium.

The Belgian delegation expressed a willingness to attend an *inter-allied* conference, but opposed the Berne conference because it was premature and included representatives of the enemy countries. They also spoke in favor of the removal of the Trade Union Secretariat from Germany.

A third conference was held Saturday, February 1, at which our delegation made a final statement confirming its determination not to participate in the Berne conference and at the same time renewing its declarations in favor of the holding of an *inter-allied* conference in Paris. We made the further statement that when the terms of peace had been finally signed and the representatives of the *inter-allied* countries had formulated and presented Labor's demands for incorporation in the Peace Treaty, we would then be willing to sit in a general conference with the workers of all nations for the purpose of forming a convention that would be a true federation of the organized workers of the world.

The Belgian delegation also declared they would not attend the Berne conference, but the French held firmly to their pledge to send representatives to Berne.

We were asked by the representatives of the Confederation Generale du Travail not to make public the reasons for our refusal to participate in the Berne conference, but much to our surprise there appeared the following day in "La Bataille," the official journal of the Confederation Generale du Travail, an article giving their reasons for sending delegates to Berne. We then found it necessary to prepare and make public the following statement of our reasons for not attending the Berne conference:

The Position of American Labor.

"Owing to the distance between America and Europe, and there not having been a united program between representatives of organized labor in continental Europe and Great Britain, detailed correspondence with reference to united procedure of all parties concerned at the present time was next to impossible. For these reasons the delegation representing organized labor in America went to London and to Paris to enter into preliminary conferences with other groups of labor representatives to bring about an *allied* convention at Paris.

"At a labor meeting held in London in September, 1918, an agreement was reached that as soon as possible after peace was declared in Europe there should be a conference called of the labor representatives of the *inter-allied* countries and America, to be convened at the same time and place as the official Peace Conference. A group of men principally interested in their several political parties arranged for a conference at Berne, Switzerland, and at the same time assumed to call, without authority, a labor convention to be held at Berne concurrently with the political convention. This situation becoming known to the American labor delegation, the members of it sought a conference with the representatives of organized labor in Great Britain in London and invited the French labor representatives to attend. In this way the American delegates expected to bring about a convention at Paris, where the official Peace Conference is now in session, which action would not only be in accord with the decision reached at London last September, but in full accord with the action of the A. F. of L. at several conventions in which it was decided to send representatives at the same time and place as the official Peace Commissioners would be in session. This action, as well as the decision of the London convention last September, was primarily and chiefly prearranged in order to bring all possible influence upon the Peace Commissioners and, in a general way, to incorporate in their conclusions conditions representative of organized labor, which it was expected would be of benefit, not only to the workers in the allied countries and in America, but also similarly to all workers throughout Europe, and in a very great measure thereby influencing progressive and just policies to all the workers of the world.

"A conference was held in London between the American delegates and the Parliamentary Committee of the British Trades Union Congress at which information was given that the French labor representatives above referred to deemed it not necessary for them to visit the London conference, because the American and British labor representatives, would be immediately in France and at Paris, at which time the conference which had been suggested to be held in London could be convened, perhaps informally, but with the hope of arriving at a course of procedure which would be mutually satisfactory to organized labor as represented by the three groups of delegates.

"Several conferences were held at Paris, but owing to some misunderstanding about when the Paris conferences would be held the British representatives did not attend. Instead they sent a letter indicating their friendliness to the purposes of the meeting. At the London and Paris conferences it was evident that the British and French representatives had

already concluded to attend the Berne conference above referred to, although admitting the irregular course pursued in calling it."

"The American delegation thus ascertained that the purpose of meeting at Berne was because delegates from the countries of the central powers had been invited and would also be present, and that the main reason for meeting at Berne was for the purpose of arranging socialist procedure of an international character. Berne had been selected as the place of meeting owing to peace terms not yet being prepared and signed, and it would not therefore have been diplomatically proper nor advisable to have had German, Austrian and Bulgarian delegates at a meeting held in Paris. In addition to this the American delegation considered that if such a convention hoped to have influence with the official Peace Commissioners now in session at Paris that purpose would not be enhanced; in fact, might largely be hampered if labor conditions and provisions were submitted to them in which labor delegates representing the countries which had composed the central powers in the war participated, for it would have been obvious that the proposals submitted were largely "German made."

"The Berne conferences were originally proposed as conferences of citizens of the allied countries. By a device that we can not approve this purpose was covertly altered so as to include delegates of the nations with which our countries were and technically are still at war. While, therefore, the official Peace Conference is in session and before it has admitted to participation therein representatives of the Teutonic powers, it was proposed that we should sit side by side and face to face with such representatives, call them comrades and in this public way condone the hideous and unforgettable crimes against humanity and democracy committed by their nations. This, for the present, we declined to do."

The peace deliberations are based upon the program of meeting delegates from the central powers only after the Allies and the United States have agreed among themselves and are in accord as to the terms to be insisted upon at the peace table. The commissions representing the Allies and the United States and the other countries interested are now in session in Paris, and it would seem to be the logical course, and we are so instructed by several conventions of the A. F. of L., to present Labor's demands at this time and place. Labor of the central empires has the same equal right to present their demands to the commission which will represent them at the peace table.

"Had we overlooked the irregular manner of calling the Berne conference and the fact that it is called to be held in a neutral, instead of an allied country, and decided to go to Berne, where would the commissions of the Allies and the United States get a truly bona fide statement of the Allied and American labor demands? We declare the Berne conference to be irregular in conception and we can conceive of no good which will result from our attendance.

"For these reasons the American labor delegation concluded not to participate in the Berne conventions. The Belgian labor delegation also concluded not to attend. In order, however, to be as useful and as constructive as possible, the American delegation proposed that a convention be yet held at

in Paris at the earliest possible date of the labor delegation from America and representatives of organized labor of the allied countries. This was approved by the Belgian delegates and may yet be held, for there is nothing the representatives of organized labor of America and of the Allies need to go to a neutral country to discuss. Besides, such action would be, as already stated, in accordance with the original course mapped out. This would also afford opportunity from time to time to take action while such a convention was in session in Paris to present to the official Peace Commissioners at close range the deliberations of the inter-allied delegates thus in session at Paris.

"The delegation from America is not entirely opposed to going into conference with delegates from the countries of the central powers, but they believe the present is not an appropriate time to do so, and that when the Peace Commissioners have so far proceeded with their deliberations that they can invite the representatives of the central powers to sit with them and to sign the terms, would, instead, be the opportune time, or as soon thereafter as possible, to hold a great general labor convention for the purpose of a better understanding and for arranging methods of procedure which would be of benefit, not only throughout America and Europe, but to the whole world.

"For the present the American delegates prefer to officially meet and transact business with representatives of labor from the countries which had to defend themselves against the ruthlessness of imperial Germany, and in which inhuman procedure there is ample evidence of the socialist and labor representatives, particularly of Germany, having almost unitedly supported the German war activities and atrocities. The American proposition to hold an inter-allied conference of the representatives of organized labor is now before groups of union representatives of the allied countries and it is hoped and expected that as soon as a full interchange of views has taken place among the representatives of these countries, the proposition of the American delegation will be accepted.

"In the meantime, in accordance with the action of the A. F. of L., its delegates now in Paris will hold conferences from time to time with the official Peace Commissioners of America for the purpose of general understanding and so that, through these commissioners the essential and progressive principles of organized labor will be fully submitted to the official Peace Conference."

After several conferences with representatives of the Belgian Federation of Labor in Paris, upon their invitation we went by automobile to Brussels, Belgium, which afforded the opportunity en route to view the wanton destruction and devastation wrought in Northern France and Belgium by the invading German Army.

A conference was held with the President and Secretary of the Belgian Federation of Labor at the Palace Hotel, Brussels, February 15. After welcoming us, and expressing their pleasure at our visit, the Berne conference was discussed at some length, particularly the action providing for the convocation of an international trade union conference some time in May. The Belgians reiterated that they were ready at any time to meet in an inter-allied conference in Paris, but that they did not favor an

international conference until after an inter-allied conference had first been held. It was agreed that upon the return of the A. F. of L. delegation to Paris, an effort should be made, in conjunction with the Confederation Generale du Travail, to call a conference of the labor representatives of all the allied nations, the Belgians giving assurance that if such a conference could be arranged they would be present.

Upon our return to Paris the question of holding a conference of the labor representatives of the allied countries in Paris at an early date was again discussed and a committee of two from our delegation, consisting of Vice-Presidents Duncan and Alpine, was authorized and directed to confer with the Executive of the Confederation Generale du Travail with the end in view of having such a conference called. An agreement was reached and the call was issued for March 8 to labor representatives of England, France, Belgium, Italy and the United States.

At the time set for the meeting, however, only the French and American delegations were present. A communication was read from the Parliamentary Committee of the British Trade Union Congress, explaining that they had not received the invitation in sufficient time to arrange passport difficulties; also, a letter from the General Federation of Trade Unions of England, explaining why they could not be represented. Secretary Jouhaux explained that the Italian delegation had been delayed and could not arrive on time. We later learned that the Belgian delegation was unavoidably delayed on account of transportation difficulties, but upon their arrival the following Monday morning they approved of what had been done.

Secretary Jouhaux explained that he and Oudegeest of Holland had been authorized by the Berne conference to arrange for the calling of an international trade union conference at an early date, preferably in May, at Amsterdam, Holland. We explained that it was absolutely essential that our delegation return to America as soon as possible, and that upon our return our duties would require our attention for some time, not only in connection with our own organizations, but in connection with the convention of the A. F. of L. in June. It would therefore be impossible to attend a conference in April, May or June, or to return to the United States and have another delegation come to Europe during those months.

We therefore suggested two possibilities: August or September, when the A. F. of L. Fraternal delegates to the British Trade Union Congress could attend a conference in Europe or

October, in Washington, D. C., at which time and place the first meeting of the conference created by the Commission on International Labor Legislation would be held.

Mr. Jouhaux gave as the principal reason for desiring to hold the conference promptly the necessity of Labor giving expression to its views on the propositions affecting Labor decided by the Peace Conference. He stated however, that in about ten days he would meet with Mr. Oudegeest for the purpose of discussing preliminary arrangements for the conference and that he would make known our views, and even if it was decided to hold a conference in May, another international conference might be held in October.

In the meantime, while the Berne conference was refusing to condemn the Bolsheviks, failing to fix the war responsibility upon the Germans or to remove the International Secretariat from Berlin, and declaring for an impossible international super-parliament, the A. F. of L. delegation remained at Paris in close touch with the Peace Commissioners. Conferences were held with President Wilson and the American Commission to Negotiate Peace and the just hopes and aspirations of the working people were presented and explained. We also made known our reasons for refusing to attend the Berne conference and our position in the matter was approved by the President and the American Commissioners.

A draft covenant of the League of Nations was the first document presented to the public by the Peace Conference. In this draft or the covenant the labor question was dealt with in Article XX, as follows:

"The High Contracting Parties will endeavor to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labor for men, women and children, both in their own countries and in all countries to which their industrial and commercial relations extend; and to that end agree to establish as part of the organization of the League of Nations a permanent Bureau of Labor."

In reporting the draft covenant to the Peace Conference, President Wilson said:

"It is not in contemplation that this should be merely a league to secure the peace of the world. It is a league which can be used for cooperation in any international matter. This is the significance of the provision introduced concerning labor. There are many ameliorations of labor conditions which can be effected by conference and discussion."

Lord Robert Cecil, after stating that the problem before the conference was to devise some really effective means of preserving the peace of the world consistent with the least possible interference with national sovereignty, said:

"I do not regard the clause which deals with labor as any such interference, for it is quite certain that no real progress in ameliorating the condition of labor can be hoped for except by international agreement. Therefore, although the conditions of labor in a country are a matter of internal concern, yet under the conditions under which we now live, that is not so in truth, and bad conditions of labor in one country operate with fatal effect in depressing conditions of labor in another."

Mr. George N. Barnes, labor representative on the British Peace Commission, expressed himself as follows:

"Hitherto, nations have endeavored to protect themselves against low-paid labor by the imposition of tariff barriers. I hope we shall, in the future, under the authority of the League of Nations seek and find a better way of abolishing low-paid labor altogether. We hope to raise life and labor from the mere struggle for bread on to higher levels of justice and humanity."

To give effect to Article XX, on January 25, 1919, the Supreme Allied Council at Paris created the Commission on International Labor Legislation to deal with the all-important economic, sociological and human problems of peace and reconstruction, and President Gompers was appointed one of the

delegates to represent the United States. At the first session of this international commission a great honor was bestowed upon President Gompers and the American labor movement as represented by the A. F. of L. by unanimously electing him President of the Commission. The only representative labor man on the commission, a great majority of the time Mr. Gompers found himself in the minority, insisting upon and fighting for the rights and interests of the toiling masses. However, after thirty-five strenuous sessions and numerous advisory consultations with the A. F. of L. delegation, results were achieved which were acknowledged to be of a practical and constructive character, and a glorious advance in Labor's triumphant struggle for the new concept and a better understanding between man and man and nation and nation.

The commission drew up its conclusions in two parts:

First: A draft convention creating a permanent organization for international labor legislation.

Second: What is known as the "Labor Clauses" or "Labor's Bill of Rights," consisting of nine essentially fundamental principles proposed for insertion in the Treaty of Peace.

The draft convention, slightly amended, and the report of the commission, as unanimously adopted by the plenary session of the Peace Conference, April 11, 1919, are printed below in full:

Report of the Commission on International Labour Legislation.

"The Commission on International Labour Legislation was appointed by the Supreme Allied Council on the 31st of January, 1919, consisting of two representatives of each of the Great Powers and five representatives of each of the other Powers. The terms of reference were as follows:

"That a Commission, composed of two representatives apiece from the five Great Powers, and five representatives to be elected by the other Powers represented at the Peace Conference, be appointed to inquire into the conditions of employment from the international aspect, and to consider the international means necessary to secure common action on matters affecting conditions of employment, and to recommend the form of a permanent agency to continue such inquiry and consideration in co-operation with and under the direction of the League of Nations."

"The Commission was composed as follows:

United States of America—Mr. Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor; Mr. A. N. Hurley, President of the American Shipping Board. (Substitutes: Mr. H. M. Robinson, Mr. J. T. Shottwell.)

The British Empire—The Right Honourable G. N. Barnes, M. P., Member of the War Cabinet. (Substitute: Mr. H. B. Butler, C. B., Assistant Secretary, Ministry of Labour.) Sir Malcolm Delevingne, K. C. B., Assistant Under-Secretary of State, Home Office.

France—M. Colliard, Minister of Labour, (Substitute: M. Arthur Fontaine, Counsellor of State, Director of Labour.) M. Loucheur, Minister of Industrial Reconstruction. (Substitute: M. Leon Jouhaux, General Secretary of the Confederation Generale du Travail.)

Italy—Baron Mayor des Planches, Hon. Ambassador, Commissioner General for Immigration. Mr. Cabrini, Deputy. (Substitute: Mr. Coletti.)

Japan—Mr. Ochiai, Envoy Extraordinary, Minister Plenipotentiary to H. M. The Emperor of Japan at The Hague. Mr. Oka, formerly Director of Commercial and Industrial Affairs at the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce.

Belgium—Mr. Vandervelde, Minister of Justice and of State. (Substitute: Mr. La Fontaine, Senator.) Mr. Mahaim, Professor at Liege University, Secretary to the Belgian Section of the Association for the Legal Protection of Workmen.

Cuba—Mr. De Bustamante, Professor at Havana University. (Substitute: Mr. Raphael Martinez Ortiz, Minister Plenipotentiary.) Mr. De Blanck, Minister Plenipotentiary.

Poland—Count Zoltowski, Member of the Polish National Committee, afterwards replaced by Mr. Stanislas Patek, Counsellor of the Board of Cassation. (Substitute: Mr. Francois Sokal, Director-General of Labour.)

Czecho-Slovak Republic—Mr. Benes, Minister for Foreign Affairs, afterwards replaced by Mr. Rudolph Broz.

"The Commission has held thirty-five meetings, and has drawn up its conclusions in two parts. The first is a draft convention containing provisions for the establishment of a permanent organization for international labour legislation, since such an organization seemed essential for its promotion. This convention, which was based on a draft presented by the British Delegation, has been the subject of the most careful examination and discussion. The first part of this report may conveniently take the form of a commentary thereon. The second part of the Commission's conclusions is in the form of clauses containing declarations of principle in regard to a number of matters which are of vital importance to the labour world. At the opening sittings, the various Delegations agreed on the need for such declarations, which the Commission suggests should be included in the Treaty of Peace, in order that it may mark not only the close of the period which culminated in the world war, but also the beginning of a better social order and the birth of a new civilization.

Part I. Permanent Organisation *Preamble*

"The main idea underlying the scheme embodied in the Convention is that the constitution of the League of Nations will not provide a real solution of the troubles which have beset the world in the past, and will not even be able to eliminate the seeds of international strife, unless it provides a remedy for the industrial evils and injustices which mar the present state of society. In proposing, therefore, to establish a permanent organization in order to adjust labour conditions by international action, the Commission felt that it was taking an indispensable step towards the achievement of the objects of the League of Nations and has given expression to this idea in the Preamble, which defines the objects and scope of the proposed organization."

Chapter I.

"Chapter I provides the machinery of the permanent organization proposed. In the first place, it is stipulated (Article 1) that participation in this organization shall be a condition of membership of the League of Nations, since every State Member of the League is morally bound to accept the princi-

ples set forth in the Preamble, if it has really at heart the promotion of the cause of justice and humanity."

"The organization itself is divided into two parts: (1) The International Labour Conference; (2) The International Labour Office controlled by a Government Body. (Article 2.)"

1. *International Labour Conference*

"This Conference will meet at least annually and will consist of delegates nominated by each of the High Contracting Parties, two of whom will be directly appointed by the Government, and the other two will be chosen in agreement with the industrial organizations representative of their employers and workpeople respectively. (Article 3.)"

"Each delegate will vote individually (Article 4). It was strongly felt by the Commission that if the Conference was really to be representative of all those concerned with industry and to command their confidence, the employers and workpeople must be allowed to express their views with complete frankness and freedom, and that a departure from the traditional procedure of voting by national units was therefore necessary. It was accordingly thought that the employers' and workpeople's delegates should be entitled to speak and vote independently of their Governments."

"Some difference of opinion made itself felt on the Commission as to the relative numbers of the delegates representing the Governments, the employers and the workpeople respectively. The French, American, Italian and Cuban Delegations contended that each of these three parties should have equal voting power. They maintained that the working classes would never be satisfied with a representation which left the Government and the employers combined in a majority of three to their one. In other words, the proposal amounted to giving the States a veto on the proceedings of the Conference which would create so much distrust of it among the workers, that its influence would be seriously prejudiced from the start. This view was contested by the British, Belgian and other Delegations, who pointed out that as the Conference was not simply an assembly for the purpose of passing resolutions, but would draw up draft conventions which the States would have to present to their legislative authorities, it was essential that the Governments should have at least an equal voice. Otherwise, it might often happen that conventions adopted by a two-thirds majority of the Conference would be rejected by the legislatures of the various states, which would have the effect of rendering the proceedings of the Conference nugatory and would quickly destroy its influence and prestige. The adoption of a proposal to which the majority of the Governments were opposed would not lead to any practical result, as the legislative authorities of the Government whose delegates were in the minority would in all probability refuse to accept it. Moreover, it was likely, especially in the future, that the Government delegates would vote more often with the workers than against them. If this were so, it was obviously to the advantage of the latter that the Governments should have two votes instead of one, as it would render it easier for them to obtain a two-thirds majority, which under the Franco-American proposal would be practically impossible if the employers voted in a body against them."

"The Commission finally decided by a narrow majority to maintain the proposal that each Government should have two delegates."

"The Italian Delegation, which united with the French Delegation in urging the importance of securing representation for agricultural interests, were to some extent reconciled to the above decision by the consideration that, as the Government would have two delegates, it would be easier to secure such representation. It should also be observed that, as different technical advisers may be appointed for each subject of discussion, agricultural advisers may be selected, when necessary."

2. *International Labour Office. (Articles 6 to 13.)*

"This Office will be established at the seat of the League of Nations, as part of its administrative organization. It will be controlled by a Governing Body of 24 members, the composition of which is provided for in the Protocol to Article 7. Like the Conference, the Governing Body will consist of representatives of the Governments, employers and work people. It will include 12 representatives of the Governments, 8 of whom will be nominated by the States of chief industrial importance, and the remaining 12 will consist of six members nominated by the employers' delegates to the Conference and 6 nominated by the workers' delegates. The objects and functions of the Office are sufficiently explained in the Articles referred to."

CHAPTER II.

1. *Procedure (Articles 14 to 21.)*

"This portion of the Convention contains one Article of vital importance, namely, Article 19, which treats of the obligations of the States concerned in regard to the adoption and ratification of draft conventions agreed upon by the International Conference."

"The original draft proposed that any draft convention adopted by the Conference by a two-thirds majority must be ratified by every State participating, unless within one year the national legislature should have expressed its disapproval of the draft convention. This implied an obligation on every State to submit any draft convention approved by the Conference to its national legislature within one year, whether its own Government representatives had voted in favour of its adoption or not. This provision was inspired by the belief that although the time had not yet come when anything in the nature of an international legislature, whose decisions should be binding on the different States was possible, yet it was essential for the progress of international labour legislation to require the Governments to give their national legislatures the opportunity of expressing their opinion on the measures favoured by a two-third majority of the Labour Conference."

"The French and Italian Delegations, on the other hand, desired that States should be under an obligation to ratify conventions so adopted whether their legislative authorities approved them or not, subject to a right of appeal to the Executive Council of the League of Nations. The Council might invite the Conference to reconsider its decisions and in the event of its being reaffirmed there would be no further right of appeal."

"Other delegations, though not unsympathetic to the hope expressed in the first resolution (printed at the end of the draft convention), that in course of time the Labour Conference might, through the growth of the spirit of internationality acquire the powers of a truly legislative international assembly, felt that the time for such development was not yet ripe. If an attempt were made at this stage to deprive States of a large measure of their sovereignty in regard to labour legislation, the result would be that a considerable number of States would either refuse to accept the present convention altogether, or if they accepted it, would subsequently denounce it, and might even prefer to resign their membership of the League of Nations rather than jeopardize their national economic position by being obliged to carry out the decisions of the International Labour Conference. The majority of the Commission therefore decided in favor of making ratification of a convention subject to the approval of the national legislatures or other competent authorities.

"The American Delegation, however, found themselves unable to accept the obligations implied in the British draft on account of the limitations imposed on the central executive and legislative powers by the constitution of certain Federal States and notably of the United States themselves. They pointed out that the Federal Government could not accept the obligation to ratify conventions dealing with matters within the competence of the 48 States of the Union with which the power of labour legislation for the most part rested. Further, the Federal Government could not guarantee that the constituent States, even if they passed the necessary legislation to give effect to a convention, would put it into effective operation, nor could it provide against the possibility of such legislation being declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Judicial Authorities. The Government could not therefore engage to do something which was not within their power to perform, and the non-performance of which would render them liable to complaint.

"The Commission felt that they were here faced by a serious dilemma, which threatened to make the establishment of any real system of international labour legislation impossible. On the one hand, its range and effectiveness would be almost fatally limited if a country of such industrial importance as the United States did not participate. On the other hand, if the scheme were so weakened as to impose no obligation on States to give effect to, or even to bring before their legislative authorities, the decisions of the Labour Conference, it was clear that its work would tend to be confined to the mere passage of resolutions instead of resulting in the promotion of social reforms with the sanction of law behind them.

"The Commission spent a considerable amount of time in attempting to devise a way out of this dilemma and is glad to be able to record that it ultimately succeeded in doing so. Article 19 as now drafted represents a solution found by a Sub-Commission consisting of representatives of the American, British and Belgian Delegations specially appointed to consider the question. It provides that the decisions of the Labour Conference may take the form either

of recommendations or of draft conventions. Either must be deposited with the Secretary-General of the League of Nations and each State undertakes to bring it within one year before its competent authorities for the enactment of legislation or other action. If no legislation or other action to make a recommendation effective follows, or if a draft convention fails to obtain the consent of the competent authorities concerned, no further obligation will rest on the State in question. In the case of a Federal State, however, whose power to enter into conventions on labour matters is subject to limitations, its Government may treat a draft convention to which such limitations apply as a recommendation only.

"The Commission felt that there might in any event be instances in which the form of a recommendation affirming a principle would be more suitable than that of a draft convention, which must necessarily provide for the detailed application of principles in a form which would be generally applicable by every State concerned. Subjects will probably come before the Conference, which owing to their complexity and the wide differences in the circumstances of different countries will be incapable of being reduced to any universal and uniform mode of application. In such cases a convention might prove impossible, but a recommendation of principles in more or less detail which left the individual States freedom to apply it in the manner best suited to their conditions would undoubtedly have considerable value.

"The exception in the case of Federal States is of greater importance. It places the United States and other States which are in a similar position under a less degree of obligation than other States in regard to draft conventions. But it will be observed that the exception extends only to those Federal States which are subject to limitations in respect of their treaty-making powers on labour matters, and further that it only extends in so far as those limitations apply in any particular case. It will not apply in the case of a convention to which the limitations do not apply or after any such limitations as may at present exist have been removed. Though reluctant to contemplate an arrangement under which all States would not be under identical obligations, the Commission felt that it was impossible not to recognize the constitutional difficulties which undoubtedly existed in the case of certain Federal States, and therefore proposed the above solution as the best possible in the circumstances.

"Attention should be drawn to the protocol to Article 19. The fear was expressed that the Article might be interpreted as implying that a State would be required to diminish the protection already afforded to the workers by its legislation as a result of the adoption of a recommendation or draft convention by the Conference; and in consequence, the protocol was added in order to make it quite clear that such an interpretation was inadmissible.

"It should be added that the Japanese Delegation abstained from voting on Article 19, as they had not yet received instructions from their Government in the matter. The Italian Delegation also abstained on the ground of the inadequacy of the powers given to the Conference.

2. Enforcement. (Articles 22 to 34.)

"These articles provide machinery whereby a State which fails to carry out its obligations arising under Article 19, or which fails to enforce a convention which it has ratified, may be made subject to economic measures. This machinery is briefly as follows:

"An industrial association of employers and workpeople may make representations to the International Labour Office which the Governing Body may at its discretion communicate to the State complained of for its observations. (Article 23.) If no satisfactory reply is received, the Governing Body may publish the correspondence (Article 24), which in most cases will probably create sufficient pressure by public opinion to cause the condition to be remedied.

"The Governing Body also has the power either on its own motion or on receipt of a complaint from a Government or from a delegate to the Conference to apply to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations to nominate a commission of inquiry. For the purpose of such inquiries, each High Contracting Party undertakes to nominate one employer, one workman and one person of independent standing, and each commission shall consist of one person drawn from each of these three categories. (Articles 25 and 26.) The Commission will report on the facts, recommend the steps which should be taken to meet the complaint, and indicate the economic measures, if any, which it considers would be appropriate in the event of the condition complained of not being remedied. (Article 28.)

"Appeal may be made to the Permanent Court of International Justice of the League of Nations, which shall have power to review the findings of the Commission. (Articles 29 to 32.) If the defaulting State fails to carry out the recommendations of the Commission or the Permanent Court, as the case may be, within the specified time, it will then be open to the other States to take the economic measures indicated against it. (Article 33.)

"It will be seen that the above procedure has been carefully devised in order to avoid the imposition of penalties, except in the last resort, when a State has flagrantly and persistently refused to carry out its obligations under a convention. It can hardly be doubted that it will seldom, if ever, be necessary to bring these powers into operation, but the Commission consider that the fact of their existence is nevertheless a matter of almost vital importance to the success of the scheme.

"The representatives of the working classes in some countries have pressed their delegates to urge more drastic provisions in regard to penalties. The Commission while taking the view that it will in the long run be preferable as well as more effective to resort to the pressure of international public opinion rather than economic measures, nevertheless considers it necessary to retain the possibility of the latter in the background. If all forms of sanctions were removed, the effectiveness of the scheme, and, what is almost equally important, the belief in its effectiveness, would be in a great measure destroyed."

Chapter III General

"This Chapter does not call for much comment, but attention should perhaps be drawn

to the provisions of Article 35 which provide that the British Dominion and India, and any colonies or possessions of any State which may hereafter be recognized as fully self-governing by the Executive Council of the League of Nations, shall have the same rights and obligations under the convention as if they were separate High Contracting Parties. It seemed evident to the Commission that colonies which were fully self-governing, not only as regards labour legislation but generally, must be regarded as separate entities for the purposes of the Labour Conference, but it was decided that a State and its self-governing colonies should not have more than one seat in the Governing Body. In the case of colonies which are not fully self-governing, the mother country undertakes the obligation to apply labour conventions to them unless local conditions render it impossible to apply them either wholly or in part."

Chapter IV

Transitory Provisions

"This Chapter provides *inter alia* for the holding of the first Conference in October, 1919.

"The Commission felt it was essential that the Conference should meet at the earliest possible moment, but that if it was to do its work effectively, some time must be allowed for the collection of information and for the different countries to prepare their views on the various subjects for discussion. The Conference could, therefore, hardly meet earlier than October. In the schedule to Article 39, it is proposed that the arrangement for this Conference should be made by an international committee—consisting of representatives of the States named, with power to invite other States to send representatives, if necessary. It is suggested that the United States Government might be willing to convene the Conference at Washington, and the Commission much hopes that they will be willing to undertake this task. It is also suggested that the Peace Conference should approve the agenda set out in the same schedule.

"The Italian Delegation proposed that all Nations should be admitted to the Conference immediately after the signature of the Peace Treaty, but the Commission confined itself to passing the second resolution attached to the draft convention.

"In conclusion, it should be remarked that after a long discussion on the question of adopting certain measures in the interest of seamen, the Commission thought that 'the very special questions concerning the minimum conditions to be accorded to seamen might be dealt with at a special meeting of the International Labour Conference devoted exclusively to the affairs of seamen,' and at which the Delegates and technical advisers could accordingly be chosen from the shipping community. (See resolution attached to the Convention."

Part II

Labour Clauses

"The Commission were unanimous in thinking that their work would not be complete if it were simply confined to setting up a permanent machinery for International Labour Legislation. It was not within their competence or within their terms of reference to deal with specific questions relating to in-

dustrial conditions and to work them out with the detail necessary for the framing of proposals which could be accepted in a binding form. So impressed were they, however, with the urgent need for recognising explicitly certain fundamental principles as necessary to social progress, that they decided to submit a series of declarations for insertion in the Peace Treaty. They did not feel called upon, however, to draw up a charter containing all the reform which may be hoped for in a more or less distant future, but confined themselves to principles the realization of which may be contemplated in the near future.

"It will be seen that the High Contracting Parties are not asked to give immediate effect to them, but only to endorse them generally. It will be the duty of the International Labour Conference to examine them thoroughly and to put them in the form of recommendations or draft conventions elaborated with the detail necessary for their practical application.

Proposals were placed before the Commission by the Italian, French, American, Belgian and British Delegations as to the declarations which should be made. The Commission decided that no declaration should be submitted to the Peace Conference, unless it were adopted by a two-thirds majority, and it now has the honour of submitting nine declarations, all of which obtained such a majority and some of which were adopted unanimously.

"It should be added in conclusion, that a majority, but not a two-thirds majority, was obtained for a proposal couched in very general terms which suggested the application to agriculture of the general principles of labour legislation, and which arose out of an Italian proposal in regard to the limitation of the hours of work in agriculture. The delegates who voted against this proposal were, as they explained, by no means hostile to its general idea, but they thought that a proposal in such wide terms was not suitable for inclusion among the declarations to be put forward."

Commission on International Labor Legislation

"A Draft Convention Creating a Permanent Organisation for the Promotion of the International Regulation of Labour Conditions"

Preamble

"WHEREAS the League of Nations has for its objects the establishment of universal peace, and such a peace can be established only if it is based upon social justice:

"And whereas conditions of labour exist involving such injustice, hardship and privation to large numbers of people as to produce unrest so great that the peace and harmony of the world are imperilled; and an improvement of those conditions is urgently required: as, for example, by the regulation of the hours of work, including the establishment of a maximum working day and week, the regulation of the labour supply, the prevention of unemployment, the provision of an adequate living wage, the protection of the worker against sickness, disease and injury arising out of his employment, the protection of children, young persons and women, provision for old age and injury, protection of the interests of workers when employed in countries other than their own,

recognition of the principle of freedom of association, the organization of technical and vocational education and other measures."

"Whereas also the failure of any nation to adopt humane conditions of labour is an obstacle in the way of other nations which desire to improve the conditions in their own countries."

"The High Contracting Parties, moved by sentiment of justice and humanity, as well as by the desire to secure the permanent peace of the world, agree to the following convention:

Chapter I.—Organisation

Article 1

"The High Contracting Parties, being the States members of the League of Nations, hereby decide to establish a permanent organisation for the promotion of the objects set forth in the Preamble, and for this purpose hereby accept the provisions contained in the following Articles."

Article 2

"The permanent organisation shall consist of (i) a General Conference of Representatives of the High Contracting Parties and (ii) an International Labour Office controlled by the Governing Body described in Article 7."

Article 3

"The meetings of the General Conference of Representatives of the High Contracting Parties shall be held from time to time as occasion may require, and at least once in every year. It shall be composed of four Representatives of each of the High Contracting Parties, of whom two shall be Government Delegates and the two others shall be Delegates representing respectively the employers and the workpeople of each of the High Contracting Parties."

"Each Delegate may be accompanied by advisers, who shall not exceed two in number for each item on the agenda of the meeting. When questions especially affecting women are to be considered by the Conference, one at least of the advisers should be a woman."

"The High Contracting Parties undertake to nominate non-Government Delegates and advisers chosen in agreement with the industrial organisations, if such organisations exist, which are most representative of employers or workpeople, as the case may be, in their respective countries."

"Each Delegate may be accompanied at each sitting of the Conference by not more than two advisers. The advisers shall not speak except on a request made by the Delegate whom they accompany and by the special authorisation of the President of the Conference, and may not vote."

"A Delegate may in writing addressed to the President appoint one of his advisers to act as his deputy, and the adviser, while so acting, shall be allowed to speak and vote."

"The names of the Delegates and their advisers will be communicated to the International Labour Office by the Government of each of the High Contracting Parties."

"The credentials of Delegates and their advisers shall be subject to scrutiny by the Conference, which may, by two-thirds of the votes cast by the Delegates present, refuse to admit any Delegate or adviser whom it deems not to have been nominated in accordance with the undertaking contained in this Article."

Article 4

"Every Delegate shall be entitled to vote individually on all matters which are taken into consideration by the Conference."

"If one of the High Contracting Parties fails to nominate one of the non-Government Delegates whom it is entitled to nominate, the other non-Government Delegate shall be allowed to sit and speak at the Conference but not to vote."

"If in accordance with Article 3 the Conference refuses admission to a Delegate of one of the High Contracting Parties, the provisions of the present Article shall apply as if that Delegate had not been nominated."

Article 5

"The meetings of the Conference shall be held at the seat of the League of Nations, or at such other place as may be decided by the Conference at a previous meeting by two-thirds of the votes cast by the Delegates present."

Article 6

"The International Labour Office shall be established at the seat of the League of Nations as part of the organisation of the League."

Article 7

"The International Labour Office shall be under the control of a Governing Body consisting of 24 members, appointed in accordance with the provisions of the Protocol hereto."

"The Governing Body shall, from time to time, elect one of its members to act as its Chairman, shall regulate its own procedure and shall fix its own times of meeting. A special meeting shall be held if a written request to that effect is made by at least 10 members."

Article 8

"There shall be a Director of the International Labour Office, appointed by the Governing Body, who shall, subject to the instructions of the Governing Body, be responsible for the efficient conduct of the International Labour Office and for such other duties as may be assigned to him."

"The Director or his Deputy shall attend all meetings of the Governing Body."

Article 9

"The staff of the International Labour Office shall be appointed by the Director, who shall, so far as is possible with due regard to the efficiency of the work of the Office, select persons of different nationalities. A certain number of these persons should be women."

Article 10

"The functions of the International Labour Office shall include the collection and distribution of information on all subjects relating to the international adjustment of conditions of industrial life and labour, and particularly the examination of subjects which it is proposed to bring before the Conference with a view to the conclusion of international conventions, and the conduct of such special investigations as may be ordered by the Conference."

"It will prepare the Agenda for the meetings of the Conference."

"It will carry out the duties required of it

by the provisions of this Convention in connection with international disputes."

"It will edit and publish a periodical paper in the French and English languages, and in such other languages as the Governing Body may think desirable, dealing with problems of industry and employment of international interest."

"Generally, in addition to the functions set out in this article, it shall have such other functions, powers and duties as may be assigned to it by the Conference."

Article 11

"The Government Department of any of the High Contracting Parties which deal with questions of industry and employment may communicate directly with the Director through the Representative of their State on the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, or failing any such Representative, through such other qualified official as the Government may nominate for the purpose."

Article 12

"The International Labour Office shall be entitled to the assistance of the Secretary General of the League of Nations in any matter in which it can be given."

Article 13

"Each of the High Contracting Parties will pay the traveling and subsistence expenses of its Delegates and their advisers and of its Representatives attending the meetings of the Conference or Governing Body, as the case may be."

"All the other expenses of the International Labour Office and of the meetings of the Conference or Governing Body shall be paid to the Director by the Secretary General of the League of Nations out of the general fund of the League."

"The Director shall be responsible to the Secretary General of the League for the proper expenditure of all moneys paid to him in pursuance of this Article."

*Chapter II—Procedure**Article 14*

"The agenda for all meetings of the Conference will be settled by the Governing Body, who shall consider any suggestion as to the agenda that may be made by the Government of any of the High Contracting Parties or by any representative organisation recognised for the purpose of Article 3."

Article 15

"The Director shall act as the Secretary of the Conference, and shall circulate the agenda to reach the High Contracting Parties, and through them the non-Government Delegates when appointed, four months before the meeting of the Conference."

Article 16

"Any of the Governments of the High Contracting Parties may formally object to the inclusion of any item or items in the agenda. The grounds for such objection shall be set forth in a reasoned statement addressed to the Director, who shall circulate it to all the High Contracting Parties. Items to which such objection has been made shall not, however, be excluded from the agenda, if at the Conference a majority of two-thirds of the votes cast by the Delegates present is in favour of considering them."

"If the Conference decides (otherwise than under the preceding paragraph) by two-thirds of the votes cast by the Delegates present that any subject shall be considered by the Conference, that subject shall be included in the agenda for the following meeting."

Article 17

"The Conference shall regulate its own procedure, shall elect its own President, and may appoint Committees to consider and report on any matter."

"Except as otherwise expressly provided in this Convention, all matters shall be decided by a simple majority of the votes cast by the Delegates present."

"A vote shall be void unless the total number of votes cast is equal to half the number of the Delegates attending the Conference."

Article 18

"The Conference may add to any Committees which it appoints technical experts, who shall be assessors without power to vote."

Article 19

"When the Conference has decided on the adoption of proposals with regard to an item in the agenda, it will rest with the Conference to determine whether these proposals should take the form: (a) of a recommendation to be submitted to the High Contracting Parties for consideration with a view to its being given effect by national legislation or otherwise, or (b) of a draft international convention for ratification by the High Contracting Parties."

"In either case a majority of two-thirds of the votes cast by the Delegates present shall be necessary on the final vote for the adoption of the recommendation or draft convention, as the case may be, by the Conference."

"A copy of the recommendation or draft convention shall be authenticated by the signature of the President of the Conference and of the Director and shall be deposited with the Secretary General of the League of Nations. The Secretary General will communicate a certified copy of the recommendation or draft convention to each of the High Contracting Parties."

"Each of the High Contracting Parties undertakes that it will, within the period of one year at most from the end of the meeting of the Conference (or if it is impossible, owing to exceptional circumstances, to do so within the period of one year, then at the earliest possible date and in no case later than 18 months from the end of the meeting of the Conference), bring the recommendation or draft convention before the authority or authorities within whose competence the matter lies for the enactment of legislation or other action."

"In the case of a recommendation, the High Contracting party will inform the Secretary General of the action taken."

"In the case of a draft convention, the High Contracting Party will, if it obtains the consent of the authority or authorities within whose competence the matter lies, communicate the formal ratification of the convention to the Secretary General and will take such action as may be necessary to make effective the provisions of such convention."

"If on a recommendation no legislative or other action to make such recommendation effective is taken, or if the draft convention fails to obtain the consent of the authority or authorities within whose competence the matter lies, no further obligation, shall rest upon the High Contracting Party."

"In the case of a federal State, the power of which to enter into conventions on labour matters is subject to limitations, it shall be in the discretion of the Government of such State to treat a draft convention to which such limitations apply as a recommendation only, and the provisions of this article with respect to recommendations, shall apply in such case."

(In regard to the interpretation of this Article reference should be made to the Protocol.)

Article 20

"Any convention so ratified shall be registered by the Secretary General of the League of Nations, but shall only be binding upon the States which ratify it, subject to any conditions which may be contained in the convention itself."

Article 21

"If any convention laid before the Conference for final consideration fails to secure the support of two-thirds of the votes cast by the Delegates present, it shall nevertheless be within the right of any of the High Contracting Parties to agree to such convention among themselves."

"Any convention so agreed to shall be communicated by the Governments of the States concerned to the Secretary General of the League of Nations, who shall register it."

Article 22

"Each of the High Contracting Parties agrees to make an annual report to the International Labour Office on the measures which it has taken to give effect to the provisions of conventions to which it is a party. These reports shall be made in such form and shall contain such particulars as the Governing Body may request. The Director shall lay a summary of these reports before the next meeting of the Conference."

Article 23

"In the event of any representation being made to the International Labour Office by an industrial association of employers or of workpeople that any of the High Contracting Parties has failed to secure in any respect the effective observance within its jurisdiction of any convention to which it is a party, the Governing Body may communicate this representation to the State against which it is made and may invite that State to make such statement on the subject as it may think fit."

Article 24

"If no statement is received within a reasonable time from the State against which the representation is made, or if the statement when received is not deemed to be satisfactory by the Governing Body, the latter shall have the right to publish the representation and the statement, if any, made in reply to it."

Article 25

"Any of the High Contracting Parties shall have the right to file a complaint with the International Labour Office if it is not satisfied that any other of the High Contracting Parties is securing the effective observance of any convention which both have ratified in accordance with the foregoing articles."

"The Governing Body may, if it thinks fit, before referring such a complaint to a Commission of Enquiry, as hereinafter provided 'or, communicate with the State against which the complaint is made in the manner described in Article 23."

"If the Governing Body do not think it necessary to communicate the complaint to the State against which it is made, or if, when they have made such communication, no statement in reply has been received within a reasonable time which the Governing Body considers to be satisfactory, the Governing Body may apply for the appointment of a Commission of Enquiry to consider the complaint and to report thereon."

"The Governing Body may adopt the same procedure either of its own motion or on receipt of a complaint from a Delegate to the Conference."

"When any matter arising out of Articles 24 or 25 is being considered by the Governing Body, the State against which the representation or complaint is made shall, if not already represented thereon, be entitled to send a representative to take part in the proceedings of the Governing Body while the matter is under consideration. Adequate notice of the date on which the matter will be considered shall be given to the State against which the representation or complaint is made."

Article 26

"The Commission of Enquiry shall be constituted in accordance with the following provisions:—

"Each of the High Contracting Parties agrees to nominate within six months of the date on which this convention comes into force, three persons of industrial experience, of whom one shall be a representative of employers, one a representative of work-people, and one a person of independent standing, who shall together form a panel from which the members of the Commission of Enquiry shall be drawn."

"The qualifications of the persons so nominated shall be subject to scrutiny by the Governing Body, which may by two-thirds of the votes cast by the members present refuse to accept the nomination of any person whose qualifications do not in its opinion comply with the requirements of the present article."

"Upon the application of the Governing Body, the Secretary General of the League of Nations shall nominate three persons, one from each section of this panel, to constitute the Commission of Enquiry, and shall designate one of them as the President of the Commission. None of these three persons shall be a person nominated to the panel by any State directly concerned in the complaint."

Article 27

"The High Contracting Parties agree that in the event of the reference of a complaint to a Commission of Enquiry under Article 25, they will each, whether directly concerned in the complaint or not, place at the

disposal of the Commission all the information in their possession which bears upon the subject-matter of the complaint."

Article 28

"When the commission of inquiry has fully considered the complaint, it shall prepare a report embodying its findings on all questions of fact relevant to determining the issue between the parties and containing such recommendations as it may think proper as to the steps which should be taken to meet the complaint and the time within which they should be taken."

"It shall also indicate in this report the measures, if any, of an economic character against a defaulting State which it considers to be appropriate, and which it considers other States would be justified in adopting."

Article 29

"The Secretary General of the League of Nations shall communicate the report of the Commission of Enquiry to each of the States concerned in the complaint, and shall cause it to be published."

"Each of these States shall within one month inform the Secretary General of the League of Nations whether or not it accepts the recommendations contained in the report of the Commission; and if not, whether it proposes to refer the complaint to the Permanent Court of International Justice of the League of Nations."

Article 30

"In the event of any of the high Contracting Parties failing to take within the specified period the action required by Article 19, any other of the High Contracting Parties shall be entitled to refer the matter to the Permanent Court of International Justice."

Article 31

"The decision of the Permanent Court of International Justice to which a complaint has been referred shall be final."

Article 32

"The Permanent Court of International Justice may affirm, vary or reverse any of the findings or recommendations of the Commission of Enquiry, if any, and shall in its decision indicate the measures, if any, of an economic character against a defaulting State which it considers to be appropriate and which other States would be justified in adopting."

Article 33

"In the event of any State failing to carry out within the time specified the recommendations, if any, contained in the report of the Commission of Enquiry, or in the decision of the Permanent Court of International Justice, as the case may be, any other State may take against that State the measures of an economic character indicated in the report of the Commission or in the decision of the Court as appropriate to the case."

Article 34

"The defaulting State may at any time inform the Governing Body that it has taken the steps necessary to comply with the recommendations of the Commission of Enquiry or in the decision of the Permanent Court of International Justice, as the case may be, and may request it to apply to the Secretary General of the League of Nations to constitute a Commission of Enquiry to

verify its contention. In this case the provisions of Articles 26, 27, 28, 29, 31 and 32 shall apply, and if the report of the Commission of Enquiry or decision of the Permanent Court of International Justice is in favour of the defaulting State, the other States shall forthwith discontinue the measures of an economic character that they have taken against the defaulting State."

Chapter III—General

Article 35

"The British Dominions and India shall have the same rights and obligations under this Convention as if they were separate High Contracting Parties."

"The same shall apply to any colony or possession of any of the High Contracting Parties which on the application of such High Contracting Party is recognised as fully self-governing by the Executive Council of the League of Nations."

"The High Contracting Parties engage to apply conventions which they have ratified in accordance with the provisions of the present Convention to their colonies, protectorates and possessions, which are not fully self-governing."

1. Except where owing to the local conditions the convention is inapplicable, or

2. Subject to such modifications as may be necessary to adapt the convention to local conditions."

"And each of the High Contracting Parties shall notify to the International Labour Office the action taken in respect of each of its colonies, protectorates and possessions which are not fully self-governing."

Article 36

"Any State not a party to this Convention which may hereafter become a member of the League of Nations, shall be deemed *ipso facto* to have adhered to this Convention."

Article 37

"Amendments to this Convention which are adopted by the Conference by a majority of two-thirds of the votes cast by the delegates present shall take effect when ratified by the States whose representatives compose the Executive Council of the League of Nations and by three-fourths of the States whose representatives compose the body of delegates of the League."

Article 38

"Any question or dispute relating to the interpretation of this Convention or of any subsequent Convention concluded by the High Contracting Parties in pursuance of the provisions of this Convention shall be referred for decision to the Permanent Court of International Justice."

Chapter IV—Transitory Provisions

Article 39

"The first meeting of the Conference shall take place in October, 1919. The place and agenda for this meeting shall be as specified in the schedule annexed hereto."

"Arrangements for the convening and the organisation of the first meeting of the Conference will be made by the Government designated for the purpose in the said schedule. That Government shall be assisted in the preparation of the documents for submission to the Conference by an International Committee constituted as provided in the said schedule."

"The expenses of the first meeting and of all subsequent meetings held before the League of Nations has been able to establish a general fund, other than the expenses of Delegates and their advisers, will be borne by the High Contracting Parties in accordance with the apportionment of the expenses of the International Bureau of the Universal Postal Union."

Article 40

"Until the League of Nations has been constituted all communications which under the provisions of the foregoing articles should be addressed to the Secretary General of the League will be preserved by the Director of the International Labour Office, who will transmit them to the Secretary General of the League when appointed."

Article 41

"Pending the creation of a Permanent Court of International Justice, disputes which in accordance with this Convention would be submitted to it for decision will be referred to a tribunal of three persons appointed by the Executive Council of the League of Nations."

Protocol to Article 7

"The Governing Body of the International Labour Office shall be constituted as follows:—

Twelve representatives of the Governments.

Six members elected by the Delegates to the Conference representing the employers.

Six members elected by the Delegates to the Conference representing the workpeople."

"Of the 12 members representing the Governments eight shall be nominated by the High Contracting Parties which are of the chief industrial importance, and four shall be nominated by the High Contracting Parties selected for the purpose by the Government Delegates to the Conference, excluding the Delegates of the eight States mentioned above. No High Contracting Party, together with its Dominions and Colonies, whether self-governing or not, shall be entitled to nominate more than one member."

"Any question as to which are the High Contracting Parties of the chief industrial importance shall be decided by the Executive Council of the League of Nations."

"The period of office of members of the Governing Body will be three years. The method of filling vacancies and other similar questions may be determined by the Governing Body subject to the approval of the Conference."

Protocol to Article 19

"In no case shall any of the High Contracting Parties be asked or required, as a result of the adoption of any recommendation or draft convention by the Conference, to diminish the protection afforded by its existing legislation to the workers concerned."

"In framing any recommendation or draft convention of general application the Conference shall have due regard to those countries in which climatic conditions, the imperfect development of industrial organisation or other special circumstances make the industrial conditions substantially different, and shall suggest the modifications, if any, which it considers may be required to meet the case of such countries."

Borden Amendment Adopted.

"The Conference authorizes the Drafting Committee to make such amendments as may be necessary to have the Convention conform to the Covenant of the League of Nations in the character of its membership and in the method of adherence."

*Schedule Referred to in Article 39
First Meeting of Annual Labor Conference,
1919*

"The place of meeting will be Washington."

"The Government of the United States of America is requested to convene the Conference."

"The International Organising Committee will consist of seven members, appointed by the United States of America, France, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, Belgium and Switzerland. The Committee may, if it thinks necessary, invite other States to appoint representatives."

"Agenda—

1. Application of principles of 8 hours day or of 48 hours week.

2. Question of preventing or providing against unemployment.

3. Women's employment—

(a) Before and after childbirth, including the question of maternity benefit.

(b) During the night.

(c.) In unhealthy processes.

4. Employment of children—

(a.) Minimum age of employment.

(b.) During the night.

(c.) In unhealthy processes.

5. Extension and application of the International Conventions adopted at Berne in 1906 on the prohibition of night work for women employed in industry and the prohibition of the use of white phosphorus in manufacture of matches."

*I.—Resolutions Proposed by the Belgian,
Resolutions Adopted by the Commission*

French and Italian Delegations.

"The Commission expresses the hope that as soon as it may be possible an agreement will be arrived at between the High Contracting Parties with a view to endowing the International Labour Conference under the auspices of the League of Nations with power to take, under conditions to be determined, resolutions possessing the force of international law."

*II.—Resolution Proposed by the Belgian,
French and Italian Delegations.*

"The Commission being of opinion that an international code of Labour legislation which will be really effective can not be secured without the cooperation of all industrial countries, expresses the wish that pending the signature of the Treaty of Peace, which will permit all such countries to be approached, the Peace Conference will communicate the present draft convention to the neutral powers for their information before finally adopting it."

III.—Resolution Proposed by the French Delegation

"The Commission considers that the very special questions concerning the minimum conditions to be accorded to seamen might be dealt with at a special meeting of the International Labour Conference devoted exclusively to the affairs of seamen."

The "Bill of Rights" as proposed by the Commission on International Labor Legislation for insertion in the Treaty of Peace was adopted by that commission after carefully considering and debating the proposals submitted by the delegations of the various nations represented. The proposals of the American delegation appear below, from which it will be seen to what extent the basic principles underlying the American trade union movement as represented by the A. F. of L. were adopted by the commission and actually written into the Treaty of Peace.

"The High Contracting Parties declare that in all States the following principles should be recognized, established and maintained:

1. That in law and in practice it should be held that the labor of the human being is not a commodity or an article of commerce.

2. That involuntary servitude should not exist except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted.

3. The right of free association, free assembly, free speech and free press should not be denied or abridged.

4. That the seamen of the merchant marine shall be guaranteed the right of leaving their vessels when the same are in safe harbor.

5. That no article or commodity should be shipped or delivered in international commerce in the production of which children under the age of sixteen years have been employed or permitted to work.

6. That no article or commodity should be shipped or delivered in international commerce in the production of which convict labor has been employed or permitted.

7. It should be declared that the workday in industry and commerce should not exceed eight hours a day, except in case of extraordinary emergency, such as danger to life or to property.

8. It should be declared that an adequate wage should be paid for labor performed—a wage based upon and commensurate with a standard of life conforming to the civilization of the time.

9. That equal wages should be paid to women for equal work performed.

10. That the sale or use for commercial purposes of articles made or manufactured in private homes should be prohibited."

As adopted by the Commission on International Labor Legislation, "Labor's Bill of Rights" was proposed for insertion in the Treaty of Peace as follows:

"Clauses Proposed for Insertion in the Treaty of Peace."

"The High Contracting parties declare their acceptance of the following principles and engage to take all necessary steps to secure their realization in accordance with the recommendation to be made by the International Labour Conference as to their practical application:

1. In right and in fact the labour of a human being should not be treated as merchandise or an article of commerce.

2. Employers and workers should be allowed the right of association for all lawful purposes.

3. No child should be permitted to be employed in industry or commerce before the age of fourteen years, in order that every child may be ensured reasonable opportunities for mental and physical education.

Between the years of fourteen and eighteen young persons of either sex may only be employed on work which is not harmful to their physical development and on condition that the continuation of their technical or general education is ensured.

4. Every worker has a right to a wage adequate to maintain a reasonable standard of life having regard to the civilization of his time and country.

5. Equal pay should be given to women and to men for work of equal value in quantity and quality.

6. A weekly rest, including Sunday, or its equivalent for all workers.

7. Limitation of the hours of work in industry on the basis of eight hours a day or forty-eight hours a week, subject to an exception for countries in which climatic conditions, the imperfect development of industrial development or industrial organization or other special circumstances render the industrial efficiency of the workers substantially different.

The International Labor Conference will recommend a basis approximately equivalent to the above for adoption in such countries.

8. In all matters concerning their status as workers and social insurance foreign workmen lawfully admitted to any country and their families should be ensured the same treatment as the nationals of that country.

9. All States should institute a system of inspection in which women should take part, in order to ensure the enforcement of the laws and regulations for the protection of the workers.

The adoption of the Bill of Rights as adopted by the Commission on International Labor Legislation was moved at the plenary session of the Peace Conference April 28, 1919, whereupon the following redraft was moved as an amendment, adopted and inserted in the Treaty of Peace:

"The High Contracting Parties, recognizing that the well-being, physical, moral and intellectual, of industrial wage-earners is of supreme international importance, have framed a permanent machinery associated with that of the League of Nations to further this great end. They recognize that differences of climate, habits and customs of economic opportunity and industrial tradition make strict uniformity in the conditions of labor difficult of immediate attainment. But, holding as they do, that labor should not be regarded merely as an article of commerce, they think that there are methods and principles for regulating labor conditions which all industrial communities should endeavor to apply so far as their special circumstances will permit.

Among these methods and principles, the following seem to the High Contracting Parties to be of special and urgent importance:

First. The guiding principle above enunciated that labor should not be regarded merely as a commodity or article of commerce.

Second. That right of association for all lawful purposes by the employed as well as by the employers.

Third. The payment to the employed of a wage adequate to maintain a reasonable standard of life as this is understood in their time and country.

Fourth. The adoption of an eight hours day or a forty-eight hours week as the standard to be aimed at where it has not already been obtained.

Fifth. The adoption of a weekly rest of at least twenty-four hours which should include Sunday whenever practicable.

Sixth. The abolition of child labor and the imposition of such limitations on the labor of young persons as shall permit the continuation of their education and assure their proper physical development.

Seventh. The principle that men and women should receive equal remuneration for work of equal value.

Eighth. The standard set by law in each country with respect to the conditions of labor should have due regard to the equitable economic treatment of all workers lawfully resident therein.

Ninth. Each state should make provision for a system of inspection in which women should take part in order to insure the enforcement of the laws and regulations for the protection of the employed.

Without claiming that these methods and principles are either complete or final, the High Contracting Parties are of opinion that they are well fitted to guide the policy of the League of Nations and that if adopted by the Industrial Communities who are members of League and safeguarded in practice by an adequate system of such inspection, they will confer lasting benefits upon the wage-earner of the world."

Among the many congratulatory messages and expressions of praise, the following cablegram from President Wilson best explains how the work of the Commission on International Labor Legislation is regarded by those familiar with the difficulties overcome and the results achieved:

"The Labor Programme which the Conference of Peace has adopted as part of the Treaty of Peace constitutes one of the most important achievements of the new day in which the interests of labor are to be systematically and intelligently safeguarded and promoted.

"Amidst the multitude of other interests this great step forward is apt to be overlooked, and yet no other single thing that has been done will help more to stabilize conditions of labor throughout the world and ultimately relieve the unhappy conditions which in too many places have prevailed.

"Personally I regard this as one of the most gratifying achievements of the Conference."

In addition to the work and conferences herein outlined, members of our delegation went to various industrial centers in the different countries visited, meeting, discussing and holding conferences with trade union representatives in a helpful interchange of opinions and information as to labor conditions and policies.

A rendezvous was effected in London March 27, 1919, for which date a conference had been arranged with a special committee of the Parliamentary Committee of the British Trades Union Congress to discuss matters relative to the proposed International Trade Union Conference and if possible agree to some mutually satisfactory time and place for holding such conference. Our delegation went into the matter in detail with the result that the special committee agreed to favorably recommend to the Parliamentary Committee our desire that the proposed International Trade Union Conference suggested for May be postponed until a later date, preferably October, in Washington, D. C.

During the entire trip the mission was in frequent communication with the office of the A. F. of L. and many suggestions and recommendations were either cabled or written to headquarters at Washington, D. C.

The delegation left London March 31, and sailed from Plymouth that evening for New York via Brest, France, in the steamship "Rotterdam," reaching New York, April 10, 1919.

It is the unanimous feeling of the delegation that its objects in going abroad were fulfilled and that its efforts were successful. We feel that we accomplished everything that was possible under the circumstances and that the mark of American Labor's constructive purpose was left indelibly written into the structure of the future peace.

If it was not possible during our stay in Europe to hold an International Trade Union Conference, no effort was spared in that direction and there is every reason to expect that a meeting of this kind will materialize as the result of our efforts.

We feel that our work in connection with the Peace Conference amply justified the effort expended and it is with some pride that we point out to the workers of America the fact that the deliberations held in connection with the Peace Conference clearly demonstrated the position of leadership held by the American labor movement, a leadership that rests upon the solid achievements gained for the workers of America by the trade union movement of our country.

We did not accomplish everything that we had hoped to accomplish. We did, however, gain as much as it was possible to gain. If there remains much unfinished work it is simply an indication that the world has not yet reached a stage where the right can be won for labor without continuing to struggle. We are more firmly convinced than ever of the practical success of the policy of the A. F. of L. and of its constructive effect in realizing the ideals and aspirations of the working people for a greater and ever greater measure of freedom and justice and democracy. Our experience has taught us afresh that the sure way to progress is the way that lies through a constant contact with the facts and conditions of life which

has always been the purpose of the A. F. of L.

We feel that we have a right to say that the world will better understand the needs of labor in the future as the result of our work abroad and that the world will more readily find a way to satisfy those needs.

Fraternally submitted,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President, American Federation of Labor.

JAMES DUNCAN,
President, Granite Cutters' International Association of America.

JOHN R. ALPINE,
President, United Association of Plumbers and Steam Fitters.

FRANK DUFFY,
Secretary, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America.

WILLIAM GREEN,
Secretary-Treasurer, United Mine Workers of America.

The report was referred to the Committee on International Labor Relations.

The Secretary read the following list of changes in committee appointments:

Frank J. Hayes from the Committee on Laws, appointed chairman of the Committee on State Organizations.

D. A. Carey from the Committee on Shorter Work Day to the Committee on Law.

Benjamin Schlessinger from the Committee on Organization to the Committee on Shorter Work Day.

Edward J. Ryan to Committee on Organization.

President Gompers stated that Delegate Hayes was placed on the Committee on State Organization because of the absence of Vice-President Alpine.

Resolutions were introduced and President Gompers informed the delegates that resolutions would be received at room 518, Alamac Hotel, until 10 o'clock tonight, and on the second day until time of adjournment, and after that time it would require unanimous consent to introduce a resolution in accordance with the Constitution of the A. F. of L.

At five o'clock the convention was adjourned to 9.30 A. M., Tuesday, June 10th.

REPORT OF A. F. OF L. EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY, June 9, 1919.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, Greeting:

We present to you herewith our report of work done during the year just closed together with a number of recommendations having most important bearing on the future work of the labor movement.

We have held seven meetings since the close of our last convention, including a meeting in this city since our arrival. We have considered eighty-eight documents covering different important matters which required our attention and action during the interim of meetings.

The year just closed has beyond doubt been the most eventful year in the history of American trade unionism, bringing with it problems of great magnitude and of the utmost importance. Our movement, guided by the basic principles, the correctness of which has been long since proven, was able successfully to meet and deal with every situation developed by the most trying times through which we have passed.

We are able to present to you in this report a most gratifying increase in membership and strength, and to lay before you an outlook that is rich in opportunity.

During the months when our nation was straining every effort to meet the test of war, the thought of the labor movement proved itself to be the guiding thought of the nation. Today, in the remaking of the world for peace, the thought and the morality of the labor movement must continue to be the great guiding force of progressive civilization.

SECRETARY MORRISON'S REPORT

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

FELLOW UNIONISTS: I have the honor to submit a report to you of the receipts and expenses for the past twelve months, beginning May 1, 1918, and ending April 30, 1919.

It is with satisfaction I report at the close of the fiscal year a balance on hand of \$217,490.16—\$192,490.16 in cash and \$25,000 loaned to the trustees of the A. F. of L. Building. Of the total amount on hand \$179,725.89 is in the defense fund for the local trade and federal labor unions and can be used to pay benefits only in case of a strike or lockout of the members of these local unions.

The balance, \$37,764.27 is in the general fund, and available for the general expenses of the American Federation of Labor.

The total receipts from all sources, \$654,687.57; the total expenses, \$587,518.39; excess of receipts over expenses, \$67,169.18.

The following are the receipts and expenses for the twelve months ending April 30, 1919:

RECEIPTS

Balance on hand April 30, 1918 (\$165,320.98) Cash Balance.....	\$125,320 98
Per capita tax.....	\$358,817 96
American Federationist.....	138,388 39
Defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions:	
Per capita tax from locals.....	\$39,136 19
Refund of strike benefits.....	172 00
Refund on Loan for A. F. of L. Building.....	15,000 00
	54,308 19
Initiation fees.....	36,953 98
One-cent assessment.....	26,108 86
Supplies.....	20,485 41
Premiums on bonds of officers of unions bonded through the A. F. of L.	9,626 78
Interest on funds on deposit and from U. S. liberty bonds.....	4,600 97
Disbanded and suspended unions and fees for charters not issued.....	3,745 22
Reinstatement fees.....	1,651 81
	<u>\$654,687 57</u>
Total receipts.....	\$780,008 55

EXPENSES

General expenses.....	\$373,017 01
American Federationist.....	122,557 25
One-cent assessment.....	26,108 86
Defense fund:	
Strike benefits to local trade and federal labor unions..	\$7,636 00
Refund of overpayment of per capita tax	18 50
	7,654 50
Premiums on bonds of officers of affiliated unions.....	8,067 33
Refund of initiation fees.....	113 44
Paid to trustees for A. F. of L. Building Fund.....	50,000 00
	<u>\$587,518 39</u>
Total expense.....	\$587,518 39
Cash balance on hand April 30, 1919.....	<u>\$192,490 16</u>

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

RECAPITULATION

In general fund.....	\$37,764 27
In Defense Fund for local and Federal Labor Unions (cash).....	154,725 89
Cash balance on hand April 30, 1919.....	\$192,490 16
Loan to Trustees for A. F. of L. Building Fund from Defense Fund.....	25,000 00
Total balance on hand April 30, 1919.....	\$217,490 16

EXPENSES GROUPED

The following is the grouping under their respective heads of the detailed monthly expenses:

Appropriations:	
Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.....	\$500 00
Per capita tax for directly affiliated local unions:	
Metal Trades Department.....	206 78
Union Label Trades Department.....	59 09
Rent.....	10,507 00
Refunds on premiums on bonds, overpayments on per capita tax and supplies returned	87 38
Premiums:	
Bonds, local unions.....	8,067 33
Secretary's bond.....	10 00
Fire insurance.....	8 37
Expressage, freight and drayage.....	799 18
Legislative expenses.....	6,472 26
Newspapers, magazines and books.....	333 91
Office fixtures.....	337 75
Postage stamps.....	3,104 65
Printing and binding proceedings of the St. Paul Convention.....	2,484 07
Supplies and printing.....	50,171 49
Telegrams.....	6,555 82
Expenses entertaining fraternal delegates from Canada.....	105 97
Expenses of fraternal delegates to Canadian Trades and Labor Congress and Great Britain.....	878 78
St. Paul:	
Committee rooms.....	220 50
Expenses, Secretary attending St. Paul Convention.....	268 41
Messenger, Sergeant-at-Arms and Assistant Secretary.....	450 00
Printing and supplies.....	216 00
Printing daily proceedings.....	1,889 70
Stenographers.....	2,141 06
Telegrams, telephone, stamps, porters, reading proof, sending out daily proceedings, rent of typewriters, and desks, typewriting, photographs, supplies, stationery and hauling.....	280 93
Salary:	
President.....	7,500 00
Secretary.....	5,000 00
Treasurer.....	500 00
Office employees.....	68,717 49
Expenses:	
Auditing and Credential Committee.....	542 40
Executive Council meetings.....	10,192 82
Committee rooms, baggage, telegrams, typewriter rentals, etc., E. O. meetings.....	197 50
Stenographers' expenses attending E. O. meetings.....	691 12
President traveling during year.....	1,166 61
Secretary traveling during year.....	344 64

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

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Defense Fund:

Strike benefits.....	7,636 00
Refund of overpayment of per capita tax received from local trade and federal labor unions.....	18 50
Organizing expenses.....	165,609 56
Printing and publishing <i>American Federationist</i>	122,557 25
Printing, publishing and editing American Federation of Labor Weekly News Letter.....	5,857 25
Postage on American Federation of Labor Weekly News Letter.....	100 00
Initiation fees refunded to local trade and federal labor unions.....	113 44
Paid to trustees for A. F. of L. Building Fund.....	50,000 00
One-cent assessment levied as our Emergency War Measure.....	26,106 86
Floral piece in memory of T. J. Savage of the International Association of Machinists.....	25 00
Expenses A. F. of L. delegate to Union Label Trades and Metal Trades, St. Paul Conventions.....	69 85
Compiling and printing A. F. of L. Year Book.....	5,660 00
Payment on work of Pan-American Federation of Labor.....	1,400 00
Expenses A. F. of L. Committee on Industrial Education.....	296 63
Engrossing resolutions for Messrs. O'Connell, Lennon and Perham.....	450 00
Expenses Committee on Social Insurance.....	687 09
Legal expenses.....	2,000 00
Pan-American Federation of Labor.....	1,800 00
Total.....	\$587,518 39

AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST

The receipts on account of the *American Federationist* for the fiscal year ending April 30 1919, are \$138,388.41, the total expenses are \$122,557.25, which is an excess of receipts over expenses of \$15,831.16. The outstanding accounts on April 30, 1919, were \$4,289.56.

The following are the receipts and expenses for the twelve months ending April 30, 1919:

RECEIPTS

Advertisements and subscriptions.....	\$99,243 79
Tax received from local, trade and federal labor unions on account of subscriptions.....	39,144 62
Total.....	\$138,388 41

EXPENSES

Attorney fees.....	\$633 83
Commissions on advertisements and subscriptions.....	\$0,026 90
Hauling.....	31 00
R. G. Dunn & Co.....	150 00
Postage stamps.....	914 26
Postage, pound rate.....	3,100 00
Printing regular edition <i>American Federationist</i>	9,334 45
Printing local union edition, <i>American Federationist</i>	46,983 24
Refunds.....	21 45
Salaries.....	1,361 82
Total.....	\$122,557 25

RECAPITULATION

Receipts.....	\$138,388 41
Expenses.....	122,557 25
Excess of receipts over expenses.....	\$15,831 16

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

DIRECTLY CHARTERED LOCAL TRADE AND FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS

On April 30, 1919, this year we had 884 local trade and federal labor unions with an average membership for the twelve months of 65,227 in good standing, and a defense fund of \$179,725.89 to protect the members of these unions in case of strike or lockout.

There are only 14 of the 111 national and international unions that have a larger membership than is contained in the 884 local trade and federal labor unions directly chartered by the American Federation of Labor.

In case of strike, the Federation has a substantial defense fund to assist in sustaining the directly affiliated members.

There are also 2,091 district organizers, as well as the paid organizers, and 816 city central bodies ready to respond to a call to assist members of local unions in case of a strike or lockout.

Many strikes that would have cost the American Federation of Labor a large sum were averted during the past year through the assistance of organizers of the American Federation of Labor in adjusting the differences with employers and securing conditions desired by the union.

Defense Fund for Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions

The following is a statement of the amounts received from and paid to our local trade and federal labor unions, giving average membership, number of weeks benefit, and the amount received by each organization during the fiscal year ending April 30, 1919:

RECEIPTS

Receipts from Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions for Defense Fund.....	\$39,136 19
Return to Defense Fund by Trustees, A. F. of L. Building Fund.....	15,000 00
Returned Strike Benefits.....	172 00
Total.....	\$54,308 19

EXPENSES

Union and Location.	Average Membership.	Weeks.	Amount.
Girls Strippers, No. 14847, Wheeling, W. Va.....	59	7	\$1,668 00
Tobacco Strippers, No. 12722, Bayamon, P. R.....	64	4	1,028 00
Horse Hair Dressers, No. 12889, Philadelphia, Pa.....	50	5	1,008 00
Basket Makers, No. 14353, New York, N. Y.....	108	2	864 00
Rubber Workers, No. 14888, Bridgeport, Conn.....	95	2	760 00
Pharmaco Workers, No. 15742, Wheeling, W. Va.....	46	3	496 00
Tobacco Strippers, No. 12439, Puerta de Tierra.....	27	4	432 00
Tobacco Strippers, No. 12046, New Haven, Conn.....	33	3	400 00
Artificial Limb Workers, No. 15504, Greater New York, N. Y.....	12	6	308 00
Cigar Makers Helpers, No. 15206, San Juan, P. R.....	24	3	288 00
Pipe Calkers & Repairers, No. 11465, Buffalo, N. Y.....	9	5	192 00
Cigar Factory Employees, No. 15314, Tampa, Florida.....	17	2	136 00
Federal Labor Union, No. 15938, Waynesboro, Pa.....	3	3	36 00
Willow Reed & Rattan Workers, No. 14565, Boston, Mass.....	2	2	20 00
Total strike benefits.....			\$7,636 00
Refund of overpayment of per capita tax received in Defense Fund.....			18 50
Total expenses.....			\$7,654 50

RECAPITULATION

Cash balance in defense fund April 30, 1918.....	\$108,072 20
Receipts for twelve months ending April 30, 1919.....	54,308 19
Total cash balance.....	\$162,380 39
Paid out of defense fund.....	7,654 50
Cash balance in defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions, April 30, 1919.....	\$154,725 89
Loan to trustees for A. F. of L. Building Fund.....	25,000 00
Balance in defense fund, including loan, April 30, 1919.....	\$179,725 89

ONE-CENT ASSESSMENT

The St. Paul Convention decided that as our emergency war measure the Executive Council be authorized to levy an assessment of one cent per capita upon the membership of the affiliated organizations.

The E. O. at their meeting, July 23-28, 1918, considered the demands upon the funds of the American Federation of Labor created by the War, and anticipating the further additional outlay that would be necessary and acting upon the authority provided in the resolution, levied an assessment of one cent per member upon affiliated organizations.

The following is the statement of the amount received from the one-cent assessment and the amount expended:

RECEIPTS

Receipts, August 10, 1918, to and including April 30, 1919.....\$26,108 86

EXPENSES

NAME	SERVICE	Amount
Aug. 9, 1918. Samuel Gompers.....	On account of expenses as member American Labor Mission to Great Britain, France and Italy.....	\$1,500 00
Dec. 31, 1918. James Duncan.....	On account expenses as member of A. F. of L. Peace Delegation to Europe.....	1,500 00
" Jno. R. Alpine.....	On account expenses as member of A. F. of L. Peace Delegation to Europe.....	1,500 00
" Frank Duffy.....	On account expenses as member of A. F. of L. Peace Delegation to Europe.....	1,500 00
" Wm. Green.....	On account expenses as member of A. F. of L. Peace Delegation to Europe.....	1,500 00
" G. H. Oyster.....	On account expenses as an assistant to the A. F. of L. Peace Delegation to Europe.....	1,000 00
" J. B. Mahan.....	On account expenses as an assistant to the A. F. of L. Peace Delegation to Europe.....	1,000 00
Dec. 31, 1918. G. W. Perkins.....	Expenses A. F. of L. Committee on Reconstruction.....	382 66
" John Moore.....	Expenses A. F. of L. Committee on Reconstruction.....	249 55
" John Frey.....	Expenses A. F. of L. Committee on Reconstruction.....	206 02
" Matthew Woll.....	Expenses, salary and expenses, Washington, D. C., to New York and return and expenses A. F. of L. Committee on Reconstruction.....	195 00
" B. M. Jewell.....	Expenses A. F. of L. Committee on Reconstruction.....	60 00
Jan. 3, 1919. Samuel Gompers.....	On account of expenses as member of A. F. of L. Peace Delegation to Europe.....	850 00
Jan. 27, 1919. " ".....	Amount cabled to A. F. of L. Peace Delegation to Europe on account of expenses.....	5,000 00
Jan. 27, 1919. Riggs National Bank.....	Cablegram, charges on money forwarded and message to A. F. of L. Peace Delegation to Europe.....	7 36
Feb. 26, 1919. Samuel Gompers.....	Amount cabled to A. F. of L. Peace Delegation to Europe on account of expenses.....	5,000 00
Feb. 26, 1919. Riggs National Bank.....	Cablegram, charges on money forwarded and message to A. F. of L. Peace Delegation to Europe.....	5 68
Aug. 12, 1918, to Feb. 26, 1919, S. Iglesias.....	Organizing expenses.....	1,956 20
Aug. 22 to Dec. 23, 1918, J. Murray.....	Legislative and organizing expenses.....	1,432 37
Nov. 4, 1918, to Feb. 14, 1919, C. N. Idar.....	Organizing expenses.....	1,264 02
Total.....		\$26,108 86

RECAPITULATION

Receipts.....\$26,108 86
Expenses.....26,108 86

FUND FOR PROMOTING AND ADVANCING COOPERATION

Contributions to fund for promoting and advancing cooperation upon the plan of the Rochdale Cooperative Society, in accordance with the direction of the Buffalo, 1917, A. F. of L. Convention to April 30, 1919, \$2,384.03.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

ORGANIZING EXPENSES

The following list of organizers, who were engaged in various States under salaries from the American Federation of Labor, shows that there has been expended from the general fund for organizing work during the past twelve months \$165,609.56. Of this amount \$3,569.19 was paid to district or volunteer organizers, in sums ranging from \$5 to \$50, for organizing central bodies and local trade and federal labor unions, and adjusting strikes and grievances of local unions affiliated directly or indirectly with the American Federation of Labor.

NAME	STATES WHEREIN WORK WAS DONE	Amount Received.
1. John J. Fitzpatrick	Illinois, Indiana	\$6,200 42
2. Jas. E. Roach	New Jersey, New York, Canada, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Minnesota	5,877 71
3. C. O. Young	Washington, Oregon, Idaho, Texas, California	4,607 65
4. C. P. Taylor	Washington, Oregon	4,492 51
5. T. H. Flynn	Pennsylvania, Mississippi, Ohio, West Virginia, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, Montana, Illinois	4,306 63
6. E. T. Flood	Wisconsin, Illinois, Missouri, Kansas, Indiana, Kentucky, Ohio, Virginia, Colorado, New York, Nebraska, Minnesota	4,234 59
7. Mary P. Scully	New York, District of Columbia, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Ohio	4,136 49
8. J. B. Dale	California	4,065 26
9. P. J. Smith	Illinois, Missouri, Indiana	4,001 81
10. P. F. Duffy	Pennsylvania, New York, District of Columbia, New Jersey	3,991 95
11. C. Covert	Washington, Oregon	3,965 85
12. H. L. Eichelberger	Maryland, District of Columbia, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware	3,709 84
13. John Kikulski	Delaware	3,700 65
14. J. A. Flett	New York, Canada, District of Columbia	3,600 44
15. Cal Wyatt	District of Columbia, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana	3,563 81
16. S. Cupinski	Illinois, Iowa, Missouri	3,461 42
17. H. T. Hifers	New Jersey	3,453 47
18. E. E. Ball	Texas, Illinois, Missouri, Oklahoma	3,363 56
19. J. E. Smith	Minnesota, Nebraska, Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky	3,265 55
20. Frank H. McCarthy	Massachusetts, New York, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Maine	3,174 63
21. John Riley	Illinois	3,059 89
22. Henry Streiffer	New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio	2,976 71
23. Hu. h Frayne	New York	2,845 19
24. William Collins	New York	2,681 64
25. J. M. Richie	Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware	2,677 40
26. J. E. McCadden	Pennsylvania, Ohio, New York	2,673 29
27. W. Shurtleff	Ohio, West Virginia, Kentucky, Indiana, New York, Michigan	2,600 00
28. A. Bastien	Newfoundland, Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia	2,455 38
29. Chas. B. Stillman	Illinois, Indiana, Pennsylvania, Missouri, New York, Ohio, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Tennessee, Kentucky, New Jersey, Massachusetts	2,448 12
30. Mary Kelleher	New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Connecticut, New Hampshire, Canada, Georgia, Maryland, Massachusetts	2,390 14
31. A. Goode	Virginia, North Carolina	2,371 13
32. Santiago Iglesias	Porto Rico, Texas, New York	2,233 86
33. Anthony Wilson	New York, Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin	2,215 29
34. T. J. Conboy	Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Indiana	2,193 87
35. T. Augustino	Illinois, Wisconsin	2,168 17
36. J. J. Keane	Ohio, Georgia	2,123 28
37. A. Neary	New York, New Jersey, Maryland, Ohio, Illinois	2,121 77
38. I. Liberti	New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio	2,093 60
39. A. Marks	New York	2,075 73
40. John Olchon	Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Ohio	1,960 04
41. E. G. Galloway	Illinois, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Missouri	1,872 46
42. H. A. Riviere	Rhode Island, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Maine, Vermont, New York	1,673 27
43. M. Miller	Missouri, Wisconsin, Illinois	1,648 59
44. John D. Chubbuck	North Dakota	1,499 19
45. C. G. Voigt	District of Columbia, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa	1,400 24

NAME	STATES WHEREIN WORK WAS DONE	Amount Received.
46. A. Jonice	Rhode Island, Massachusetts, New York, Maine	\$1,317 56
47. S. Herman Alter	Pennsylvania	1,197 72
48. J. G. Brown	Illinois, Pennsylvania	1,193 39
49. J. T. Wooda	California	1,157 90
50. Chas. A. Brandt	Illinois	1,122 52
51. Cora B. Hogan	New York, Illinois, Wisconsin, Indiana	1,058 82
52. S. J. Rokoss	Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois	980 66
53. C. N. Idar	Texas, Mexico	844 74
54. Mrs. Cora Lape	Illinois	690 20
55. L. V. Lampeon	Maryland, Virginia, Pennsylvania, Texas, Illinois, Missouri	690 47
56. Cora Edmonds	Michigan	620 00
57. J. Minszewski	Massachusetts, Rhode Island	616 59
58. R. S. Sexton	Porto Rico	610 08
59. Henry Tenhunen	Minnesota	533 78
60. A. R. Linn	Pennsylvania, Ohio, Missouri, New York, Indiana	599 20
61. John Murray	Mexico, Texas	580 18
62. C. M. Slater	Pennsylvania	540 00
63. P. Quinlan	Pennsylvania	521 56
64. C. E. Hyatt	Colorado	521 33
65. W. H. Young	Colorado	463 24
66. Jane Hamor	New York	460 00
67. Mrs. Betty Hawley	New York	460 00
68. Elizabeth Jenkins	Michigan	420 00
69. James Leonard	Louisiana	417 22
70. Jas. E. Roach, Jr.	New York	406 84
71. J. Brown	Virginia, North Carolina	401 36
72. W. A. Harris	Pennsylvania	395 48
73. W. E. Ball	Indiana	335 80
74. Rebecca Meketon	Pennsylvania	300 00
75. Grant Hamilton	District of Columbia	292 00
76. D. Kreyling	Missouri, Illinois	272 00
77. Helen Murphy	Illinois	252 25
78. Mrs. F. Hipp	District of Columbia	240 00
79. Myrtle McDonald	District of Columbia	190 00
80. E. Anderson	Colorado	195 30
81. Fred Howard	Colorado	192 00
82. Louis Korosec	Colorado	192 00
83. L. Thompson	Minnesota	190 00
84. Melinda Scott	New York, New Jersey	177 50
85. Harry M. White	Tennessee	177 40
86. Anna P. Cherry	New York	175 52
87. John O. Walsh	California	144 10
88. Jane Olcott	New York	150 00
89. W. W. Hale	Alabama	144 25
90. Anna Danard	New York	140 00
91. Betta Lewis	Missouri	140 00
92. W. E. Terry	Florida	123 15
93. R. O. Jaegers	Oklahoma	120 25
94. R. E. Clodfelter	North Carolina	120 00
95. G. C. Campbell	Iowa	110 00
96. John J. Dean	North Carolina	105 00
97. C. Avilea	Porto Rico	100 00
98. Chas. W. O'Danell	North Carolina	97 10
99. J. E. Winstanley	Alabama	90 00
100. A. Farmilo	Canada	84 60
101. John Jancknowski	New York	81 80
102. W. A. Nealy	Massachusetts	80 00
103. F. A. Canfield	Iowa	76 94
104. Wm. J. Lamb, Jr.	Ohio	70 25
105. W. C. Birthwright	Tennessee	62 00
106. Albert E. Hill	Tennessee	61 42
107. C. B. Nelson	Missouri	60 00
108. W. C. Wilson	California	60 00
109. P. R. Bell	Indiana	60 00
110. Edw. Cunningham	Texas	52 90
111. M. E. Alarie	Canada	51 50
112. E. Fenton	Oklahoma	50 00
	Paid to district organizers in amounts less than \$50.	3,569 19
Total		\$165,609 56

* Includes \$3,261.24 paid for one-half rent of office, salary stenographer, telegrams, stationery and office supplies.

** Includes \$2,155.81 paid for rent of office and office expenses, salary of stenographer, interpreter, and other organizers.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

CHARTERS ISSUED

During the twelve months ending April 30, 1919, there has been issued 555 charters to National and International, State Central, Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions.

Of this number, three were granted to the following internationals:

International Federation of Draftsmen's Union;

Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers of America;

International Steel and Copper Plate Engravers' League.

One State Branch: Mississippi State Federation of Labor.

Seventy Central Bodies, as follows:

Alabama:	Indiana:	North Carolina:
Albany.	Connersville.	Greensboro.
(Florence, Sheffield, Tus-	Dunkirk.	North Dakota:
cumbia.)	Petersburg.	Minot.
Mobile.	Washington	Ohio:
Arizona:	Kansas:	Ashtabula.
Prescott.	Atchinson.	Crooksville.
Arkansas:	Chanute.	Gallon.
Little Rock.	Independence.	Marion.
Sebastian County.	Neodesha.	Wellsville.
California:	Newton.	Oklahoma:
Coalinga.	Parsons.	Muskogee.
Martinez.	Louisiana:	Wesetka.
Canada:	Madisonville and vicinity	Oregon:
Guelph, Ontario.	Morgan City.	Coos Bay and vicinity.
Peterborough, Ontario.	Maryland:	Panama:
Sarnia, Ontario.	Hagerstown.	Balboa.
St. Thomas, Ontario.	Massachusetts:	Pennsylvania:
Windsor, Ontario.	Greenfield.	Tyrone.
Colorado:	Quincy.	Waynesboro.
La Junta.	Minnesota:	Porto Rico:
Connecticut:	Mankato.	Ponce.
Nangattuck.	New Ulm.	South Carolina:
Florida:	Mississippi:	Charleston.
Jacksonville.	Hattiesburg.	Spartansburg.
Key West.	Vicksburg.	Texas:
Georgia:	Nebraska:	Dennison.
Brunswick.	Haetings.	Laredo.
Brunswick.	North Platte.	Washington:
Illinois:	Nevada:	Centralia.
Cairo.	White Pine County.	Vancouver.
Freeport.	New Mexico:	Wisconsin:
Iowa:	Clovis.	Janesville.
Boone.	New York:	Neenah and Nenaaha.
	Hoosick Falls.	Two Rivers.
	Wellsville.	

CHARTERS REVOKED, SUSPENDED, SURRENDERED, DISBANDED, JOINED INTERNATIONAL UNIONS AND RESTORED

INTERNATIONAL UNIONS: Suspended, 2. International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen, membership, 5,412; Ceramic Mosaic and Encaustic Tile Layers and Helpers' International Union, membership, 2,500. Amalgamated, 1. International Brotherhood of Tip Printers, membership, 266, with International Brotherhood of Bookbinders, membership, 16,444.

CENTRAL BODIES: Disbanded, 19; suspended, 17.

LOCAL TRADE UNIONS. Disbanded, 5; suspended, 195; joined national and international organizations, 217; reinstated, 29; merged, 1.

FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS. Disbanded, 5; suspended, 65; joined national and international unions, 16.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

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VOTING STRENGTH

The following table shows the voting strength of the affiliated unions of the American Federation of Labor for the years 1911 up to and including 1919. This table is based upon the average membership reported or paid upon to the American Federation of Labor:

ORGANIZATIONS.	1911.	1912.	1913.	1914.	1915.	1916.	1917.	1918.	1919.
Bakery & Confectionery Wkrs. I. U. of A.	138	146	151	157	158	175	189	204	210
Barbers' International Union, Jour.	285	299	318	343	341	359	398	384	359
Bill Posters	14	14	14	14	14	15	15	16	16
Blacksmiths, Intl. Brotherhood of	100	93	90	96	85	97	120	183	2-8
Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders	199	167	162	167	173	182	312	555	849
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union	327	333	343	381	356	390	396	358	368
Bookbinders, Intl. Brotherhood of	79	85	91	94	85	93	114	145	164
Brewery Workmen, International Union	450	450	450	520	520	496	450	450	400
Brick and Clay Workers, etc.	34	34	39	32	29	32	28	25	27
Bricklayers, Masons & Plasterers' I. U. A.							700	700	700
Broom and Whisk Makers' Union, Intl.	7	7	7	7	7	8	7	7	10
Brushmakers' International Union	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	1
Carpenters and Joiners, Amalgamated	78	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Carpenters and Joiners, United Bro. of	1946	1923	2107	2128	1956	1977	2317	2673	3079
Carriage and Wagon Workers	20	27	29	35	38	40	42	42	42
Carvers' Union, International Wood	12	10	10	11	10	11	12	12	10
Car Workers, International Assn. of	46	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Cement Workers	90	90	90	73	16	9	9	9	9
Chainmakers' National Union	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c
Cigarmakers' International Union	436	415	402	400	394	377	416	395	363
Clerks, Bro. of Railway	50	50	50	50	50	51	68	172	714
Clerks, Bro. of Railway, Postal				15	20	27	4	4	4
Clerks, Intl. Protective Assn. Retail	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150
Clerks, National Post-office	16	18	22	28	32	42	42	42	42
Cloth Hat and Cap Makers, United	22	28	38	36	30	63	88	m	m
Commercial Telegraphers	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	20
Compressed Air & Foundation Workers	6	6	8	10	12	14	16	n	n
Coopers' International Union	43	45	46	45	39	36	39	40	40
Cutting Die & Cuttermakers, Intl Union	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	2
Diamond Workers' Prot. Union of A.		3	3	3	3	3	4	4	5
Draftsmen's Union, Intl.									18
Electrical Workers, International Bro.	189	196	227	308	362	362	415	544	1312
Elevator Constructors	21	23	26	27	27	28	29	29	30
Engineers, B'n. Ass. of U. S. & C., Nat. Mar.									79
Engineers, Intl. Union of Steam	160	177	200	203	210	210	220	230	250
Engravers, Steel and Copper Plate		2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Express Messengers of A., Bro. of Railway									109
Federal Employees, National Fed. of							81	23	154
Fire Fighters, International Assn. of									205
Firemen, Intl. Bro. of Stationary	80	114	160	160	160	170	170	171	171
Freight Handlers, Bro. of Railroad	40	25	10	20	1	1	1	1	1
Flour and Cereal Mill Employees	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Foundry Employees, Intl. Bro. of	5	5	5	6	6	8	13	33	54
Fur Workers, International Assn. of	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c
Fur Workers' Union of U. S. & C., Intl.				8	37	57	81	100	108
Garment Workers of America, United	525	464	585	607	422	430	449	459	460
Glass Bottle Blowers' Assn. of U. S. & C.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Glass Workers' International Assn., Amal.	12	11	13	12	11	h	h	h	h
Glass Workers, American Flint	*		91	99	94	94	98	99	95
Glass Workers, National Window								7	50
Glove Workers	9	11	13	11	10	10	8	7	7
Grinders' National Union, Table Knife	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Grinders & Finishers, Pocket Knife Blade	3	3	3	3	3	2	1	1	1
Granite Cutters' Intl. Assn. of A., The	135	135	135	135	135	131	125	119	107
Hatters of North America, United	85	85	85	85	85	85	85	91	100
Heat Frost, Genl. Insulators, and Abestos	8	8	8	10	10	10	10	16	18
Hodcarriers and Common Laborers	127	125	221	256	319	324	324	367	400
Horsehoofers of United States and Canada	49	52	53	57	57	58	54	54	54
Hotel and Restaurant Employees, etc.	430	476	539	590	606	590	646	652	608
Iron, Steel and Tin Workers' Amal. Assn.	45	45	55	64	65	67	110	161	197
Iron Wkrs., Bridge & Struc. Intl. Assn.	100	100	100	102	100	100	100	160	170
Jewelry Workers' International	3	2	1	1	1	53	43	42	51
Lace Operatives, Amal.	9	10	11	12	12	11	12	12	9
Ladies' Garment Workers, International	668	584	788	699	653	851	823	895	905
Lathers, Intl. Union of W.W. & Metal	50	50	50	55	60	60	60	60	60
Laundry Workers, International Union	26	26	26	28	41	43	46	55	60
Leather Workers on Horse Goods	26	20	19	18	18	18	k	k	k
Leather Workers of America, Amal.	6	6	c	c	c	c	c	c	c
Leather Workers' Intl. Union, United							32	41	67
Letter Carriers, National Assn. of							25	305	307
Lithographers' Intl. P. & B. Assn.	21	24	26	28	35	42	46	49	56
Lithographic Pressfeeders	9	9	10	10	10	10	10	10	10
Longshoremen's Association, Intl.	250	235	220	250	250	250	255	260	313
Machinists, International Association of	671	598	710	764	719	1009	1125	1436	2546
Machine Printers and Color Mixers	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

VOTING STRENGTH—Continued

ORGANIZATIONS,*	1911.	1912.	1913.	1914.	1915.	1916.	1917.	1918.	1919.
Maintenance of Way Employees, I. B. of.....	100	91	80	65	81	89	97	56	542
Marble, etc., International Asso. of.....	28	28	30	41	16	6	10	10	10
Masters, Mates and Pilots.....						40	43	48	62
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen.....	31	40	54	62	61	73	96	291	663
Metal Workers' Intl. Alliance, Amal. Sheet.....	172	166	169	178	178	175	176	183	202
Metal Polishers, Buffers and Platers, etc.....	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Mine Workers of America, United.....	2504	2670	3708	3345	3116	3180	3520	4134	3938
Mine, Mill and Smelter Wkrs., I. U. of.....	513	506	485	369	167	161	179	167	178
Molders' Union of North America, Intl.....	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	516
Musicians, American Federation of.....	500	500	546	600	600	600	604	650	654
Oil Field, etc., Workers.....									45
Painters of America, Brotherhood of.....	676	685	709	744	753	782	852	845	827
Papermakers, United Brotherhood of.....	24	28	40	44	45	52	64	60	57
Patternmakers' League of N. A.....	56	60	65	67	65	65	70	88	90
Pavers & Rammersmen, Intl. Union of.....	15	15	15	16	16	15	15	17	18
Paving Cutters' Union of U. S. of A. & C.....	32	35	35	35	35	33	32	32	26
Photo-Engravers' Union of N. A., Intl.....	37	40	44	47	48	51	51	51	50
Piano & Organ Wkrs. Union of A., Intl.....	40	20	10	10	10	10	15		20
Plasterers' Intl. Asso. of U. S. & C. Oper.....	147	157	173	180	183	184	190	90	190
Plumbers, Steamfitters, etc.....	200	260	290	297	320	320	320	320	20
Postal Employees, Natl. Federation of.....							81	101	145
Powder and High Explosive Workers.....	2	2	2	2	2	3	3	4	3
Potters, National Bro. of Operative.....	59	65	65	77	78	77	76	78	74
Printing Pressmen, International.....	190	190	190	193	227	290	330	340	340
Printers' Union of N. A., I. S. & C. Plate.....	13	12	13	13	13	12	13	12	13
Print Cutters' Asso. of A., Natl.....	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Pulp, Sulphite, and Paper Mill Wkrs.....	28	35	31	35	43	44	65	80	84
Quarry Workers, International.....	35	40	40	40	36	35	35	31	30
Railway Carmen of A., Bro.....	269	287	280	287	293	308	390	534	1004
Railway Employees' Amal. Asso., S. & E.....	393	402	457	545	589	646	737	786	897
Railway Mail Association.....								94	134
Roofers, Com. Damp & Waterproof Wkrs.....	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	10
Sawsmiths' National Union.....	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Seamen's Union of America, Intl.....	160	160	160	160	160	217	322	371	427
Shipwrights, Joiners and Calkers.....	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†
Signalmen, Bro. R. R.....			7	8	9	8	9	9	62
Slate and Tile Roofers.....	5	5	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
Slate Workers.....	7	4	3	3	3	††	††	††	††
Spinners' Intl. Union.....	22	22	22	22	22	22	22	22	22
Steam and Hot Water Fitters & Helpers.....	56	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d
Steam Shovel and Dredge Men.....					27	20	29	37	d
Steel Plate Transferers' Asso. of Amer.....	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Stereotypers & Electrotypers' U. of A.....	42	43	45	45	49	49	52	53	54
Stonecutters' Association, Journeymen.....	86	89	66	60	44	43	41	42	39
Stove Mounters' International Union.....	11	11	11	11	11	12	17	19	19
Switchmen's Union of North America.....	87	87	96	98	90	93	102	107	118
Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen.....	120	120	120	120	120	120	120	120	120
Teachers, Am. Fed. of.....						27	21	10	28
Teamsters, Chauffeurs, etc., Intl. Bro. of.....	382	415	469	511	516	590	703	729	756
Telegraphers, Order of Railroad.....	250	250	250	250	250	250	272	377	446
Textile Workers of America, United.....	100	109	162	180	189	255	371	459	558
Theatrical Stage Employees, Intl. Alliance.....	98	110	132	150	180	181	186	186	185
Tile Layers and Helpers, Intl. Union.....	21	24	27	30	30	28	28	25	d
Timber Workers, Intl. Union of.....							2	23	32
Tin Plate Workers, Intl. Protective.....	3	3	f	f	f	f	f	f	f
Tip Printers.....	2	2	f	f	f	f	f	f	p
Tobacco Workers' Intl. Union of America.....	40	37	36	37	39	34	32	33	42
Travelers' Goods & Leather Novelty Intl.....	8	9	9	9	9	10	k	k	k
Tunnel & Subway Constructors, I. U.....	17	18	19	17	15	27	34	24	20
Typographical Union, International.....	518	547	564	594	591	607	616	633	647
Upholsterers, International Union of.....	28	28	31	35	35	39	40	48	55
Watch-case Engravers, International.....	2	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c
Weavers, Elastic Goring.....	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Weavers, Shingle.....	15	15	31	25	7	4	5	o	o
White Rats Actors' Union of A.....	66	110	110	110	87	90	47	30	30
Wire Weavers' Protective, American.....	4	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Woodsmen and Saw Mill Workers.....	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†
Wood Workers, Amalgamated.....	31	e	e	e	e	e	e	e	e
Centrals.....	631	560	621	647	673	717	762	781	816
State Branches.....	38	41	42	43	44	45	45	45	46
Directly affiliated local unions.....	680	590	659	570	489	705	1016	1076	1091
Total vote of Unions.....	18643	18499	20976	21185	20433	21906	24973	28375	33849

* Charter revoked. ** Withdraw. † Suspended for non-payment of per capita tax. ‡ Disbanded. § Merged with Machinists. ¶ Merged with Molders. c Surrendered charter. d Not recognized. e Merged with Carpenters. f Merged with Iron and Steel Workers. g Merged with Operative Plasterers. h Merged with Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers. i Bro. of Railway Postal Clerks and National Federation of Post Office Clerks, merged. j Suspended for failure to comply with decision of Baltimore Convention. k Leather Workers on Horse Goods and Travelers' Goods merged with Leather Novelty Workers. l Suspended for failure to comply with decision of A. F. of L. Convention. m Suspended for failure to comply with decision of A. F. of L. n Merged with Hod-carriers. o Merged with Timber Workers. p Merged with Bookbinders.

CHARTERS—Reports from the Secretaries of 101 of our National and International organizations furnish us with the information that 6,743 charters have been issued during the past year and 1,719 lapsed and surrendered—215 of the charters lapsed and surrendered were locals of the National and International unions and 504 affiliated direct with the American Federation of Labor.

GAIN IN MEMBERSHIP—The gain in membership reported by the Secretaries of 66 International organizations over the membership on the first of May last year is 826,449.

STRIKES—Reports were received from 66 National and International organizations and from local unions directly affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. All the International organizations have not available complete figures covering strikes in their trades and the figures supplied in the following table do not cover completely movements for improved conditions of labor. The information, however, is sufficient to show that the organized workers are steadily standardizing conditions and improving them. The reports show that there were 1,515 strikes, in which there were 234,466 involved. 203,876 secured improved conditions. The total cost of the strikes reported on was \$1,391,833 30. Adding to that amount \$82,547 49, donations made by unions for financial assistance of other unions, we have a total of \$1,474,380 79 expended to maintain men on strike during the past year.

[illegible]

CHARTERS, GAIN IN MEMBERSHIP, AND STRIKES—CONTINUED.

ORGANIZATIONS.	Charters issued.	Charters surrendered	Gain in membership.	Strikes won.	Strikes compromised	Strikes pending.	Strikes lost.	Number involved	Number benefited.	Number involved in strikes pending.	Gain in wages.	Reduction in hours per day.	Cost of strikes.	Donations to other unions.
Foundry Employees.	39	9	3,200	12	3	4	2	1,000	1,000	600	18 per cent.	1 hour.	\$275.00	\$621.09
Fur Workers.	4	4	350	1	1	3	2	3,850	2,000	1,000	\$1 per day.	4 hr. per wk.	8,775.00	
Garment Workers, United.	40	19	350	1	1	2	2	2,813	1,684	988	\$2 to \$5 p. w. r.	4 hrs. per wk.	10,000.00	10,000.00
Garment Workers, Ladies.	7	2		11				66,000	65,000		15 per cent.	5 hrs. per wk.	5,000.00	
Glass Bottle Blowers.										38	38 per cent.			
Glass Workers, Flint.	4	6				2			165		10 per cent.			
Glass Window Workers.			101								10 per cent.			
Glove Workers.	6	4									10, 20 and 25¢			
Granite Cutters.			2,000	9	3	1	1	935	5,000	8	\$1.20 per day.		1,518.00	1,200.00
Hatters.	4							3,000	1,000	1,000	\$1		44,762.53	6,100.00
Hodcarriers.	69	65	77	15	1	11	1	9,727	6,301	3,446	\$1 per day.			
Horse-shoers.								600	450	450				
Hotel and Restaurant Employees.	63	170	11	130	35	8	18	5,219	4,633	450	\$1 per day.		45,723.32	27,316.45
Iron and Steel Workers.	79	9	8,000		122	2	5	5,000	4,500	2,000	10 to 30 per ct.	2 to 4 hrs.	14,000.00	1,000.00
Lace Operatives.														
Lathers.	13	34						780	610	150	10 per cent.		455.00	650.00
Laundry Workers.	29	17	800	4	2	2	1	400	300		10 per cent.		7,000.00	2,500.00
Leather Workers.	31	10	3,000	2										
Leather Carriers.	48		2,000											
Lithographers.	4		728	1				14	14	2,000	\$7 per week.	2 hours.	384.00	
Longshoremen.			4,100	10	4			12,010	8,000		60 ct. per day.	1 hr. per day.	15,400.00	
Machinists.	89	57	155,000					210	210		\$1 to \$1.25 p. d.	2 hr. per day.	121,701.45	3,544.34
Maintenance of Way Employees.	279	40	188,713	1									700.00	
Masters, Maters and Pilots.	2	4												
Marble Workers.	3													
Meat Cutters.	25	25	31,000							1,400	20 per cent.	4 hr. per day.	1,560.00	2,000.00
Metal Workers, Sheet.	125	10	2,500	2	1	1	2	237		15				
Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers.	72	27	3,356			2		2,000		2,000	\$10 to 20 per cent.	8-hr. day.	223,645.00	6,110.00
Mine Workers, United.	554	102									25 to 40 per cent.			
Molders.	41	14	1,944			60				2,000				
Musicians.	32	3												
Oil Field Workers.	4													
Painters.	132	71	15,000	100	15	22		7,000		2,000	50 ct. per day.	1 hour.		
Pattern Makers.	5		3,797								50 ct. to 85 per ct.			
Paving Cutters.	1	1	750	6									18,037.99	
Piano and Organ Workers.	5		500								20 per cent.		2,348.00	
Plumbers.	58	11	17,083	221	1	1	178	300	178	300	10 to 25 per ct.	8-hr. day.	10,000.00	900.00
Polishers, Metal.	12	3		40	10	30		11,000	11,000	1,000	50 ct. to \$2 p. d.		20,413.00	
Postal Employees.	150	2	6,000					1,500	1,500	200	75 cents.		11,677.50	1,000.00
Potters.	2							53		53	20 per cent.			500.00
Print Cutters.				1		1					\$1.34 per day.	91 hr. per week.	18,624.15	
Printers and Color Mixers.											50 cents.	1 hour per day.	2,500.00	30.00

BENEFITS PAID TO MEMBERS BY AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS DURING THE PAST YEAR

ORGANIZATIONS.	Death benefits.	Death benefits, members' wives.	Sick benefits.	Traveling benefits.	Tool insurance.	Unemployed benefits.
A. F. of L. Locals.	\$2,985 40	\$772 00	\$3,023 56	\$3,530 82	\$10 00	\$820 00
Bakers.	11,162 00	4,000 00	66,183 00			
Barbers, Journeymen	72,499 50		63,366 27			
Boilermakers.	41,800 00					
Bookbinders.	13,575 00					
Boot and Shoe Workers.	34,207 00		98,455 09			
Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers	302,018 15		b			
Bridge and Structural Iron Workers.	47,350 00					
Broom and Whisk Makers.	900 00					
Carmen, Railway	87,500 00					
Carpenters.	735,006 82	105,920 00				
Carvers, Wood.	4,000 00				444 90	
Cigarmakers.	331,938 63		218,993 99	23,512 64		12,616 00
Clerks, Retail	12,775 00		10,765 00			
Coopers.	7,653 80		200 00			
Cutting Die Makers.	1,500 00			661 06		
Diamond Workers.	1,200 00		41,135 00			22 00
Electrical Workers.	114,907 00					
Engravers, Photo.	6,500 00		14,279 50			
Fire Fighters.						1,000 00
Firemen, Stationary.	12,000 00	4,000 00				
Fur Workers.	3,400 00					
Glass Bottle Blowers.	104,677 00					
Glass, Window, Workers.	11,800 00	3,300 00				
Granite Cutters.	74,784 70					
Hatters.	36,180 00					
Hodcarriers.	29,000 00					
Hotel and Restaurant Employees.	87,723 80		99,186 56			
Iron and Steel Workers.	39,950 00	8,150 00	49,885 00			
Lace Operatives.	8,750 00	550 00				
Lathers.	4,200 00					
Laundry Workers.	1,100 00					
Leather Workers.	4,000 00		5,695 00			
***Letter Carriers.	234,248 84		94,836 40			
Lithographers.	19,250 00		1,076 00			540 00
Longshoremen						
Machinists.	134,263 39					
Meat Cutters.	18,400 00					
Metal Workers, Sheet.	36,900 00					
Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers.	22,160 00		30,170 00			
Molders.	153,636 00		2313,328 50			34,356 00
Painters.	198,422 23	26,275 00	e			
Pattern Makers.	14,150 00		13,895 56		635 05	
Paving Cutters.	3,825 00			1,045 88		
Piano and Organ Workers.	3,000 00	160 00	1,000 00			200 00
Plumbers.	52,500 00		97,695 00			
Polishers, Metal.	13,375 00		930 00			
Postal Employees.			9,000 00			
Potters.	20,450 00					
Printers and Color Mixers.	1,000 00					125 00
Printing Pressmen.	29,934 10					
Quarry Workers.	2,974 00					f
Railway Employees, Street.	687,432 40		101,992 17			
Railway Mail Association.	76,000 00			70,000 00		
Roofers, Composition.				500 00		
Roofers, Slate and Tile.	1,600 00					
Seamen.	28,262 00		11,434 60			
Stereotypers and Electrotypers.	7,800 00					
Stove Mounters.	3,600 00					
Switchmen.	254,971 00					
Tailors.	14,315 75		22,405 00			
Telegraphers, Commercial.	300 00					
Telegraphers, Railroad.	475,000 00					
Textile Workers.	10,150 00					
Tobacco Workers.	1,050 00		4,818 00			
Tunnel and Subway Constructors.	3,100 00					
**Typographical Union.	355,931 52					g
Weavers, American Wire.	300 00					
Total.	\$5,122,399 63	\$152,355 00	\$132,9825 64	\$94,719 58	\$1,079 95	\$4,906 00

a. \$4,150 additional, disability benefits; b. Relief, \$432,795; c. Total disability benefits, additions \$950; d. Disability, \$11,400; e. Disability, \$21,425; f. \$450, old age exemptions; g. By local unions; h. Shipwreck benefits, \$20,165 75; i. \$736.20 for prevention and cure of tuberculosis; j. Old age pensions, \$287,016; *. From March 31, 1918, to March 31, 1919; **. Eleven months ending April 30, 1919; ***, May 1, 1918, to April 1, 1919.

Many of the local unions provide death, sick and out-of-work benefits for their members in addition to the benefits paid by the international unions. The amounts hereinbefore reported as having been expended by the international unions on account of various benefits in the past year are, in the majority of cases, those paid directly by the internationals, and therefore the totals represent but a small proportion of the aggregate sum paid by trade unions in the way of benefits.

INTERNATIONAL UNIONS

- Asbestos Workers.**—Charters issued, 12; surrendered, 1. Gain in membership, 400. Practically every local secured increase in wages and signed agreements. Strikes pending, 1. Number involved, 44. Gain in wages, $2\frac{1}{4}$ cents and 5 to 20 cents per hour. All locals have agreements with arbitration clause. Average wage, 75 cents per hour.
- Bakers and Confectioners.**—Charters issued, 34; surrendered, 23. Gain in membership, 1,399. Number of persons involved in strikes, 285. Gain in wages, \$3 to \$5 per week. Reduction in hours, 1 hour per day. Agreements secured, 220. Cost of strikes, \$3,420. As a result of organization hours have been reduced from 12 and 16 to 8 and 9 per day and wages have increased from \$9 to \$28 and \$30 per week. Death benefits, \$11,162; death benefits, members' wives, \$4,000; sick benefits, \$66,183.
- Barbers.**—Charters issued, 42; surrendered, 30. Strikes won, 9; pending, 2; number involved in strikes, 3,122; number benefited, 3,122; number involved in strikes pending, 154; cost of strikes, \$36,069. Death benefits, \$72,499.50; sick benefits, \$63,366.27.
- Bill Posters and Billers.**—Charters issued, 6; surrendered, 1. Gain in membership, 100. Number of strikes won, 4; compromised, 2; pending, 1. Number involved in strikes, 400; number involved in strikes pending, 15. Cost of strikes, \$2,000. Gain in wages per day, 40 per cent. As a result of organization there has been established a 100 per cent increase in wages, an 8-hour day, also Saturday half-holiday.
- Blacksmiths.**—Charters issued, 162. Gain in membership, 10,000. Strikes won, 4; strikes pending, 2. Number of persons involved in total strikes, 830; number involved in strikes pending, 415. Cost of strikes, \$10,000. Gain in wages, average \$1 per day. Result of organization: shorter hours and recognition of organization.
- Boilermakers.**—Charters issued, 199; surrendered, 4. Gain in membership, 71,677. Strikes lost, 3. Cost of strikes, \$71,160. Attempts to reduce wages successfully resisted. Gain in wages per day secured by 90 per cent of membership. 50 per cent of membership benefited by reduction of hours. Amount expended for death benefits, \$41,800.
- Bookbinders.**—Charters issued, 16; surrendered, 4. Gain in membership, 2,295. There has been a substantial gain in wages, affecting the entire membership. Majority of Pittsburgh shops have reduced hours from 51 to 48 per week. Attempts to reduce wages successfully resisted. All local unions have agreements with but few exceptions, the majority of which have been obtained by arbitration. 2 agreements have been secured in New York City as result of decision of government labor adjustment boards. Cost of strikes, \$300. As a result of organization there has been a material improvement throughout. Death benefits, \$13,575.
- Boot and Shoe Workers.**—Charters issued, 23; surrendered, 24. Gain in membership, 1,972. Number of strikes won, 3; number involved, 76; benefited, 100. Gain in wages per day from 10 to 40 per cent. 48-hour week secured where organization has control. As a result of organization hours reduced from 50 to 48 per week and increase in wages secured. Death benefits, \$34,207; sick benefits, \$98,455.09; disability benefits, \$4,150.
- Brewery Workmen.**—Charters issued, 56 locals and 3 branch unions; surrendered, 32 locals and 6 branch unions. Loss in membership, 6,000, due to prohibition laws. Strikes won, 21; strikes compromised, 17; strikes lost, 2; strikes pending, 7. Cost of strikes in benefits, \$1,449. Gain in wages per day, 25 cents to \$1. In some localities hours were reduced 1 per day; no reductions where 8-hour day obtained. About 200 agreements secured without strikes or arbitration. Awards were given by War Labor Board to employees in flour and cereal mills. Donations to other unions, \$3,800.
- Bricklayers.**—Charters issued, 29; reinstatements, 3; surrendered, 32. Loss in membership, 3,584. Number of strikes won, 1; pending, 1; number involved in strikes, 100; benefited, 75;

number involved in strikes pending, 25. Approximately a 12½ per cent per day gain in wages. About 300 agreements have been secured by arbitration. Death benefits, \$302,018.15; relief benefits, \$432,795.

Brick and Clay Workers.—No report.

Bridge and Structural Iron Workers.—Increase in membership, 3,863. Death benefits, \$47,350.

Broom and Whisk Makers.—Charters issued, 6. Gain in membership, 400. Strikes won, 2; number involved in strikes, 116; number benefited, 116; cost of strikes, \$1,670. Attempts to reduce wages successfully resisted. 86 members in New York struck against 35 per cent reduction in wages, which strike was settled in 5 weeks with 15 per cent increase over old scale; 31 members struck against 20 per cent reduction which was settled at old scale. 8-hour day gained by 86 members. One agreement secured as result of decision of National War Labor Board. As a result of organization average daily wage⁶ has advanced from \$3 per day in 1915 to \$6 per day in 1918-1919. Death benefits, \$900.

Carmen, Railway.—Charters issued, 475; surrendered, 27. Gain in membership, 103,939. Practically all men working the 8-hour day, under government award. As a result of organization wages have advanced from 13 cents to 35 cents per hour to the present rate of 45, 58 and 68 cents per hour. Death benefits, \$87,500.

Carpenters, Brotherhood.—Gain in membership, 35,113. Cost of strikes, \$213,455.60. Death benefits, \$735,006.82; death benefits, members' wives, \$105,920.

Carvers, Wood.—Charters surrendered, 1. Decrease in membership, 88. Strikes won, 6; strikes pending, 1; number involved in total strikes, 102; number benefited, about 800; number involved in strikes pending, 47. Cost of strikes, \$1,608. Average gain in wages, from 50 cents to \$1.50 per day. Reduction in hours resulting from two strikes, from 53 to 44 per week, five members in one case and two in the other being affected. Chicago branch has reduced hours to 44 per week and abolished piece-work in all picture frame shops without strike. As a result of organization hours have been reduced from 9 or 10 in 1883 to 44 hours per week at present with an increase in pay from 30 cents per hour to seventy cents. Tool insurance, \$444.90; death benefits, \$4,000.

Cigarmakers.—Charters issued, 2; surrendered, 18. Strikes won, 126; compromised, 9; lost, 2; pending, 28; number of persons involved in total strikes, 31,260; number benefited, 23,138; number involved in strikes pending, 7,820; strike benefits paid, \$121,310.12. Eight-hour day obtains. Improvements have been made in lighting and heating in workshops. Attempts to reduce wages successfully resisted. Death benefits, \$331,938.63; sick benefits, \$218,993.99; traveling benefits, \$22,512.64; unemployed benefits, \$12,616.

Clerks, Railway.—No report.

Clerks, Retail.—Number of charters issued, 91; surrendered, 77. Number of strikes won, 7; pending, 1. Settlements have all gained wage increases and shorter hours. Death benefits, \$12,775; sick benefits, \$10,765.

Coopers.—Charters issued, 19; surrendered, 10. Number of persons involved in strikes, 41; number benefited, 41; involved in strikes pending, 41; strikes pending, 1. Cost of strikes, \$2,096. Death benefits, \$7,653.80; sick benefits, \$200; Donations to other trade unions, \$400.

Cutting Die and Cutter Makers.—Gain in membership, 25. Number of strikes won, 1; number of persons involved, 54; number benefited, 54. Gain in wages, 25 per cent. 2 agreements have been secured as result of strike in one local. As a result of organization there has been a reduction of 6 hours per week; from 35 to 45 per cent increase in wages, and an equal division of work. Death benefits, \$1,500; traveling benefits, \$661.06.

Diamond Workers.—Gain in membership, 165. Gain in wages, 20 per cent; all members benefited. Three agreements secured without strike providing for above increase. As a result of organization wages have advanced from \$26 for 56 to 60 hours per week in 1902 to \$80 for 48-hour week in 1919. Death benefits, \$1,200; sick benefits, \$1,135; unemployed benefits, \$223, for prevention and cure of tuberculosis, \$736.20.

Draftsmen's Union.—Charters issued, 20. Gain in membership, 2,900. Gain in wages per day, \$2.40. 3 agreements secured by arbitration, 1 by Ship Building Labor Adjustment

Board. Attempts to reduce wages successfully resisted. As a result of organization shop committees have been introduced and recognized in all shipbuilding industries and Navy Department, and wages have been increased about 30 per cent.

- Electrical Workers.**—Charters issued, 239; surrendered, 17. Gain in membership, 51,000. Number of strikes won, 112; compromised, 25; pending, 9; number involved, 5,785; benefited, 5,785; number involved in strikes pending, 358. Gain in wages, \$1 per day average. 627 agreements secured without strikes, 137 with strikes. As a result of organization wages have increased from \$1.50 to \$2.25 for a 10 to 12 hour day to present average wage of \$6.50 for 8-hour day. Death benefits, \$114,907.
- Elevator Constructors.**—Charters issued, 2. Average increase of \$1 per day. 43 agreements secured. As a result of organization workers receive \$7.20 for an 8-hour day where formerly \$2.25 was paid for a 10-hour day.
- Engineers, Marine.**—Charters issued, 3, surrendered, 2. Gain in membership, 4,026. Number of strikes compromised, 2; strikes pending, 1; number involved in strikes, about 650; number benefited, about 650; number involved in strikes pending, 40; cost of strikes, \$65,000. A 10-hour day has been established in some localities and in others an 8-hour day. Agreements secured for all Atlantic and Gulf Coast Steamships. Attempts at reductions in wages successfully resisted. In 1875 \$100 was about top wage; at present, \$300 and upward in large ships.
- Engineers, Steam.**—Charters issued, 83; surrendered, 10. Cost of strikes, \$12,324.09. Attempts at reduction in wages successfully resisted.
- Engravers, Photo.**—Gain in membership, 200. Number of strikes won, 1; compromised, 5; strikes pending, 3; number involved in strikes, 200; benefited, 200; involved in strikes pending, 138; cost of strikes, \$8,352.29. Average gain in wages per day, 25 per cent. 26 agreements secured as result of strike and conciliation. Death benefits, \$6,500; sick benefits, \$14,279.50.
- Engravers, Steel and Copper Plate.**—Gain in membership, 10.
- Federal Employees.**—Charters issued, 36. Gain in membership, 20,000. Gain in wages, \$240 per annum for approximately 125,000 employees.
- Fire Fighters.**—Charters issued, 120; surrendered, 2. Gain in membership, 13,000. Strikes won, 1; number of strikes pending, 3; number involved in strikes, 600; number benefited, 700; number involved in strikes pending, 600; cost of strikes, \$1,000. Gain in wages per month, 20 per cent. Reduction in hours of labor per day, 50 per cent; two-platoon system reducing day from 24 to 12 hours. 30 locals secured agreements with 20 per cent increase in wages. Four adjustments secured through National War Labor Board. As a result of organization there has been about 20 per cent increase in wages. Unemployed benefits, \$1,000.
- Firemen, Stationary.**—Charters issued, 226; surrendered, 3. Gain in membership, 7,000. Number of strikes won, 7; number involved in strikes, 1,800; benefited, 1,800; cost of strikes, \$6,200. 15 per cent increase in wages for 15,000 men, and 10,000 receive same wage for an 8-hour day as was formerly received for 12 hours; 10,000 work a 6-day week instead of 7. 400 agreements secured, resulting in increased wages and shorter hours, 6 won through strike and 32 by arbitration. Attempts at reduction in wages successfully resisted. As a result of organization all men working previously 12 hours now have an 8-hour day, 6 days a week, and in many instances 3 times more wage than formerly. Death benefits, \$12,000; death benefits, members' wives, \$4,000. Donations to other unions, \$3,000.
- Foundry Employees.**—Charters issued, 39; surrendered 9. Gain in membership, 3,200. Number of strikes won, 12; compromised, 3; pending, 4; number involved about, 1,000; number benefited, about 1,000; number involved in strikes pending, 600; cost of strikes, \$275. Most of the members who were working over 8 hours received 1 hour reduction without loss of pay and in some instances with an increase in day rate. About 30 agreements secured, 10 by strike; 5 by arbitration, balance by negotiation, increases average 18 per cent affecting about 4,000 members. 7 agreements secured as result of decisions of government labor adjustment boards. Reduction in wages has been made in Great

Falls, Mont., notwithstanding resistance, further attempts successfully resisted. As a result of organization wages have increased from \$1.20 for 12 or more hours to existing rate of from \$3.68 to \$7 for from 8 to 9 hours. Donations to other trade unions, \$621.90.

Fur Workers.—Charters issued, 4; surrendered, 2. Gain in membership, 350. Number of strikes won, 1; lost, 2; pending 3; number involved in strikes, 3,850; benefited, 2,000; cost of strikes, \$3,775; number involved in strikes pending, 1,600. Gain in wages, approximately \$1 per day affecting 2,000. Hours reduced from 48 to 44 per week for 2,000. One price per year instead of two prices, established. 13 agreements secured with employers, resulting in \$1 per day increase and 4 hours reduction for 900; 50 cents per day increase and 4 hours reduction for 200; \$1 per day increase and 1 hour reduction for 300 and for others a 50-cent per day increase. Death benefits, \$3,400.

Garment Workers, United.—Charters issued, 40; surrendered, 19. Number of strikes won, 9; lost, 2; pending, 2; number involved, 2,813; number benefited, 1,684; number involved in strikes pending, 988. Gain of 25 per cent wage for piece workers, and \$2 to \$5 per week for week workers. Reduction of 4 hours per week. Cost of strikes, \$10,000. As a result of organization wages have advanced for cutters from \$18-\$22 per week to \$35-\$45; Tailors, \$8-\$20 to \$25-\$40; shirt makers and overall workers, \$7-\$10 to \$18-\$35, the former representing the 1891 scale, the latter the 1918 scale. Donations to other unions, \$10,000.

Garment Workers, Ladies.—Charters issued, 7; surrendered, 2. Strikes won, 11, number involved in strikes, 65,000; number benefited, 65,000. Gain in wages per day, about 15 per cent for all engaged in strikes. Reduction in hours in New York City, Philadelphia and Chicago, from 49 to 44 hours per week. Arrangements governing question of discharge and reinstatement in dress and waist industry in New York City were perfected. 7 general agreements covering entire trades were secured. With the single exception of the Cleveland cloak strike agreement secured through aid of War Department, all were result of direct negotiations with employers.

Glass Bottle Blowers.—Number of strikes won, 1; number benefited, 165; cost of strike, \$5,000; Attempts to reduce wages successfully resisted. Gain in wages per day, 10 per cent. Universal agreement made with employers on various ways of making bottles. Death benefits, \$104.677.

Glass Workers, Flint.—Charters issued, 4; surrendered 6. Number of strikes pending, 2; number involved in strikes pending, 83. Gain in wages per day, 38 per cent. 15 agreements secured.

Glass Workers, Window.—Gain in membership, 101. Gain in wages per day, 10 per cent. 1 agreement secured. Death benefits, \$11,800; death benefits, members' wives, \$3,300.

Glove Workers.—Charters issued, 6; surrendered, 4. Gain in wages of 20 per cent affecting about 400 members; 25 per cent affecting 200 members; 10 per cent affecting 150 members. Three new agreements have been secured, and 3 renewed without strike.

Granite Cutters.—Decrease in membership, 1000 (gone into other occupations). Number of strikes won, 9; compromised, 3; pending 1; number involved in strikes, 835; benefited, 5,000; number involved in strikes pending, 8; cost of strikes, \$1,518. Gain in wages per day, \$1.20. 144 agreements have been secured, 136 granted without contention, 8 won by strikes. Death benefits, \$74,784.70. Donations to other unions, \$1,200.

Hatters.—Charters issued, 4. Gain in membership, 2,000. Number of strikes pending, 3; number involved, 3,000; benefited, 1,000; number involved in strikes pending, 1,000; cost of strikes, \$44,762.53. Gain in wages of \$1 per day. About 100 agreements secured, ten through arbitration. As a result of organization, minimum scale has been increased from \$2.50 for 10 hours work to \$6 for 8 hours work. Death benefits, \$36,180. Donations to other trade unions, \$6,100. Attempts to reduce wages successfully resisted.

Hodcarriers.—Charters issued, 69; surrendered, 65. Loss in membership, 4,558. Strikes won, 15; compromised, 1; lost, 1; pending, 11; number involved, 9,747; number benefited, 6,301; number involved in strikes pending, 3,446. Attempts to reduce wages success-

fully resisted. Gains in wages secured as follows: 31 cents for 124 members; 25 cents for 280; 22½ cents for 67; 20 cents for 20; 19½ cents for 68; 19½ cents for 1,160; 19½ cents for 150; 18½ cents for 1,832; 18½ cents for 50; 16½ cents for 59; 15½ cents for 81; 15 cents for 756; 14½ cents for 71; 13½ cents for 32; 12½ cents for 30; 12½ cents for 11,331; 11½ cents for 81; 10½ cents for 218; 10½ cents for 784; 10 cents for 5,722; 9½ cents for 273; 8½ cents for 116; 8½ cents for 46; 8 cents for 56; 7½ cents for 1,464; 6½ cents for 84; 6½ cents for 31; 6½ cents for 652; 6 cents for 94; 5½ cents for 829; 5½ cents for 107; 5 cents for 1,528; 4½ cents for 32; 3½ cents for 419; 2½ cents for 227; 2 cents for 335, aggregating for the year, \$8,406,785. As a result of organization-wage paid is now from 50 cents to \$1 per hour, 8-hour day, Saturday half day; previous wage, \$1.25 per day. Death benefits, \$29,000.

Horseshoers.—Number of strikes won, 1; pending, 2; number involved in strikes pending, 450; Attempts to reduce wages successfully resisted. Average gain of wages, \$1 per day. 60 agreements have been secured, majority being by arbitration. As a result of organization a 9-hour day has been secured with 8 hours on Saturday and in a number of places a general 8-hour day, whereas previously a 10-hour day prevailed, with uncompensated overtime.

Hotel and Restaurant Employees.—Charters issued, 66; surrendered, 170. Loss in membership, 4,704. Number of strikes won, 130; compromised, 35; lost 18; pending, 8; number involved in strikes, 5,719; benefited, 4,663; number involved in strikes pending, approximately, 450; cost of strikes, \$45,723.32. 8-hour day secured by 11 locals, affecting about 350. Steady improvement in sanitation of surroundings in union establishments. Agreements renewed by 104 locals. Attempts to reduce wages resisted with satisfactory results in each case. As a result of organization, a 6-day week and shorter workday have been secured, with reasonable improvement in working conditions, contractual relations and improved morale. Death benefits, \$87,723.80; sick benefits, \$99,186.56. Donations to other unions, \$27,316.45.

Iron, Steel and Tin Workers.—Charters issued, 79; surrendered, 9. Gain in membership, 8,000. Number of strikes compromised, 12 (submitted to War Board); lost, 5; pending, 2; number involved, 5,000; benefited, 4,500; number involved in pending strikes, 2,000; cost of strikes, \$14,000. Gain in wages ranging from 10 to 30 per cent. Reduction in hours from 2 to 4 per day. Yearly agreements settled in general conferences. 5 agreements secured as result of decision of National War Labor Board. Death benefits, \$39,950; death benefits, members' wives, \$8,150; sick benefits, \$49,885; total disability benefits, \$950. Donations to other unions, \$1,000.

Jewelry Workers.—No report.

Lace Operatives.—Charters issued, 1. 3 agreements secured through negotiation. Attempts to reduce wages successfully resisted. As a result of organization wages have advanced 50 per cent and hours of employment have been reduced from 55 to 48 per week. Death benefits, \$8,750; death benefits, members' wives, \$550.

Lathers.—Charters issued, 13; surrendered, 34. Attempts to reduce wages successfully resisted. A large number of locals secured increase in wages. General 8-hour day obtains. Death benefits, \$4,200.

Laundry Workers.—Charters issued, 29; surrendered, 17. Gain in membership, 800. Number of strikes won, 4; compromised, 2; lost, 1; number involved in strikes, 780; number benefited, 610; cost of strikes, \$455. Gain in wages average 10 per cent, in some cases from 15 to 20 percent. 50 per cent of unions have 8-hour day, balance 9-hour. Rest rooms have been established for female workers in several union laundries. 73 union agreements signed, 66 as result of negotiations, 4 by strikes, 3 by arbitration, 1 agreement secured through award of War Labor Board, affecting Little Rock; increase \$3 per week. As a result of organization wages have increased 100 per cent and hours have been reduced to 8 and 9 per day where formerly 15 and 16 per day prevailed. Death benefits, \$1,100. Donations to other unions, \$650.

Leather Workers, United.—Charters issued, 31; surrendered, 10. Gain in membership, 3,000. Number of strikes won, 2; pending, 2; number involved in strikes, 400; benefited, 800; number involved in strikes pending, 150; cost of strikes, \$7,000. Attempts to reduce

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wages successfully resisted. Gain in wages of 10 per cent. 25 agreements have been secured without strike, resulting in 10 per cent wage increase. As a result of organization an 8-hour day has been established, and wages have been increased from 35 cents to 60 cents per hour. Death benefits, \$4,000; Donations to other unions, \$2,500. Sick benefits, \$5,695.

Letter Carriers.—Charters issued, 48. Gain in membership, 2,000. Death benefits, \$234,-288.84; sick benefits, \$94,836.40.

Lithographers.—Charters issued, 4. Gain in membership, 728. Strikes won, 1; number involved in strikes, 14; number benefited, 14; cost of strikes, \$384. Gain in wages average, \$7 per week. 2 local agreements secured by conference. Death benefits, \$19,250; sick benefits, \$1,076; unemployed benefits, \$540.

Longshoremen.—Charters issued, 89; surrendered, 57. Gain in membership, 4,000. Number of strikes won, 10; compromised, 4; lost, 2; number involved in strikes, 12,000; benefited, 8,000; involved in strikes pending, 2,000. Hours reduced from 10 to an 8-hour day. Cost of strikes, \$15,000. Attempts at reduction in wages successfully resisted.

Machinists.—Charters issued, 279; surrendered, 40. Gain in membership, 155,000. Attempts to reduce wages successfully resisted. Gain in wages per day about 60 cents. Reduction of 1 hour per day for about 70,000 railroad machinists. Cost of strikes, \$121,701.45. Death benefits, \$134,263.39. Donations to other unions, \$3,544.34.

Maintenance of Way.—Charters issued, 1,516; surrendered, 3. Gain in membership, 136,713. Number of strikes won, 1; number of persons involved in strikes, 210; benefited, 210; cost of strikes, \$700. Gain in wages, \$1 to \$1.25 per day. Hours reduced from 10 to 8 per day, with marked improvement in working conditions.

Marble Workers.—Charters issued, 2; surrendered, 4. 2 agreements secured by arbitration resulting in increase of 50 cents a day for 700 members. As a result of organization wages have increased from \$2.25 to \$5.50 per day.

Masters, Mates and Pilots.—Charters issued, 3. Approximately a 10 per cent gain in wages. In a number of instances hours reduced from 12 to 8. Wage Adjustment Boards in 10 cities have granted increases in wages and shorter working hours.

Meat Cutters.—Charters issued, 115; surrendered, 25. Gain in membership, 31,000. Number of strikes pending, 1; number involved in strikes pending, 1,400. Gain of 20 per cent in wages per day. Basic 8-hour day secured in many plants. 4 agreements secured by Department of Labor. As a result of organization, 95 per cent of members now work 8-hour day, with 60 per cent increase in wages in past 18 months. Death benefits, 18,400. Donations to other unions, \$2,000.

Metal Workers, Sheet.—Charters issued, 125; surrendered, 10. Gain in membership, 2,500. Number of strikes won, 2; compromised, 1; pending, 2; number involved, 237, number involved in strikes pending, 15; cost of strikes, \$1,560. Attempts to reduce wages satisfactorily compromised. As a result of organization wages have increased from 25 cents an hour for a 10-hour day to 70 cents an hour for an 8-hour day for 90 per cent. Death benefits, \$36,900.

Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers.—Charters issued, 72; surrendered, 27. Gain in membership, 3,356. Number of strikes pending, 2; number involved, 2,000. 8-hour day established in Tennessee, affecting about 6,000. 12 agreements secured as result of arbitration. 10 agreements as result of decisions of government boards. Attempts to reduce wages resisted, resulting in compromise and establishment of 8-hour day. Death benefits, \$22,160; sick benefits, \$30,170.

Mine Workers, United.—Charters issued, 554; surrendered, 102. 150,000 anthracite mine workers received wage increase from 25 to 40 per cent. Substantial increases secured for large number of miners in West Virginia and other mining sections. 8-hour day obtains for all mines under jurisdiction of United Mine Workers. Agreement for anthracite mine workers secured through United States Fuel Administration. Donations to other unions, \$6,110.

Molders.—Charters issued, 41; surrendered, 14. Gain in membership, 1,944. Number of strikes pending, 60; number involved in strikes pending, 2,000; cost of strikes, \$223,645.

Attempts to reduce wages successfully resisted. Death benefits, \$153,636; sick benefits, \$313,323.50; disability benefits, \$11,400; unemployed benefits, \$34,356.

Musicians.—Charters issued, 32; surrendered, 3.

Oil Field Workers.—Charters surrendered, 1. Gain in membership, 15,000. Gain in wages per day, 50 cents for membership in California and about 50 workers in East St. Louis. Hours reduced from 9 to 8 per day, affecting same territory.

Painters and Decorators.—Charters issued, 132; surrendered, 71. Gain in membership, 3,797. Number of strikes won, 100; compromised, 15; pending, 22; number involved in strikes, 7,000; number involved in strikes pending, 2,000. Gain in wages, 10 to 35 per cent. Saturday half-holiday established in 20 localities; a 5-day week in 5 localities. 2 agreements secured as result of decision of government board. As a result of organization wages have increased 120 per cent, hours reduced from 10 to 8 per day, Saturday half-holiday established. Death benefits, \$198,422.23; death benefits, members' wives, \$26,275; disability benefits, \$21,425.

Paper Makers.—No report.

Pattern Makers.—Charters issued, 5. Gain in membership, 750. A very material gain in wages has been secured, and in many places a reduction in working hours. Cost of strikes, \$18,057.99. Attempts to reduce wages successfully resisted. As a result of organization, wages have increased from 12½ and 20 cents per hour for a 10 and 11 hour day to \$1 per hour for 8-hour day. Death benefits, \$14,150; sick benefits, \$13,895.56; tool insurance, \$635.05.

Pavers and Rammermen.—No report.

Paving Cutters.—Charters issued, 1; surrendered, 1. Gain in membership, 200. Number of strikes won, 6; number involved in strikes, 178, number benefited, 178; cost of strikes, \$2,348. Gain of 20 per cent in wages per day. 20 agreements secured. As a result of organization wages have increased from \$3.50 for 10 hours or more to \$5 to \$6 for 8 hours or less. Death benefits, \$3,825; traveling benefits, \$1,045.88.

Piano and Organ Workers.—Charters issued, 5. Gain in membership, 500. Number of strikes pending, 1; number involved, 300; cost of strikes, \$10,000. Gains in wages from 10 to 25 per cent per day. 3 factories have secured 8-hour day. 5 agreements secured as result of negotiations. As a result of organization hours have been shortened from an indefinite day to an 8-hour day with a 100 per cent increase in wages. Death benefits, \$3,000; death benefits, members' wives, \$160; sick benefits, \$1,000; unemployed benefits, \$200. Donations to other unions, \$900.

Plasterers, Operative.—No report.

Plumbers.—Charters issued, 58; surrendered, 11. Gain in membership, 17,083. Number of strikes won, 221; pending, 30; number involved, 11,000; benefited, 11,000; number involved in strikes pending, 1,000; cost of strikes, \$20,413. Attempts to reduce wages successfully resisted. Gain in wages from 50 cents to \$2. Reduction in hours to 8, half day Saturday. As a result of organization wages have increased from \$3 to \$6.75 per day. Death benefits, \$52,500; sick benefits, \$97,695.

Polishers, Metal.—Charters issued, 12; surrendered, 3. Number of strikes won, 40; compromised, 10; lost, 3; pending, 3; number involved in strikes, 1,500; all benefited; number involved in strikes pending, 200; cost of strikes, \$11,677.50. Average gain of 75 cents per day. 150 factories granted 8-hour day. About 150 agreements secured. 10 agreements secured as result of government labor adjustment boards' decisions. As a result of organization hours have been reduced from 10 to 8 and wages have increased from 30 cents per hour to 70 and 80 cents, and in many instances higher. Death benefits, \$13,375; sick benefits, \$30. Donations to other unions, \$1,000. Attempts to reduce wages satisfactorily resisted.

Postal Employees.—Charters issued, 150; surrendered, 2. Gain in membership, 6,000. Gain in wages, 20 per cent. Since affiliation with A. F. of L., a higher wage classification and a shorter workday have been secured. Attempts to reduce wages successfully resisted, resulting in 20 per cent increase. Sick benefits, \$9,000. Donations to other unions, \$500.

- Potters.**—Charters issued, 2. Number of strikes pending, 1; number involved, 53; cost of strikes, \$18,624.15. Approximately 15 per cent increase in wages for 7,767 members. 2 agreements secured through conferences. Death benefits, \$20,450.
- Powder and High Explosive Workers.**—No report.
- Print Cutters.**—Number of strikes won, 1; cost of strikes, \$2,500. Gain in wages, \$1.34 per day. Hours of labor reduced from 57½ to 48 per week. As a result of organization wages have increased from \$20 for a 60-hour week, to \$30 for a 48-hour week.
- Printers and Color Mixers.**—Gain of 50 cents in wages per day. Reduction of 1 hour per day. 30 agreements have been secured, affecting 470 men, 90 per cent of wall paper industry, all by arbitration. Death benefits, \$1,000; unemployed benefits, \$125. Donations to other unions, \$30.
- Printers, Steel and Copper Plate.**—Charters issued, 1. Gain in membership, 12. Number of strikes pending, 1; number involved, 4. General wage increase of from 15 to 20 per cent throughout trade. 8-hour day prevails. As a result of organization, a higher scale has been established for piece work, and an increase on week work of 40 per cent.
- Printing Pressmen.**—Charters issued, 4; surrendered, 11. Gain in membership, 4,462. Cost of strikes, \$7,695.46. Death benefits, \$29,934.10.
- Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers.**—Charters issued, 10. Gain in membership, 1,000. Number of strikes won, 3; pending, 2; number of persons involved, 5,000; number benefited, 1,500; number involved in strikes pending, 1,200; cost of strikes, \$5,000; Average gain in wages of 10 cents per hour. Hours of labor reduced from 9 to 8 per day for day workers employed inside mills. Agreements have been made with 19 paper companies in conjunction with National War Labor Board. As a result of organization hours have been reduced from 10, 11 and 13 to 8 per day, and wages have been increased 250 per cent.
- Quarry Workers.**—Charters issued, 2. Number of strikes compromised, 2; number involved in strikes, 500; number benefited, 500; cost of strikes, \$5,182.90. Attempts to reduce wages successfully resisted. Gain of 16 cents per hour in wages. 10 agreements secured, 2 resulting from strikes and 8 mutually arrived at between employes and committees from union. As a result of organization hours have been reduced from 10 to 8 and wages have been increased from \$1.60 to \$3.76 per day. Death benefits, \$2,974; old age exemption card benefits, \$450.
- Railway Employees, Street and Electric.**—Charters issued, 75; surrendered, 20. Gain in membership, 13,000. Number of strikes won, 51; compromised, 4; lost 2; pending, 3; number involved in strikes, 25,696; number benefited, 22,959; number involved in strikes pending, 2,600; cost of strikes, \$50,519.65. Gains in wages of 1 cent to 26 cents per hour. 97 agreements secured with employing companies through conferences; 16 through strikes, and 8 through arbitration, resulting in better working conditions, and increased wage rate. National War Labor Board rendered awards affecting 96 divisions, granting extra pay for overtime and sliding scale reduced. In addition to improved conditions and increased wage rate, organization has resulted in a shorter workday of from 9 to 12 hours. Death benefits, \$687,432.40; sick benefits, \$101,992.17.
- Railway Mail Association.**—Charters issued, 2. Gain in membership, 400. Gain in wages, 55 cents per day. As a result of organization there has been an average increase of about \$500 per annum. Death benefits, \$76,000. traveling benefits, \$70,000.
- Roofers, Composition.**—Charters issued, 2; surrendered, 1. Number of strikes won, 5; number involved in strikes, 200; number benefited, 200. Gain in wages, 10 per cent. 10 agreements secured. As a result of organization hours have been reduced from 55 to 44 per week, and wages have been increased from \$2 to \$6 and \$7 per day. Traveling benefits, \$500. Donations to other unions, \$55.84.
- Roofers, Slate and Tile.**—Charters issued, 3. Gain in membership, 100. Number of strikes won, 6; compromised, 4; number involved in strikes, 200; number benefited, 300. Gain in wages, 40 cents affecting 100 members, and 80 cents affecting 200 members. 20 agreements secured, 10 without strikes, 10 by strikes. As a result of organization wages have increased from \$3 to \$6.50 for 8-hour day. Death benefits, \$1,600.

Sawsmiths.—No report.

Seamen.—Charters issued, 10. Gain in membership, 10,230. Seamen's Act provides for watch and watch at sea and 9 hours work in port. Application of 3 watch system reducing hours of work. Limited number of verbal and written agreements entered into. 1 agreement secured as result of decision of U. S. Shipping Board affecting Atlantic and Pacific districts. Attempts at reductions in wages successfully resisted. As a result of organization wages increased about 300 per cent in 27 years. Death benefits, \$28,262; sick benefits and hospital supplies, \$11,434.60. Shipwreck benefits, \$20,165.75. Donations to other unions, \$4,716.50.

Signalmen, Railroad.—Charters issued, 101; surrendered, 2. Gain in membership, 7,740. Gain in wages per day, \$1.50 to \$3, benefiting approximately 25,000 men. Hours reduced from 10 and 12 to 8 per day. Attempts to reduce wages were resisted successfully in most cases. Improvements have been made in working conditions, and an overtime rate of time and one-half established.

Spinners.—Number of strikes pending, 1; number involved in strikes pending, 30. Gain of 20 per cent in wages per day. Hours reduced from 54 to 48 per week. 48-hour week agreements secured in practically every district.

Stage Employees.—No report.

Stereotypers and Electrotypes.—Gain in membership, 88. Charters surrendered, 1. Number of strikes won, 2; number involved, 594; benefited, 594; cost of strikes, \$19,393.30. 42 agreements secured. Death benefits, \$7,800.

Stonecutters.—No report.

Stove Mounters.—Charters issued, 3; surrendered, 1. Number of strikes won, 3; strikes pending, 2; number involved in strikes, 300; number involved in strikes pending, 150; cost of strikes, \$5,490.50. Gain in wages per day, 20 per cent. 1 hour per day reduction, making 8-hour day general, 56 agreements have been secured through arbitration. As a result of organization a minimum day rate of \$5 for 8 hours and an increase of 20 per cent in piece rates has been secured. Death benefits, \$3,600.

Switchmen.—Charters issued, 37; surrendered, 7. Gain in membership, 1,826. Gain of 22½ cents per day in wages. Death benefits, \$254,971.

Tailors.—Charters issued, 17; surrendered, 18. Gain in membership, 120. Number of strikes won, 10; compromised, 2; lost, 1; pending, 2; number involved, 435; number benefited, 410; number involved in strikes pending, 16; cost of strikes, \$13,101.56. Gain of from 15 to 25 per cent in wages affecting 9,000 members. Reduction in hours of labor, from 10 and 9 to 8 per day affecting 2,500 members. In many cities piece work has been abolished, and 8-hour day and weekly system established. 61 agreements secured without strike, gaining shorter hours and increase in wages. Death benefits, \$14,315.75; sick benefits, \$22,405.

Teachers.—Charters issued, 54. Gain in membership, 4,200.

Teamsters.—Charters issued, 92; surrendered, 80. Gain in membership, 2,711. Number of strikes won, 22; pending, 12; number involved in strikes, 2,000; number benefited, 2,000; number involved in strikes pending, 4,000; cost of strikes, \$15,000. Gain of 75 cents per day in wages. 1 hour reduction in hours of labor. 400 agreements secured without strikes; 22 with strikes.

Telegraphers, Railroad.—Charters issued, 15; surrendered, 3. Gain in membership, 25,000. General 8-hour day secured, being reduction from 9 and 12 hours. 240 agreements secured. Agreements were secured as result of decisions of government boards. Death benefits, \$475,000. Donations to other unions, \$2,000.

Telegraphers, Commercial.—Charters issued, 10. Gain in membership, 2,000. Number of strikes won, 2; 3 agreements secured by arbitration. Death benefits, \$300.

Textile Workers.—Charters issued, 112; surrendered, 5. Gain in membership, 17,208. Number of strikes won, 9; compromised, 3; pending, 3; number involved, 14,000; benefited, 14,000; number involved in strikes pending, 800. Cost of strikes, \$106,000. Gain in wages per day, about 15 per cent. Hours of labor reduced from 54 to 48 per

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week for over 600,000 textile workers in northern and eastern states. 24 agreements secured without resorting to strike; 1 agreement secured in silk industry, as result of decision of War Labor Board, establishing basic 8-hour day, affecting 24,000 silk workers. Death benefits, \$10,150. Donations to other unions, \$2,000.

Timber Workers.—Charters issued, 55; surrendered, 5. Gain in membership, 5,250. Number of strikes won, 5; pending, 1; number involved in strikes, 800. Attempts to reduce wages successfully resisted. There has been a great improvement in camp conditions. 2 agreements secured by arbitration. As a result of organization an 8-hour day and a minimum wage of \$4 per day has been established.

Tobacco Workers.—Charters issued, 6; surrendered, 3. Gain in membership, 384. Gain in wages, general from 30 to 50 per cent. Reduction in hours from 10 to 9 and 9 to 8 in several instances. Sanitary conditions and working rules have been improved. There has been a renewal of expiring agreements, but no new agreements. As a result of organization wages have increased from 50 to 80 per cent and hours have been reduced from 11 per day to 9, 9 and 8. Death benefits, \$1,050; sick benefits, \$4,818.

Transferrers, Steel Plate.—Gain in membership, 4. Average gain in wages of \$1 per day.

Tunnel and Subway Constructors.—Number of strikes won, 1; number involved in strikes, 3,000; number benefited, 3,000; cost of strikes, \$2,000. Attempts to reduce wages successfully resisted. Gain in wages per day, \$1. Reduction of 1 hour per day for 500 rock-men. 1 agreement secured, and better sanitary conditions obtained. As a result of organization hours reduced from 10 to 8 and a 100 per cent increase in wages. Death benefits, \$3,100. Donations to other unions, \$750.

Typographical (11 months ending April 30, 1919).—Charters issued, 21; surrendered, 10. Gain in membership, 2,258. Number of strikes won, 3; lost, 3; number involved in strikes, 70; number benefited, 62; displaced, 8; cost of strikes, \$401. Subordinate unions having contracts expiring during the year ending April 30, 1919, successfully negotiated new contracts at increased wages varying from \$2 to \$8 per week. No reductions in wages in the past year. Death benefits, \$355,931.52; old age pensions, \$287,015; cost of maintenance of Union Printers' Home, \$132,764.64.

Upholsterers.—Charters issued, 12; surrendered, 3. Gain in membership, 700. Number of strikes won, 5; pending, 2; number involved, 360; benefited, 360; involved in strikes pending, 550; cost of strikes, \$3,848. Gain in wages, \$1 per day. 72 agreements secured. As a result of organization there has been an average increase in wages of 125 per cent and hours have been reduced from 60 to 44 per week.

Weavers, Elastic Goring.—Gain in wages per day, 15 per cent. 1 agreement in regard to wages secured.

Weavers, American Wire.—As a result of organization wages have been increased about 30 per cent and a 4-hour reduction in working hours per week. Death benefits, \$300.

White Rats Actors.—No report.

LOCAL UNIONS

Improvements in working conditions secured by directly affiliated local unions of the American Federation of Labor are reported as follows:

Artificial Limb Workers' Union, No. 15504, New York, N. Y.: 42 cents per day increase in wages. Organization has succeeded in establishing the 48-hour week.

Boot Blacks' Union, No. 15666, Portland, Ore.: Wages increased \$25 per month, and working hours of all union shops reduced from 14 to 12 hours with half day Sunday.

Brass Bobbin Winders' Union, No. 14659, Philadelphia, Pa.: 12 per cent gain in wages for 30 members and reduction in hours of labor of three quarters of an hour per day for 108 members. One agreement reached through negotiations without dispute carrying 12 per cent increase for 30 members. As a result of organization, hours of labor reduced from 55 to 49½ per week and wages increased 55 per cent.

Brushmakers' Union, No. 16091, Brooklyn, N. Y.: 10 per cent increase in wages. As a result of organization hours of labor have been reduced from 54 to 48 per week.

Button Workers, Composition, No. 15064, Newark, N. J.: 10 per cent increase in wages.

- Casket Workers' Union, No. 15835, Texarkana, Tex.: Wages increased 13 9/20 cents per hour and hours of labor reduced 1 per day, all benefited. Union shop agreements secured. As result of organization conditions have improved from 25 cents an hour for a 10-hour day to 50 cents an hour for an 8-hour day.
- Cement Makers' Union, No. 14061, Trident, Mont.: An average increase in wages of 12½ cents per hour for 200 employes secured through arbitration. Present wages 60 cents an hour, formerly 35 cents an hour.
- Cement Mill Workers' Union, No. 16479, New Castle, Pa.: 15 per cent increase in wages. 1 agreement secured as result of arbitration; 1 agreement secured as result of decision of government board.
- City Employees' Union, No. 16427, Denver, Colo.: Wages increased 50 cents per day for laborers and \$1 for teams.
- City Employees' Union, No. 15706, Pueblo, Colorado: Fifty cents per day increase in wages since organized.
- City Employees' Union, No. 15951, Manchester, N. H.: As a result of organization hours of labor have been reduced two per week and an 80 cents per day increase in wages. Former wage 24 cents an hour for 50-hour week, present wage 44 cents an hour for 48-hour week.
- City Employees' Union, No. 15978, Worcester, Mass.: As a result of organization conditions have been improved from \$1.65 to \$2 per day for 10 hours to \$3.04 to \$3.44 per day for 8 hours.
- City Employees' Union, No. 15501, Concord, N. H.: Wages increased 25 cents per day for half of membership and 45 cents for balance. The organization has advanced wages \$1 per day and established the half holiday for Saturday.
- City Forestry Employees' Union, No. 14851, St. Louis, Mo.: Organization has raised the wages of trimmers' helpers from \$2.50 to \$3.60 and foremen from \$3.50 to \$4.50 for 8 hours.
- City Employees' Union, No. 16208, Hamilton, Ont.: Wages have increased 20 cents per day, all outside laborers benefited.
- Coach Cleaners and Helpers' Union, No. 16331, Kansas City, Mo.: Wages increased \$1.20 per day, all employes benefited. Hours of labor reduced from 10 to 9 per day.
- Commercial Portrait Artists' Union, No. 14286, Chicago, Ill.: Wages increased 15 to 100 per cent in some cases. 6 agreements secured without strike.
- Counters, Timekeepers and Clerks' Union, No. 15699, Philadelphia, Pa.: Wages increased 40 per cent for 75 per cent of membership. Hours of labor reduced 4 per week.
- Egg Inspectors' Union, No. 14934, Los Angeles, Cal.: Wages increased 10 cents per hour; thirty members affected. As result of organization wage scale increased from 30 to 60 cents per hour, and hours of labor reduced from 10 to 9 per day, with Saturday half holiday.
- Engineering Inspectors' Union, No. 16026, Pittsburgh, Pa.: Wages increased 35 cents per day. Wages \$4.50 a day for 8 hours.
- Envelope Makers' Union, No. 16073, Centerville, Ill.: 25 per cent increase in wages. Hours of labor reduced from 10 to 9 per day.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 15223, Milford, Me.: Wages increased 75 cents per day, benefiting 400 members.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 15321, Ridgway, Pa.: When organization was started the wage was 31 cents an hour, at present 40 cents an hour with an 8-hour day.
- Federal Labor Union No. 15553, Newport, R. I.: Wages increased 72 cents per day.
- Federal Labor Union No. 15455, East Peoria, Ill.: Agreement secured providing for one week's notice in writing before laying any workman off. Organization has increased wages from 25 cents per hour for 10 hours to a minimum of 37½ per hour and an 8-hour day.
- Federal Labor Union No. 16077, Bloomington, Ill.: Wages increased 10 cents per hour. Hours of labor reduced one per day. Before union was formed wages were 25 to 27½ cents per hour; now 35 and 37½ cents per hour.
- Federal Labor Union No. 16087, Kewanee, Ill.: Before organization wages were 36 6/10 cents per hour for 10 hours. Present scale for common labor is 42 cents an hour for eight hours.
- Federal Labor Union No. 16124, Orange, Tex.: Wages increased 60 per cent.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 16156, Cambridge, Ohio: Hours of labor reduced from 12 to 8 per day.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 16196, Kokomo, Ind.: Hours of labor reduced 1 per day.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 16251, Chambersburg, Pa.: Wages increased 60 per cent per day and

- hours of labor reduced 2 per day. Wages at present 40 cents per hour for laborers; previously 25 to 33 cents per hour.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 16291, Rochester, N. Y.: General wage increase 13 6/10 per cent.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 16298, Montreal, Que., Can.: 10 per cent increase in wages.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 16309, Granite City, Ill.: Union has raised the wage scale from 25 to 42 cents per hour to 30½ to 49½ cents per hour.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 16321, La Junta, Colo.: Wages increased \$1.40 a day. Hours of labor reduced from 10 to 8 per day.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 16350, Stratford, Ontario, Canada: Average wage increase of 12 per cent and hours of labor reduced from 10 to 9 per day, affecting five plants. Hours of labor reduced from 60 to 54 per week.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 16437, Lyons, Iowa: Hours of labor reduced one per day. Wages for machine hands increased from \$2 to \$2.75 per day.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 8217, Boston, Mass.: 10 per cent increase in wages.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 8786, Austin, Texas: Improved conditions from \$1.50 to \$1.75 per day for 10 to 12 hours to \$2 a day for 8 hours.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 11449, Thurber, Texas: Wages increased \$1.25 per day.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 12706, Benld, Ill.: Wages increased 6 cents per hour. The organization, since formed, has increased wages 31 cents per hour.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 14441, Wilkeson, Wash.: Wages increased \$1.50 per day for 40 members.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 14696, Centralia, Ill.: Improved working conditions from 17½ cents per hour for 10 hours to 41½ cents an hour for 8 hours.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 14914, Wilkesbarre, Pa.: Hours of labor reduced from 50 to 48 per week. Decision of War Labor Board gave a wage increase of 17½ per cent from October 1, 1918 to April 1, 1919.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 15040, Newport News, Va.: Hours of labor reduced 2 per day. Organization has raised wages from 19 and 20 cents per hour to 40 to 75 cents per hour.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 15228, Battle Creek, Mich.: Wages increased 5½ cents per hour, and hours of labor reduced one per day. Organization has increased wages 37½ per cent and reduced hours of labor two per day.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 15284, Rice Lake, Wis.: Wages increased 50 cents per hour. At the time union was formed members received \$1.65 for 10-hour day; present wages, \$3.25 for 10 hours.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 15413, Fort Myers, Fla.: 40 per cent gain in wages, and hours of labor reduced from 9 to 8. Organization has raised wages from 40 to 70 cents per hour.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 16364, Geneva, Ill.: Hours of labor reduced from 9½ and 10 hours to 9 hours per day, benefiting 150. 2 agreements secured through arbitration, increasing wages and providing for time and one-half for overtime benefiting 75.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 16450, New Brunswick, N. J.: Wages increased from 3 cents to 25 cents per hour, benefiting about 1,000. 8-hour day established.
- Federal Watchmen's Union, No. 14964, Washington, D. C.: Wages increased 33¼ per cent.
- Fish Splitters and Handlers' Union, No. 14270, Gloucester, Mass.: Wages have been increased from 27½ cents per hour to 40 cents per hour with time and one-half for overtime.
- Fish Workers' Union, No. 14307, Gloucester, Mass.: 10 per cent increase in wages and hours of labor reduced to 4 on Saturdays, benefiting all members.
- Freight Handlers' Union, No. 16220, Richmond, Va.: Former wage scale 30 cents per hour for 10 and 12 hours; present scale, 37 cents for 8 hours.
- Freight Handlers and Helpers', Railroad, No. 16407, Memphis, Tenn.: Wages increased from 21 and 22 cents to 34½ and 37 cents for warehousemen. Hours reduced from 12 and 10 to 8 per day for all members.
- Freight Handlers and Checkers' Union, No. 16376, Omaha, Nebr.: Hours of labor reduced 2 per day.
- Freight Handlers' Union, No. 16395, Salisbury, N. C.: When organization was formed wages were \$3.40 for 10 hours; at present, \$3.84 for 9 hours and 40 minutes.
- Fruit Grove Workers' Union, No. 16371, Lake Alfred, Fla.: Wages increased \$1 per day.
- Furniture Handlers' Union, No. 12993, San Francisco, Cal.: As a result of organization, wages have been increased from \$2.50 per day in 1905 to \$4 per day in 1919.

- Furniture Warehouse Employees' Union**, No. 15480, Buffalo, N. Y.: Increased wages from \$5 to \$7 per week and reduced hours of labor from 1 to 3 per day, and stopped overtime without pay.
- Gas Appliance and Stove Fitters' Union**, No. 12432, San Francisco, Cal.: Wages increased 50 cents per day through arbitration.
- Gas and Water Workers' Union**, No. 9840, San Francisco, Cal.: As a result of organization, wages average \$1.40 more per day than in 1910.
- Gas Distribution Workers' Union**, No. 15268, S. Boston, Mass.: 18 per cent increase in wages secured through arbitration. When organization was started wages were \$2.70 per day for 9 hours; present wages \$4.56 per day for 8 hours.
- Gas Workers' Union**, No. 15266, Newport News, Va.: Wages increased from \$2 to \$4 per day.
- Hairspinners' Union**, 10399, Chicago, Ill.: Improved conditions from 25 cents per hour for 10-hour day to 60 cents per hour for an 8-hour day.
- Hair Spinners' Protective Union**, No. 12353, Baltimore, Md.: Wages increased 25 cents per day for 20 men through arbitration. Organization has improved conditions from \$10.50 per week and 10 hour day to \$20.50 per week and 9 hour day.
- Hat Trimmers and Operators', Felt, Straw, Panama, Velvet**, No. 15850, Newark, N. J.: Reduced working hours from 10 to 8 per day with a 30 per cent increase in wages and marked improvement in sanitary conditions of workshops.
- Horse Hair Dressers' Union**, No. 12889, Philadelphia, Pa.: Wages increased \$1.50 per day as result of two strikes. Hours of labor reduced 1 per day with absolute recognition of the union. At time organization was formed wages were \$12 to \$18 per week for 10½ hour day. Present scale \$35 and \$40 for 8½ hour day.
- Hospital Stewards and Nurses' Union**, No. 16031, San Francisco, Cal.: Wages increased \$10 per month at City Emergency Hospitals and \$5 and \$10 per month at Relief Home; one day off each week.
- Housing Inspectors' Union**, No. 15182, Pittsburgh, Pa.: Wages increased 50 cents per day. When union was started members received from \$30 to \$100 per month. Present wages \$120 per month and \$5 per month war bonus.
- Last Makers' Union**, No. 14375, Swampscott, Mass.: Union has reduced hours of labor from 10 to 9 per day.
- Mall Order and Packers' Union**, No. 16282, Toledo, Ohio. Wages increased from 3 to 9 cents per hour and 8-hour day established for entire department. When union was formed members were receiving from 30 to 40 cents per hour; present wages from 40 to 50 cents per hour.
- Meat, Food and Sanitary Science Association**, No. 12912, Chicago, Ill.: When union was started wages were \$1,000 per year for 39-hour week. Present salary, \$1,320 to \$1,560 per year for 38-hour week.
- Meter Workers' Union**, No. 14502, Boston, Mass.: Wage increase of 76 cents per day and hours of labor reduced 40 minutes per day. When union was started wages were \$16.80 for 55-hour week; present wages \$28 for 46-hour week; half pay for sickness, paid for all holidays and two weeks vacation.
- Mosaic, Terrazzo Workers' Union**, No. 10263, St. Louis, Mo.: Wages increased 40 cents a day without strike. When union was started wages were 25 cents an hour; present wage 47½ cents an hour.
- Municipal Employees' Union**, No. 16286, St. Louis, Mo.: Gains in wages as follows: \$65 or less per month 25 per cent; \$66 to \$105 inclusive, 20 per cent; \$105 to \$150 inclusive, 15 per cent; \$150 to \$175, inclusive, 10 per cent.
- Navy Yard Helpers' Union**, No. 15154, Washington, D. C.: Wages increased 64 cents per day.
- Neckwear Workers' Union**, No. 15200, Boston, Mass.: Wages increased 10 per cent for 7 members. 15 per cent for 15, 20 per cent for 35, secured through arbitration.
- Janitors' Protective Union**, No. 15245, Bondville, Ill.: When union was started members were receiving 20 to 26 cents per hour for 10 hours work or more; now receiving 45 cents per hour with an 8-hour day.
- Janitors' and Watchmen's Union**, No. 15908, Boston, Mass.: Wages increased 33¼ per cent per day for 14 members. Hours of labor reduced from 9 to 8, benefiting 21 members. When union was started the members were receiving \$12 per week for a 9-hour day. Present scale is \$19 per week for an 8-hour day.

- Janitors' and Laborers' Union, No. 16310, Lynn, Mass.: The War Labor Board award raised wages from 28 to 32 cents per hour to a minimum of 42 cents per hour; for the women from \$8 and \$9 per week to a minimum of \$15 per week.
- Janitors' Union, No. 16122, Manchester, N. H.: Wages \$150 per year.
- Janitors', Helpers' & Laborers' Union, No. 16034, Charleston, S. C.: Wages increased 48 cents a day.
- Japanners' and Sheet Metal Truckers' Union, No. 15255, Schenectady, N. Y.: When organization was started wages were 26 cents per hour; present scale 47½ cents per hour.
- Oyster Shuckers' Union, No. 16117, Norfolk, Va.: Secured better prices for members from dealers.
- Park and Recreation Departments, Gardeners', and Laborers' Union, No. 16138, Boston, Mass.: When organization was started wages were \$2 per day; present rate \$3 per day of 8 hours.
- Paving Inspectors' Union, No. 14883, Chicago, Ill.: Wages increased \$31 per month.
- Picture Frame Workers' Union, No. 15557, Philadelphia, Pa.: Wages increased \$1 to \$1.50 per day. The organization has reduced hours of labor from 60 to 48 per week, and increased wages almost 50 per cent.
- School Janitors' Union, No. 15928, Providence, R. I.: 7 to 25 per cent increase in wages.
- Railroad Employees' Union, No. 16486, Atlantic City, N. J.: Wages increased 9½ cents per hour, and hours of labor reduced 3 per day.
- Rubber and Tire Workers' Union, No. 16483, Butte, Mont.: Wages increased \$1 per day for journeymen, and 50 cents per day for apprentices. Hours of labor reduced 1 per day. Union has increased wages from \$5 for 9-hour day to \$6 for 8 hours.
- Sailmakers', Operators and Helpers' Union, No. 16050, Boston, Mass.: Wages increased \$1.68 per day.
- Ship Clerks' Union, No. 16145, San Francisco, Cal.: The union has gained the 8-hour day, and \$1.50 per day increase for the members; formerly 9 hours and \$5 per day.
- Shipyards Laborers' Union, No. 15980, Baltimore, Md.: When organized members received 48 and 52 cents per hour. Present wages 72 and 80 cents per hour.
- Slate Workers' Union, No. 15159, Granville, N. Y.: Wages increased 18 cents per day for 275 members.
- State Home Employees' Union, No. 16048, Eldridge, Cal.: Wages increased \$10 per month and 1 hour of rest granted in 12-hour day for attendants.
- Slate Workers' Union, No. 15178, Poulney, Vt.: Before union was formed wages ranged from 23 to 27 cents per hour; at present from 32 to 36 cents per hour.
- State Hospital Employees' Union, No. 15631, Napa, Cal.: Wages increased 33½ cents per day to attendants in all state hospitals. Hours of labor reduced in some instances from 14 to 12 per day.
- Stoneware Potters' Union, No. 15634, Logan, Ohio: Two increases in wages secured, one of 20 per cent and later 50 cents per day.
- Street Cleaners' Union, No. 15447, St. Louis, Mo.: When the union was started members were receiving \$1.50 per day; present wages, \$2.70 per day.
- Street Cleaners', Overseers' and Inspectors' Union, No. 16336, St. Louis, Mo.: 15 per cent per day gain. Salary \$115 per month and 8-hour day.
- Tin, Steel, Iron and Granite Ware Workers' Union, No. 10943, Granite City, Ill.: Increases in wages for women workers from 40 to 80 cents per day; men from 30 to 70 cents per day. Hours of labor reduced from 10 to 9 hours per day, 265 benefited directly, 1,000 indirectly. Company has agreed to improve sanitary conditions. Organization has increased wages 100 per cent.
- Tuckpointers' and Front Cleaners' Union, No. 13046, Chicago, Ill.: When union was started, in 1898, wages were about \$2.50 per day for 8 hours; at present, \$7 per day for 8 hours.
- Tuck Pointers' Protective Union, No. 14707, Buffalo, N. Y.: Wages increased 70 cents per day. When union was started, members worked 9 hours at \$2.50 per day; at present, \$5.20 for 8 hours.
- United Felt, Panama and Straw Hat Trimmers and Operators' Union, No. 14569, New York, N. Y.: Before organization no limit to working hours, home work, no division of work in dull seasons, low wages. As the result of organization, the 8-hour day has been established, no home work, equal division of work in dull times and 50 per cent increase in wages. Sanitary conditions greatly improved.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

- United Umbrella Handle and Stick Makers' Union, No. 14581, New York, N. Y.: As a result of organization, hours of labor have been reduced and wages increased 60 per cent.
- Water Inspectors' Union, No. 15642, Pittsburgh, Pa.: As a result of organization, wages have been equalized, and time and one-half for overtime over 8 hours. Wages were formerly \$2.75 and \$3, now \$4.10.
- Watchmen's Union, No. 16130, Aberdeen, Wash.: Wages increased from \$3.96 to \$4.80 a day through award of Shipbuilding Labor Adjustment Board. The 8-hour day established as direct result of organization.
- Wholesale Grocery Handlers' and Packers' Union, No. 15764, Terre Haute, Ind.: Wages increased \$3 per week in past year. As result of organization, wages have been increased \$8 per week and hours of labor reduced from 60 to 50 per week.
- Window Glass Snappers' Union, No. 15443, Sandusky, Ohio: As a result of organization wages have been increased 20 to 40 per cent and hours of labor reduced from 8 to 5½ hours per day.
- Water Works and Sewer Employees' Union, No. 15466, Ft. Worth, Texas.: When union was started wage scale was \$65, \$80 and \$90 per month; present scale, \$90, \$100, \$110, \$115 and \$125 per month.
- Water Inspectors' Union, No. 16288, Greater New York: War bonus \$100 per year increase.
- Water Meter Repairers', Testers' and Setters' Union, No. 16181, Newark, N. J.: Increases in wages of 44 cents, 57 cents and 60 cents per day for 16 members. Hours of labor reduced from 53 to 44 per week for 6 members.
- Window and House Cleaners' Union, No. 15508, Denver, Colo.: 2 increases in wages of 50 cents per day each. Hours of labor reduced from 9 to 8 per day. Before union was formed wages were \$10 to \$15 per week. Present wages, \$22 and \$24 for window cleaners, and \$18 for housemen.
- Wire Drawers' Union, No. 12943, Wilkesbarre, Pa.: Wages increased 10 per cent on \$1 and hours of labor reduced from 10 to 8, benefiting 96 members. Sanitary conditions in wash rooms greatly improved. Union has increased wages from 48 cents to 60 cents per hour.

VOTING STRENGTH OF FEDERATION, 1897 TO 1919, INCLUSIVE

Year.	No. Votes.	Year.	No. Votes
1897.....	2,747	1909.....	15,880
1898.....	2,881	1910.....	16,737
1899.....	3,632	1911.....	18,693
1900.....	5,737	1912.....	18,499
1901.....	8,240	1913.....	20,976
1902.....	10,705	1914.....	21,185
1903.....	15,238	1915.....	20,433
1904.....	17,363	1916.....	21,906
1905.....	16,338	1917.....	24,973
1906.....	15,621	1918.....	28,375
1907.....	16,425	1919.....	33,850
1908.....	16,892		

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

UNION LABELS

There are now 51 labels and 10 cards issued by the following organizations which have been indorsed by the American Federation of Labor:

ORGANIZATIONS USING LABELS.

American Federation of Labor.
Bakers and Confectioners.
Bill Posters and Billers.
Boilermakers.
Blacksmiths.
Bookbinders.
Boot and Shoe Workers.
Brewery Workmen.
Brickmakers.
Broommakers.
Carpenters and Joiners, Brotherhood.
Carvers, Wood
Cigarmakers.
Coopers.
Electrical Workers.
Garment Workers, United.
Garment Workers, Ladies.

Glove Workers.
Grinders and Finishers, Pocket Knife Blade.
Hatters.
Horseshoers.
Iron and Steel Workers.
Jewelry Workers.
Lathers.
Laundry Workers.
Leather Workers.
Lithographers.
Machine Printers and Color Mixers.
Machinists.
Marble Workers.
Metal Polishers.
Metal Workers, Sheet.
Molders.
Painters.

Papermakers.
Photo-Engravers.
Piano and Organ Workers.
Plate Printers.
Powder Workers.
Pressmen, Printing.
Print Cutters.
Sawsmiths.
Slate Workers.
Stove Mounters.
Tailors.
Textile Workers.
Timber Workers.
Tobacco Workers.
Typographical.
Upholsterers.
Weavers, Wire.

ORGANIZATIONS USING CARDS.

Barbers.
Clerks, Retail.
Engineers, Steam.
Firemen, Stationary.

Hotel and Restaurant Employees.
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen.
Musicians.

Stage Employees, Theatrical Teamsters.
White Rats Actors.

The following crafts and callings are using the American Federation of Labor label: Badges Banner, Regalia, Button, Novelty and Lodge Paraphernalia Workers; Coffee, Spice, and Baking Powder Workers; Nail (Horseshoe) Workers; Neckwear Cutters and Makers; Paper Box Makers; Suspendermakers; Garter, Arm Band and Hose Supporter Makers.

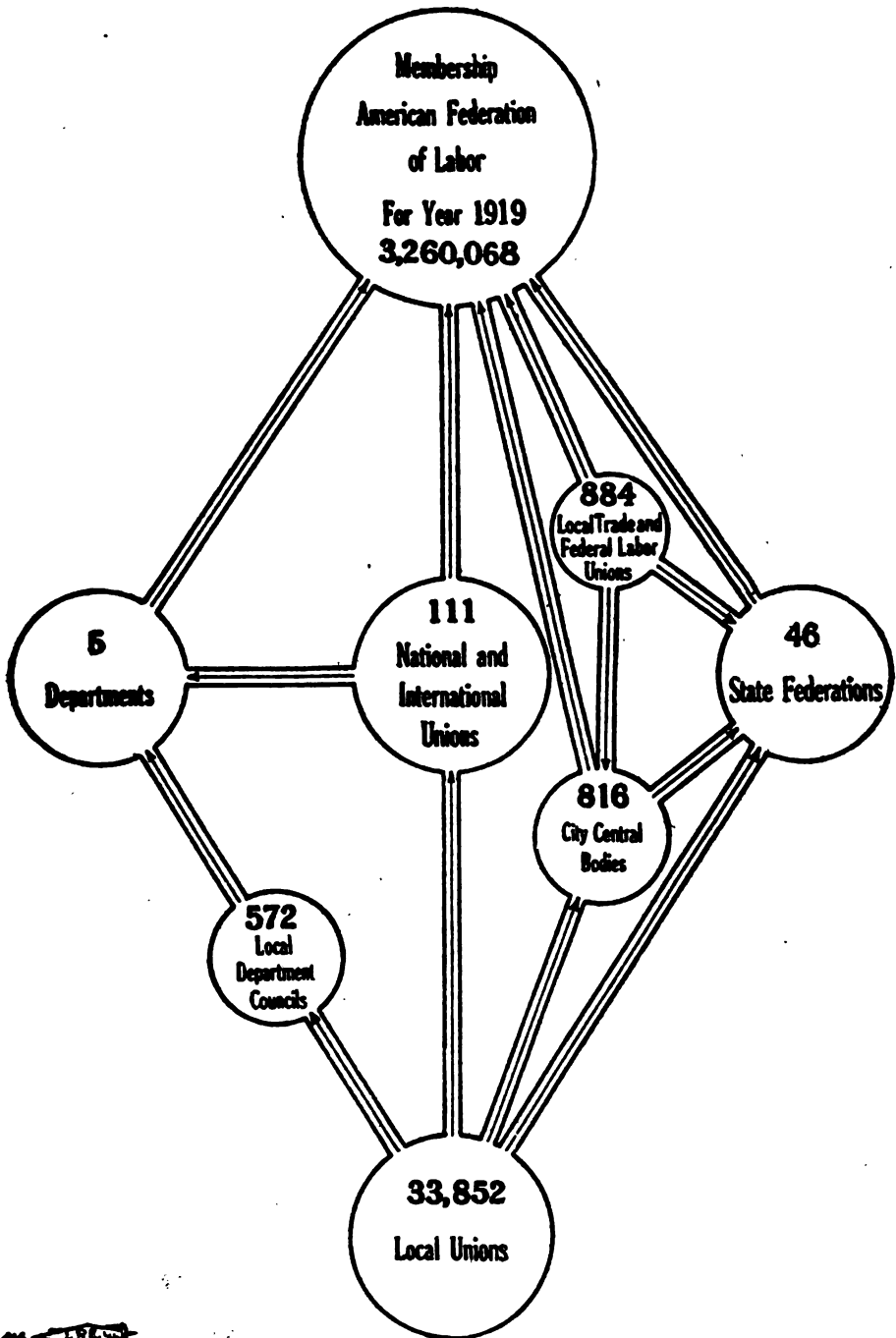
TOTAL MEMBERSHIP OF AFFILIATED UNIONS

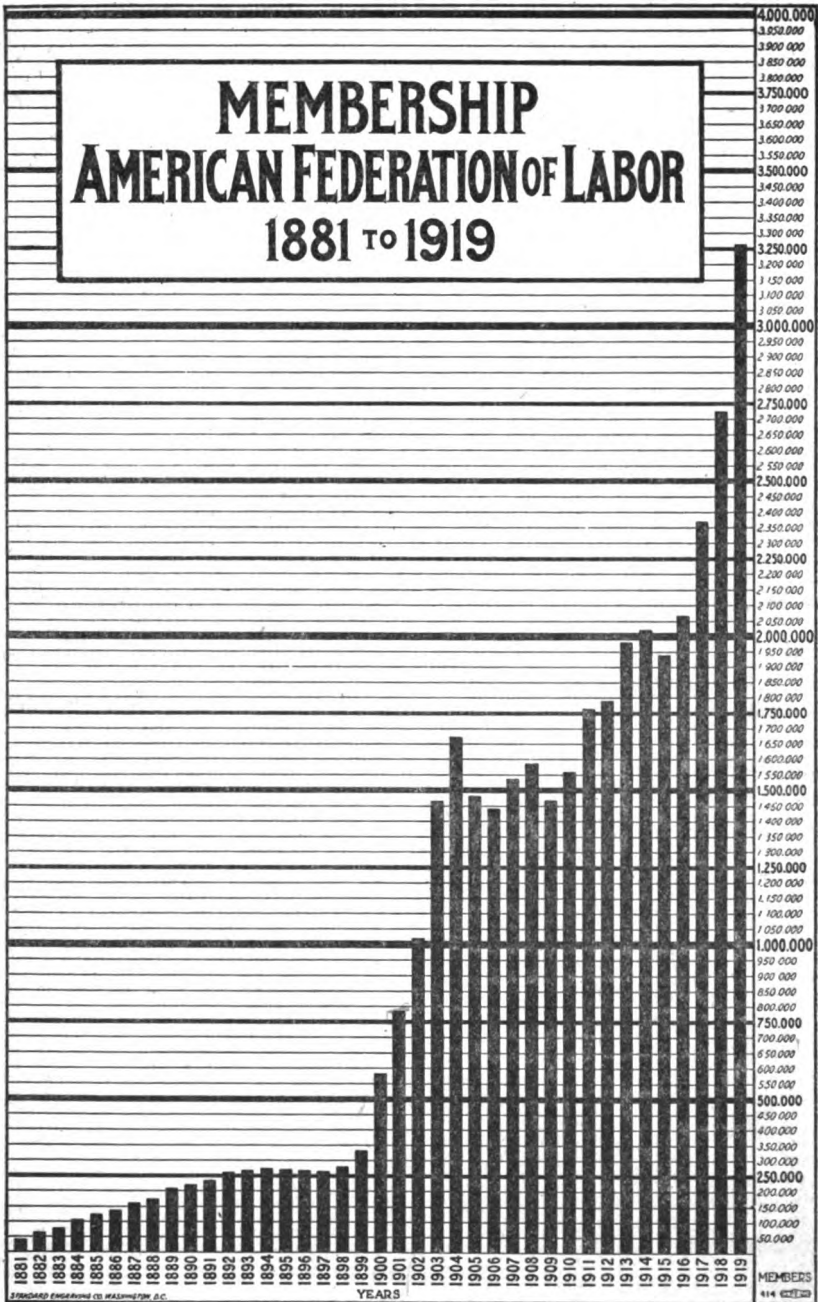
The average paid-up and reported membership for the year is 3,260,068, an average increase of 533,590 members over last year. National and international organizations are required to pay only the per capita tax upon their full paid-up membership, and therefore the membership reported does not include all the members involved in strikes or lockouts or those who were unemployed during the fiscal year, for whom tax was not received.

The following is the average membership reported or paid upon for the past twenty-three years:

Year.	Membership.	Year.	Membership.	Year.	Membership.	Year.	Membership.
1897.....	264,825	1903.....	1,465,800	1909.....	1,482,872	1915.....	1,946,347
1898.....	278,016	1904.....	1,676,200	1910.....	1,562,112	1916.....	2,072,702
1899.....	349,422	1905.....	1,494,300	1911.....	1,761,835	1917.....	2,371,434
1900.....	548,321	1906.....	1,454,200	1912.....	1,770,145	1918.....	2,726,478
1901.....	787,537	1907.....	1,538,970	1913.....	1,996,004	1919.....	3,260,068
1902.....	1,024,399	1908.....	1,586,885	1914.....	2,020,671		

So that the delegates and membership at large may at a glance note the steady growth in the total membership of the organizations affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, a chart will follow on the next page indicating the membership for each year since 1881, up to and including 1919—thirty-nine years. In addition, another chart has been prepared showing clearly the manner in which the American Federation of Labor is organized, commencing with the local unions of the international organizations as the source from which all funds are secured to carry on every activity in the labor movement. Local unions of the national and international organizations and the local unions affiliated direct with the American Federation of Labor, constitute the state and city central bodies as well as department councils. The chart will show that there are 33,852 local unions in the 111 national and international unions and 834 local trade and federal labor unions directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, with a paid-up and reported average membership of 3,260,068 for the fiscal year ending April 30, 1919.





**NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS FORMED FROM AMERICAN
FEDERATION OF LABOR LOCAL UNIONS**

The American Federation of Labor in the past twenty-four years has formed out of directly chartered local unions, the following eighty-seven national and international organizations:

1896.

Mineral Mine Workers' Progressive, Northern.
Actors' National Protective.
National Union of Textile Workers.
Boilermakers and Iron Ship Builders' Union.
Brickmakers' Alliance, National.
Federated Association of Wire Drawers.

1897.

Bicycle Workers' International Union.
Gold Beaters' National Union.
Steam Engineers' National Union.
Core Makers' International Union.
Blacksmiths, International Brotherhood of.
Brotherhood of Paper Makers.
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen's National Union.

1898.

Mosaic and Encaustic Tile Layers and Helpers' International Union.
Building Laborers' International Protective Union of America.
Trunk and Bag Workers' International Union.

1899.

International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen.
National Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers.
Brotherhood of Coal Hoisting Engineers.
Tin Plate Workers' International Protective Association.
Team Drivers' International Union.

1900.

Chain Makers' National Union of the United States of America.
Glass Workers' National Union.
International Jewelry Workers' Union of America.
International Union of Wood, Wire, and Metal Lathers.
Building Laborers' International Protective Union.
International Brotherhood of Oil and Gas Well Workers.
United Metal Workers' International Union.
Upholsterers' International Union of North America.

1901.

Shirt Waist and Laundry Workers' International Union.
Amalgamated Leather Workers' Union of America.
International Watch Case Makers.
International Association of Car Workers.
Paving Cutters' Union of the United States of America.
National Association of Blast Furnace Workers and Smelters of America.

1902

United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers' Union of North America.
Sawsmiths' Union of North America.
Piano and Organ Workers' International Union of America.
National Association of Machine Printers and Color Mixers of the United States.
United Powder and High Explosive Workers of America.
International Association of Tube Workers.
International Association of Marble Workers.
Window Glass Snappers' National Protective Association of America.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

1903.

Quarrymen's International Union of North America.
 American Brotherhood of Cement Workers.
 International Brotherhood of Tip Printers.
 International Union of Slate Quarrymen, Splitters and Cutters.
 International Slate and Tile Roofers' Union of America.
 Brotherhood of Railway Expressmen of America.
 International Hodcarriers and Building Laborers' Union of America.
 International Shingle Weavers' Union of America.
 Bill Posters and Billers of America, National Alliance of.
 International Association of Glass House Employees.
 Interior Freight Handlers and Warehousemen's Union of America.
 Glove Workers' International Union of America.
 Order of Commercial Telegraphers.
 Amalgamated Rubber Workers' Union of America.
 National Union of Shipwrights, Joiners and Caulkers of America.
 International Union of Flour and Cereal Mill Employees.

1904.

Asbestos Workers of America, National Association of Heat, Frost, General Insulators and.
 International Association of Fur Workers of the United States and Canada.
 Mattress, Spring and Bedding Workers' International Union.
 Brushmakers' International Union.
 International Brotherhood of Foundry Employees.
 International Union of Building Employees of America.
 International Union of Paper Box Makers.
 Tack Makers' International Union.

1905.

National Brotherhood of Woodmen and Saw Mill Workers.
 International Union of Pavers and Rammermen.

1906.

Steel Plate Transferrers' Association of America.

1907.

International Brotherhood of Composition Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers of
 United States and Canada.
 Post-office Clerks, National Federation of.
 Lobster Fishermen's National Protective Association.

1910.

Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union.

1912.

International Fur Workers' Union of United States and Canada (second time chartered).

1914.

Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen of America.
 Brotherhood of Railway Postal Clerks.

1915.

International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen.

1916.

American Association of Masters, Mates and Pilots.
 American Federation of Teachers.
 International Jewelry Workers' Union.

1917.

National Federation of Federal Employees.
 International Union of Timber Workers.

1918.

International Association of Fire Fighters.

1919.

International Federation of Draftsmen's Union.
 International Steel and Copper Plate Engravers' League.
 Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers of America.

HEADQUARTERS

The following statement shows that during the twelve months ending April 30, 1919, there has been issued from headquarters an average of 934 letters, circular letters and packages per day and 756,530 copies of the *American Federationist*, and 120,440 A. F. of L. News Letters, as follows:

	1919.
Packages of supplies and literature forwarded by express and parcel post.....	16,443
Official letters.....	107,839
Circulars and circular letters	155,843
American Federation of Labor News Letter.....	170,440
<i>American Federationist</i>	756,530
Total	1,207,094

IN CONCLUSION

In conclusion, I desire to express, through the delegates present, my sincere appreciation of the faithful, earnest, and successful efforts put forth by the organizers of the American Federation of Labor and the national and international organizations to organize the unorganized workers, and the substantial assistance and encouragement received from the officers of the national and international unions and from my colleagues of the Executive Council.

Respectfully submitted.

Frank Morrison

Secretary, American Federation of Labor.

TREASURER TOBIN'S REPORT

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

FELLOW UNIONISTS: I herewith submit report upon the funds of the American Federation of Labor for the twelve months from April 30, 1918, to April 30, 1919. The financial statement is as follows:

INCOME.		EXPENSES.	
Received of Secretary Morrison:		Warrants paid:	
1918.		1918.	
May 31.....	\$42,682 37	May 31.....	\$38,293 14
June 30.....	33,646 18	June 30.....	45,814 24
July 31.....	43,608 53	July 31.....	43,569 63
August 31.....	57,867 53	August 31.....	56,804 57
September 30.....	66,538 88	September 30.....	63,939 80
October 31.....	75,675 64	October 31.....	54,558 41
November 30.....	44,900 94	November 30.....	41,676 27
December 31.....	52,156 98	December 31.....	45,242 82
1919.		1919.	
January 31.....	52,742 86	January 31.....	49,140 73
February 28.....	49,113 08	February 28.....	49,026 66
March 31.....	58,925 22	March 31.....	45,073 99
April 30.....	76,879 41	April 30.....	54,378 13
Total income for year.....	\$654,687 57	Total expenses for year.....	\$587,518 39
Balance in hands of Treasurer, April 30, 1918.....	123,320 98		
Total funds.....	\$778,008 55		

RECAPITULATION.

Total funds (cash balance and income).....	\$778,008 55
Total expenses.....	587,518 39
April 30, 1919—Balance in hands of Treasurer.....	\$190,490 16
April 30, 1919—Balance in hands of Secretary.....	2,000 00
Total cash balance April 30, 1919.....	\$192,490 16
Loan to Trustees A. F. of L. Building Fund from Defense Fund.....	25,000 00
Total balance on hand, April 30, 1919.....	\$217,490 16
Treasurer's balance, where deposited and invested:	
Union Trust Co., Indianapolis, Ind., interest bearing certificates.....	\$100,000 00
Indiana National Bank, Indianapolis, Ind., subject to check.....	25,490 16
Liberty Bonds.....	50,000 00
Canadian Victory Bonds.....	15,000 00
Loan to Trustees A. F. of L. Building Fund from Defense Fund.....	25,000 00
Treasurer's balance April 30, 1919.....	\$215,490 16
Deposits guaranteed by bond.	

Respectfully submitted,

DANIEL J. TOBIN,
Treasurer, American Federation of Labor.

INDIANAPOLIS, IND., April 30, 1919.

REPORT OF TRUSTEES OF A. F. OF L. BUILDING

To the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor:

We submit for your consideration the following report of the receipts and expenses of the A. F. of L. Building Fund for the twelve months ending April 30, 1919.

The total cost of lot and erection of building, \$189,317.68; the total amount borrowed, \$189,240. The indebtedness was reduced \$50,000 this year. The total reduction of indebtedness up to April 30, 1919, \$116,750, and this money did not come from earnings of the building but from the general fund of the A. F. of L. The total amount of indebtedness upon the building on April 30, 1919, \$72,500.

The income from all sources for twelve months, \$23,221.25; cost of maintenance, \$20,109.01. Income over cost of maintenance, \$3,112.24.

The interest paid this year upon borrowed money was \$3,175; deducting from this amount the excess of income over maintenance, leaves a deficit of \$62.76.

The \$189,317.68 paid for the A. F. of L. Building invested at 4 per cent would give a yearly income of \$7,572.70. The income in excess of expenses for this year is \$3,112.24—1½ per cent on amount invested.

RECEIPTS

Balance on hand April 30, 1918.....	\$65 10
Receipts from rents, May 1, 1918, to April 30, 1919.....	23,130 00
Receipts from waste paper.....	62 40
Receipts from interest of funds on deposit.....	28 85
From General Fund, A. F. of L.....	50,000 00
Total.....	\$73,286 35

EXPENSES

Maintenance:

Pay-roll (building employees).....	\$9,709 81
Fuel (coal).....	2,744 98
Electricity.....	2,044 50
Taxes.....	1,544 49
Supplies.....	495 89
Upkeep and repairs.....	295 03
Ice.....	395 55
Insurance (liability).....	62 45
Water rent.....	112 34
Hauling ashes.....	168 00
On account painting and refinishing A. F. of L. Building.....	1,990 00
Repairs and upkeep of elevators.....	395 97
Repairing heating plant.....	150 00
Total.....	\$20,109 01
Payments to American Security and Trust Company (\$15,000, \$20,000).....	35,000 00
Interest on money borrowed.....	3,175 00
Payments to Defense Fund, A. F. of L. (\$2,500, \$12,500).....	15,000 00
Total expenses, May 1, 1918, to April 30, 1919.....	\$73,284 01

RECAPITULATION

Income.....	\$73,286 35
Expenses.....	73,284 01
Balance on hand April 30, 1919.....	\$2 34

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

AMOUNT OF LOANS.

American Security and Trust Company (\$92,500).....	\$47,500 00
Defense Fund, A. F. of L. (\$50,000).....	25,000 00
Amount due on loans April 30, 1919.....	\$72,500 00
Yearly income with all rooms rented.....	\$23,460 00

The offices in the American Federation of Labor Building, and particularly the Executive Council room, have been utilized for conferences of representatives of labor organizations and representatives of foreign countries and of the public. The prestige and dignity which our building has given to our country and our cause have been of great importance and advantage.

This report of the trustees of the A. F. of L. Building is submitted to you, the E. C., and through you to the convention and the rank and file of the A. F. of L. We have performed the duty assigned to us with the best interests of the Federation in view.

Fraternally submitted,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
FRANK MORRISON,
JAMES O'CONNELL,
Trustees, A. F. of L. Building.

LIBERTY BOND PURCHASE

True to its record of supporting the government in its just cause during the war and in furtherance of that purpose, the American Federation of Labor subscribed \$10,000 to the Fourth Liberty Loan and \$10,000 to the Fifth Loan, making a total of \$50,000 invested in Liberty Bonds in the United States.

In addition, since we reported upon this subject to the St. Paul Convention, the purchase of \$5,000 of Canadian Victory Loan Bonds has been effected, making a total of \$15,000 of Victory Bonds.

It is regrettable that there is no exact record of the amount subscribed by our affiliated organizations and their membership to the various bond issues of the United States and the Canadian government, for beyond doubt millions of dollars have been invested in this way, as well as in War Savings Stamps.

RECONSTRUCTION PROGRAM

The St. Paul Convention instructed the Executive Council to appoint a committee on reconstruction, this committee to thoroughly investigate the problem of reconstruction and to take such steps as might be found possible to safeguard the interest of the soldiers and sailors and workers during the period of reconstruction. The committee as appointed was composed of John P. Frey, editor of the *International Molders' Journal*; B. M. Jewell, Acting President, *Railroad Employees' Department*; John Moore, President of the Ohio District of the *United Mine Workers of America*; G. W. Perkins, President, *Cigarmakers' International Union of America*; Matthew Woll, President, *International Photo-Engravers' Union of North America*.

The report of this committee was rendered to the E. C. at its meeting in New York on December 28, 1918, and was there endorsed by the E. C. We desire to say that the reconstruction program drafted by this special committee is not only the most complete and most constructive proposal yet made in this country for the reconstruction period but constitutes practically the only program in existence having to do with the period of rebuilding the national life on a peace basis. The measures proposed in the report are measures which the nation can ill afford to ignore. They are measures also for the realization of which organized labor throughout the country should exert every possible influence. The proposals are fundamentally the proposals of democracy designed to make for a richer and freer human life. We call not only upon the organized workers but upon the whole people

of America to bring into a state of active operation the splendid humanitarian and democratic reconstruction program here presented. The report of the committee follows:

American Federation of Labor Reconstruction Program

The world war has forced all free peoples to a fuller and deeper realization of the menace to civilization contained in autocratic control of the activities and destinies of mankind.

It has caused a world-wide determination to overthrow and eradicate all autocratic institutions, so that a full measure of freedom and justice can be established between man and man and nation and nation.

It has awakened more fully the consciousness that the principles of democracy should regulate the relationship of men in all their activities.

It has opened the doors of opportunity through which more sound and progressive policies may enter.

New conceptions of human liberty, justice and opportunity are to be applied.

The American Federation of Labor, the one organization representing Labor in America, conscious that its responsibilities are now greater than before, presents a program for the guidance of Labor, based upon experience and formulated with a full consciousness of the principles and policies which have successfully guided American trade unionism in the past.

Democracy in Industry

Two codes of rules and regulations affect the workers; the law upon the statute books, and the rules within industry.

The first determines their relationship as citizens to all other citizens and to property.

The second largely determines the relationship of employer and employe, the terms of employment, the conditions of labor, and the rules and regulations affecting the workers as employes. The first is secured through the application of the methods of democracy in the enactment of legislation, and is based upon the principle that the laws which govern a free people should exist only with their consent.

The second, except where effective trade unionism exists, is established by the arbitrary or autocratic whim, desire or opinion of the employer and is based upon the principle that industry and commerce can not be successfully conducted unless the employer exercises the unquestioned right to establish such rules, regulations and provisions affecting the employes as self-interest prompts.

Both forms of law vitally affect the workers' opportunities in life and determine their standard of living. The rules, regulations and conditions within industry in many instances affect them more than legislative enactments. It is, therefore, essential that the workers should have a voice in determining the laws within industry and commerce which affect them, equivalent to the voice which they have as citizens in determining the legislative enactments which shall govern them.

It is as inconceivable that the workers as free citizens should remain under autocratically made law within industry and commerce as it is that the nation could remain a democracy while certain individuals or groups exercise autocratic powers.

It is, therefore, essential that the workers everywhere should insist upon their right to organize into trade unions, and that effective legislation should be enacted which would make it a criminal offense for any employer to interfere with or hamper the exercise of this right or to interfere with the legitimate activities of trade unions.

Unemployment

Political economy of the old school, conceived by doctrinaires, was based upon unsound and false doctrines, and has since been used to blindfold, deceive

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

and defeat the workers' demands for adequate wages, better living and working conditions, and a just share of the fruits of their labor.

We hold strictly to the trade union philosophy and its developed political economy based upon demonstrated facts.

Unemployment is due to underconsumption. Underconsumption is caused by low or insufficient wages.

Just wages will prevent industrial stagnation and lessen periodical unemployment.

Give the workers just wages and their consuming capacity is correspondingly increased. A man's ability to consume is controlled by the wages received. Just wages will create a market at home which will far surpass any market that may exist elsewhere and will lessen unemployment.

The employment of idle workmen on public work will not permanently remove the cause of unemployment. It is an expedient at best.

There is no basis in fact for the claim that the so-called law of supply and demand is natural in its operations and impossible of control or regulation.

The trade union movement has maintained standards, wages, hours and life in periods of industrial depression and idleness. These in themselves are a refutation of the declared immutability of the law of supply and demand.

There is in fact no such condition as an iron law of wages based upon a natural law of supply and demand. Conditions in commerce and industry, methods of production, storing of commodities, regulation of the volume of production, banking systems, the flow and direction of enterprise influenced by combinations and trusts have effectively destroyed the theory of a natural law of supply and demand as had been formulated by doctrinaire economists.

Wages

There are no means whereby the workers can obtain and maintain fair wages except through trade union effort. Therefore, economic organization is paramount to all their other activities.

Organization of the workers leads to better wages, fewer working hours, improved working conditions; it develops independence, manhood and character; it fosters tolerance and real justice and makes for a constantly growing better economic, social and political life for the burden-bearing masses.

In countries where wages are best, the greatest progress has been made in economic, social and political advancement, in science, art, literature, education and in the wealth of the people generally. All low wage-paying countries contrasted with America is proof for this statement.

The American standard of life must be maintained and improved. The value of wages is determined by the purchasing power of the dollar. There is no such thing as good wages when the cost of living in decency and comfort equals or exceeds the wages received. There must be no reduction in wages; in many instances wages must be increased.

The workers of the nation demand a living wage for all wage-earners, skilled or unskilled—a wage which will enable the worker and his family to live in health and comfort, provide a competence for illness and old age, and afford to all the opportunity of cultivating the best that is within mankind.

Hours of Labor

Reasonable hours of labor promote the economic and social well-being of the toiling masses. Their attainment should be one of Labor's principal and essential activities. The shorter workday and a shorter work week make for a constantly growing, higher and better standard of productivity, health, longevity, morals and citizenship.

The right of Labor to fix its hours of work must not be abrogated, abridged or interfered with.

The day's working time should be limited to not more than eight hours,

with overtime prohibited, except under the most extraordinary emergencies. The week's working time should be limited to not more than five and one-half days.

Women as Wage-Earners

Women should receive the same pay as men for equal work performed. Women workers must not be permitted to perform tasks disproportionate to their physical strength or which tend to impair their potential motherhood and prevent the continuation of a nation of strong, healthy, sturdy and intelligent men and women.

Child Labor

The children constitute the nation's most valuable asset. The full responsibility of the government should be recognized by such measures as will protect the health of every child at birth and during its immature years.

It must be one of the chief functions of the nation through effective legislation to put an immediate end to the exploitation of children under sixteen years of age.

State legislatures should protect children of immature years by prohibiting their employment, for gain, under sixteen years of age and restricting the employment of children of less than eighteen years of age to not more than twenty hours within any one week and with not less than twenty hours at school during the same period.

Exploitation of child life for private gain must not be permitted.

Status of Public Employees

The fixing of wages, hours and conditions of labor for public employees by legislation hampers the necessary exercise of organization and collective bargaining.

Public employees must not be denied the right of organization, free activities and collective bargaining and must not be limited in the exercise of their rights as citizens.

Cooperation

To attain the greatest possible development of civilization, it is essential, among other things, that the people should never delegate to others those activities and responsibilities which they are capable of assuming for themselves. Democracy can function best with the least interference by the state compatible with due protection to the rights of all citizens.

There are many problems arising from production, transportation and distribution, which would be readily solved by applying the methods of cooperation. Unnecessary middlemen who exact a tax from the community without rendering any useful service can be eliminated.

The farmers, through cooperative dairies, canneries, packing houses, grain elevators, distributing houses, and other cooperative enterprises, can secure higher prices for their products and yet place these in the consumer's hands at lower prices than would otherwise be paid. There is an almost limitless field for the consumers in which to establish cooperative buying and selling, and in this most necessary development, the trade unionists should take an immediate and active part.

Trade unions secure fair wages. Cooperation protects the wage-earner from the profiteer.

Participation in these cooperative agencies must of necessity prepare the mass of the people to participate more effectively in the solution of the industrial, commercial, social and political problems which continually arise.

The People's Final Voice in Legislation

It is manifestly evident that a people are not self-governing unless they enjoy the unquestioned power to determine the form and substance of the laws which shall govern them. Self-government can not adequately function if there exists within the nation a superior power or authority which can finally determine what legislation enacted by the people, or their duly elected representatives, shall be placed upon the statute books and what shall be declared null and void.

An insuperable obstacle of self-government in the United States exists in the power which has been gradually assumed by the Supreme Courts of the Federal and State governments to declare legislation null and void upon the ground that, in the court's opinion, it is unconstitutional.

It is essential that the people, acting directly or through Congress or state legislatures, should have final authority in determining which laws shall be enacted. Adequate steps must be taken, therefore, which will provide that in the event of a Supreme Court declaring an act of Congress or of a state legislature unconstitutional and the people acting directly or through Congress or a state legislature should reenact the measure, it shall then become the law without being subject to annulment by any court.

Political Policy

In the political efforts, arising from the workers' necessity to secure legislation covering those conditions and provisions of life not subject to collective bargaining with employers, organized labor has followed two methods; one by organizing political parties, the other by the determination to place in public office representatives from their ranks; to elect those who favor and champion the legislation desired and to defeat those whose policy is opposed to Labor's legislative demands, regardless of partisan politics.

The disastrous experience of organized labor in America with political parties of its own, amply justified the A. F. of L.'s non-partisan political policy. The results secured by labor parties in other countries never have been such as to warrant any deviation from this position. The rules and regulations of trade unionism should not be extended so that the action of a majority could force a minority to vote for or give financial support to any political candidate or party to whom they are opposed. Trade union activities can not receive the undivided attention of members and officers if the exigencies, burdens and responsibilities of a political party are bound up with their economic and industrial organizations.

The experiences and results attained through the non-partisan political policy of the A. F. of L. cover a generation. They indicate that through its application the workers of America have secured a much larger measure of fundamental legislation, establishing their rights, safeguarding their interests, protecting their welfare and opening the doors of opportunity than have been secured by the workers of any other country.

The vital legislation now required can be more readily secured through education of the public mind and the appeal to its conscience, supplemented by energetic independent political activity on the part of trade unionists, than by any other method. This is and will continue to be the political policy of the A. F. of L. if the lessons which Labor has learned in the bitter but practical school of experience are to be respected and applied.

It is, therefore, most essential that the officers of the A. F. of L., the officers of the affiliated organizations, state federations and central labor bodies and the entire membership of the trade union movement should give the most vigorous application possible to the political policy of the A. F. of L. so that Labor's friends and opponents may be more widely known, and the legislation most required readily secured. This phase of our movement is still in its infancy. It should be continued and developed to its logical conclusion.

Government Ownership

Public and semi-public utilities should be owned, operated or regulated by the government in the interest of the public.

Whatever final disposition shall be made of the railways of the country in ownership, management or regulation, we insist upon the right of the workers to organize for their common and mutual protection and the full exercise of the normal activities which come with organization. Any attempt at the denial by governmental authority of the rights of the workers to organize, to petition, to representation and to collective bargaining, or the denial of the exercise of their political rights is repugnant to the fundamental principles of free citizenship in a republic and is destructive of their best interest and welfare.

The government should own and operate all wharves and docks connected with public harbors which are used for commerce or transportation.

The American Merchant Marine should be encouraged and developed under governmental control and so manned as to insure successful operation and protect in full the beneficent laws now on the statute books for the rights and welfare of seamen. The seamen must be accorded the same rights and privileges rightfully exercised by the workers in all other employments, public and private.

Waterways and Water Power

The lack of a practical development of our waterways and the inadequate extension of canals have seriously handicapped water traffic and created unnecessarily high cost of transportation. In many instances it has established artificial restrictions which have worked to the serious injury of communities, owing to the schemes of those controlling a monopoly of land transportation. Our navigable rivers and our great inland lakes should be connected with the sea by an adequate system of canals, so that inland production can be more effectively fostered, the costs of transportation reduced, the private monopoly of transportation overcome and imports and exports shipped at lower costs.

The nation is possessed of enormous water power. Legislation should be enacted providing that the governments, federal and state, should own, develop and operate all water power over which they have jurisdiction. The power thus generated should be supplied to all citizens at rates based upon cost. The water power of the nation, created by nature, must not be permitted to pass into private hands for private exploitation.

Regulation of Land Ownership

Agriculture and stock-raising are essential to national safety and well-being. The history of all countries, at all times, indicates that the conditions which create a tenant class of agriculturists work increasing injury to the tillers of the soil. While increasing the price of the product to the consumer these conditions at the same time develop a class of large land owners who contribute little, if anything, to the welfare of the community but who exact a continually increasing share of the wealth produced by the tenant. The private ownership of large tracts of usable land is not conducive to the best interests of a democratic people.

Legislation should be enacted placing a graduated tax upon all usable lands above the acreage which is cultivated by the owner. This should include provisions through which the tenant farmer, or others, may purchase land upon the lowest rate of interest and most favorable terms consistent with safety, and so safeguarded by governmental supervision and regulation as to give the fullest and freest opportunity for the development of land-owning agriculturists.

Special assistance should be given in the direction of allotments of lands and the establishment of homes on the public domain.

Establishment of government experimental farms, measures for stock raising instruction, the irrigation of arid lands and reclamation of swamp and cut-over lands should be undertaken upon a larger scale under direction of the federal government.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

Municipalities and states should be empowered to acquire lands for cultivation or the erection of residential buildings which they may use or dispose of under equitable terms.

Federal and State Regulation of Corporations

The creation by legislative enactment of corporations, without sufficient definition of the powers and scope of activities conferred upon them and without provisions for their adequate supervision, regulation and control by the creative body, has led to the development of far-reaching abuses which have seriously affected commerce, industry and the masses of the people through their influence upon social, industrial, commercial and political development. Legislation is required which will so limit, define and regulate the powers, privileges and activities of corporations that their methods can not become detrimental to the welfare of the people. It is, therefore, essential that legislation should provide for the federal licensing of all corporations organized for profit. Furthermore, federal supervision and control should include the increasing of capital stock and the incurring of bonded indebtedness with the provision that the books of all corporations shall be open at all times to federal examiners.

Freedom of Expression and Association

The very life and perpetuity of free and democratic institutions are dependent upon freedom of speech, of the press and of assemblage and association. We insist that all restrictions of freedom of speech, press, public assembly, association and travel be completely removed, individuals and groups being responsible for their utterances. These fundamental rights must be set out with clearness and must not be denied or abridged in any manner.

Workmen's Compensation

Workmen's compensation laws should be amended to provide more adequately for those incapacitated by industrial accidents or occupational diseases. To assure that the insurance fund derived from commerce and industry will be paid in full to injured workers, state insurance must supplant, and prohibit the existence of, employers' liability insurance operated for profit.

Immigration

Americanization of those coming from foreign lands, as well as our standards of education and living, are vitally affected by the volume and character of the immigration.

It is essential that additional legislation regulating immigration should be enacted based upon two fundamental propositions, namely, that the flow of immigration must not at any time exceed the nation's ability to assimilate and Americanize the foreigners coming to our shores, and that at no time shall immigration be permitted when there exists an abnormal degree of unemployment.

By reason of existing conditions we urge that immigration into the United States should be prohibited for a period of at least two years after peace has been declared.

Taxation

One of the nation's most valuable assets is the initiative, energetic, constructive and inventive genius of its people. These qualities when properly applied should be fostered and protected instead of being hampered by legislation, for they constitute an invaluable element of progress and material development. Taxation should, therefore, rest as lightly as possible upon constructive enterprise. Taxation should provide for full contribution from wealth by a tax upon profits which will not discourage industrial or commercial enterprise.

There should be provided a progressive increase in taxes upon incomes, inheritances, and upon land values of such a nature as to render it unprofitable to hold land without putting it to use, to afford a transition to greater economic equality and to supply means of liquidating the national indebtedness growing out of the war.

Education

It is impossible to estimate the influence of education upon the world's civilization. Education must not stifle thought and inquiry, but must awaken the mind concerning the application of natural laws and to a conception of independence and progress.

Education must not be for a few but for all our people. While there is an advanced form of public education in many states, there still remains a lack of adequate educational facilities in several states and communities. The welfare of the republic demands that public education should be elevated to the highest degree possible. The government should exercise advisory supervision over public education and where necessary maintain adequate public education through subsidies without giving to the government power to hamper or interfere with the free development of public education by the several states. It is essential that our system of public education should offer the wage-earners' children the opportunity for the fullest possible development. To attain this end state colleges and universities should be developed.

It is also important that the industrial education which is being fostered and developed should have for its purpose not so much training for efficiency in industry as training for life in an industrial society. A full understanding must be had of those principles and activities that are the foundation of all productive efforts. Children should not only become familiar with tools and materials, but they should also receive a thorough knowledge of the principles of human control, of force and matter underlying our industrial relations and sciences. The danger that certain commercial and industrial interests may dominate the character of education must be averted by insisting that the workers shall have equal representation on all boards of education or committees having control over vocational studies and training.

To elevate and advance the interests of the teaching profession and to promote popular and democratic education, the right of the teachers to organize and to affiliate with the movement of the organized workers must be recognized.

Private Employment Agencies

Essentials in industry and commerce are employe and employer, labor and capital. No one questions the right of organized capital to supply capital to employers. No one should question the right of organized labor to furnish workers. Private employment agencies abridge this right of organized labor.

Where federal, state and municipal employment agencies are maintained they should operate under the supervision of joint committees of trade unionists and employers, equally represented.

Private employment agencies operated for profit should not be permitted to exist.

Housing

Child life, the workers' physical condition and public health demand that the wage-earner and his family shall be given a full opportunity to live under wholesome conditions. It is not only necessary that there shall be sanitary and appropriate houses to live in but that a sufficient number of dwellings shall be available to free the people from high rents and overcrowding.

The ownership of homes, free from the grasp of exploitative and speculative interests, will make for more efficient workers, more contented families, and better citizens. The government should, therefore, inaugurate a plan to build model homes and establish a system of credits whereby the workers may borrow money at a low rate of interest and under favorable terms to build their own homes.

Credit should also be extended to voluntary non-profit making housing and joint tenancy associations. States and municipalities should be freed from the restrictions preventing their undertaking proper housing projects and should be permitted to engage in other necessary enterprises relating thereto. The erection and maintenance of dwellings where migratory workers may find lodging and nourishing food during periods of unemployment should be encouraged and supported by municipalities.

If need should arise to expend public funds to relieve unemployment the building of wholesome houses would best serve the public interests.

Militarism

The trade union movement is unalterably and emphatically opposed to "militarism" or a large standing army. "Militarism," is a system fostered and developed by tyrants in the hope of supporting their arbitrary authority. It is utilized by those whose selfish ambitions for power and wordly glory lead them to invade and subdue other peoples and nations, to destroy their liberties, to acquire their wealth and to fasten the yoke of bondage upon them. The trade union movement is convinced by the experience of mankind that "militarism" brutalizes those influenced by the spirit of the institution. The finer elements of humanity are strangled. Under "militarism" a deceptive patriotism is established in the peoples' minds, where men believe that there is nobility of spirit and heroism in dying for the glory of a dynasty or the maintenance of institutions which are inimical to human progress and democracy. "Militarism" is the application of arbitrary and irresponsible forces as opposed to reason and justice. Resistance to injustice and tyranny is that virile quality which has given purpose and effect to ennobling causes in all countries and at all times. The free institutions of our country and the liberties won by its founders would have been impossible had they been unwilling to take arms and if necessary die in the defense of their liberties. Only a people willing to maintain their rights and defend their liberties are guaranteed free institutions.

Conditions foreign to the institutions of our country have prevented the entire abolition of organized bodies of men trained to carry arms. A voluntary citizen soldiery supplies what would otherwise take its place, a large standing army. To the latter we are unalterably opposed as tending to establish the evils of "militarism." Large standing armies threaten the existence of civil liberty. The history of every nation demonstrates that as standing armies are enlarged the rule of democracy is lessened or extinguished. Our experience has been that even this citizen soldiery, the militia of our states, has given cause at times for grave apprehension. Their ranks have not always been free from undesirable elements, particularly the tools of corporations involved in industrial disputes. During industrial disputes the militia has at times been called upon to support the authority of those who through selfish interests desired to enforce martial law while the courts were open and the civil authorities competent to maintain supremacy of civil law. We insist that the militia of our several states should be wholly organized and controlled by democratic principles so that this voluntary force of soldiery may never be diverted from its true purpose and used to jeopardize or infringe upon the rights and liberties of our people. The right to bear arms is a fundamental principle of our government, a principle accepted at all times by free people as essential to the maintenance of their liberties and institutions. We demand that this right shall remain inviolate.

Soldiers and Sailors

Soldiers and sailors, those who entered the service in the nation's defense, are entitled to the generous reward of a grateful Republic.

The necessities of war called upon millions of workmen to leave their positions in industry and commerce to defend, upon the battle fields, the nation's safety and its free institutions. These defenders are now returning. It is advisable that they should be discharged from military service at the earliest possible

moment; that as civilians they may return to their respective homes and families and take up their peace-time pursuits. The nation stands morally obligated to assist them in securing employment.

Industry has undergone great changes due to the dislocation caused by war production and transportation. Further readjustments in industry and commerce must follow the rehabilitation of business under peaceful conditions. Many positions which our citizen soldiers and sailors filled previous to enlistment do not exist today.

It would be manifestly unjust for the government after having removed the worker from his position in industry and placed him in military service to discharge him from the army or navy without having made adequate provision to assist him in procuring employment and providing sustenance until employment has been secured. The returned citizen soldier or sailor should not be forced by the bitter urgent necessity of securing food and clothing to place himself at a disadvantage when seeking employment.

Upon their discharge, transportation and meals should be supplied to their places of residence. The monthly salary previously paid should be continued for a period not to exceed twelve months if employment is not secured within that period.

The federal and state employment bureaus should be directed to cooperate with trade union agencies in securing employment for discharged soldiers and sailors. In assisting the discharged soldier and sailor to secure employment, government agencies should not expect them to accept employment for less than the prevailing rate of wages being paid in the industry. Neither should any government agency request or require such discharged men to accept employment where a trade dispute exists or is threatened. Nor should the refusal on the part of any of these discharged soldiers or sailors to accept employment where trade disputes exist or are threatened or when less than the prevailing wage rate is offered, deprive them of a continuance of their monthly pay.

Legislation also should be enacted which will give the nation's defenders the opportunity for easy and ready access to the land. Favorable inducements should be provided for them to enter agriculture and husbandry. The government should assume the responsibility for the allotment of such lands, and supply the necessary capital for its development and cultivation, with such safeguards as will protect both the government and the discharged soldier and sailor.

Conclusion

No element in our nation is more vitally concerned with the problems of making for a permanent peace between all nations than the working people. The opportunities now before us are without precedent. It is of paramount importance that Labor shall be free and unhampered in shaping the principles and agencies affecting the wage-earners' condition of life and work.

By the light that has been given to it the A. F. of L. has attracted to its fold over three millions of wage-earners and its sphere of influence and helpfulness is growing by leaps and bounds. By having followed safe and sound fundamental principles and policies, founded on freedom, justice and democracy, the American trade union movement has achieved successes of an inestimable value to the masses of toilers of our country. By adhering to these principles and policies we can meet all problems of readjustment, however, grave in importance and difficult of solution, with a feeling of assurance that our efforts will be rewarded by a still greater success than that achieved in the past.

Given the whole-hearted support of all men and women of labor our organized labor movement with its constructive program, its love for freedom, justice and democracy will prove the most potent factor in protecting, safeguarding and promoting the general welfare of the great mass of our people during this trying period of reconstruction and all times thereafter.

The A. F. of L. has attained its present position of dignity and splendid influence because of its adherence to one common cause and purpose; that pur-

pose is to protect the rights and interests of the masses of the workers and to secure for them a better and a brighter day. Let us therefore strive on and on to bring into our organizations the yet unorganized. Let us concentrate our efforts to organize all the forces of wage-earners. Let the nation hear the united demand from the laboring voice. Now is the time for the workers of America to come to the stand of their unions and to organize as thoroughly and completely and compactly as is possible. Let each worker bear in mind the words of Longfellow:

"In the world's broad field of battle,
In the bivouac of Life,
Be not like dumb, driven cattle!
Be a hero in the strife!"

INTERNATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS

When the armistice was signed on November 11th, 1918, American labor was engaged in a constantly increasing effort to produce supplies and munitions of war. Until just a few days before that event, the workers of America had expected that their utmost efforts in war production would be necessary for a considerable period to come in order to insure victory for the democratic cause. The ardor of spirit and unity of purpose of the American working people were unequalled anywhere in the whole world theatre of war. The armistice and the consequent cessation of hostilities found every activity in a state of impatient speed toward victory.

Military documents and records and the official statements of national chiefs who were in most intimate touch with affairs on the western front at the hour of the German collapse certify that the very magnitude and ardor of the work being done at home was one of the principal factors in bringing about the precipitous rout of autocracy through the crumbling of the armies. The American labor movement may feel a spirit of pride in having made so magnificent a contribution to the triumph of the cause of the world's democratic peoples.

The signing of the armistice and the beginning of peace negotiations reversed the whole impulse of the nation and turned the common thought of the people toward the tremendous task of placing the nation's life once more on a peace basis. Among the workers of America there had been the conviction formed in the beginning of hostilities—a conviction justified by the whole thought and purpose contained in the nation's declaration of war—that the return to a peace basis should not involve merely a readjustment and a return to conditions that were normal prior to the war but should involve true reconstruction in such a manner as to make permanent the democratic advances made during the period of the war, and because of the war, and to insure natural achievement of continued progress.

We feel that this thought concerning the reconstruction of our life along fundamental lines is excellently expressed in the report of the Special Committee on Reconstruction which has been approved by us and is submitted as a part of this report. It is our conviction that if reconstruction is to bring to the working people the opportunities for broader and freer lives to which they rightly and justly aspire, the developments and events leading in that direction must be along the lines laid down in the report of the Committee on Reconstruction. The committee makes no excursion into the perhaps attractive field of abstract and doctrinaire theorizing, but confines itself strictly to a study of those things which are at once possible and practicable, recommending to the nation a course that not only can be pursued but that in logic and justice must be pursued.

Labor Missions Sent Abroad

Until the moment of signing the armistice the activities of the American Federation of Labor had been constantly expanding and increasing in breadth and intensity. Not only was every possible effort being expended at home but contact with the working people of other nations was steadily developing out of the necessities of war. In the whole field of allied hostilities there was a tendency toward bringing into closer contact the various peoples engaged in the war against the Central Powers, in order that at each step there might be complete understanding and sympathy.

Prior to the convention of June, 1918, our Federation had sent one mission abroad to confer and advise with the labor movements of our allied countries. It also had sent a mission to confer with the labor movement of Mexico. Both of these missions had completed their tasks at the time the 1918 convention was held. The mission that had just returned from Europe recommended and earnestly urged that President Gompers undertake a mission to the labor movements of Europe and that everything possible be done to bring about a closer contact and a better understanding.

At the St. Paul Convention the Labor Mission just returned from Europe reported as follows:

"In addition to the great respect and admiration manifested on every hand for President Gompers, both from the representatives of the masses of labor with whom we came in contact, as well as the representatives of the governments of Great Britain and France, we have been importuned to urge upon him a visit to those countries at the earliest possible time. We therefore recommend to the Executive Council and we trust and hope through the Executive Council to the convention, that President Gompers be authorized and requested to undertake such a mission at an early date and before the close of this year."

The convention approved the report of the committee to which this section of the report was referred, as follows:

"Your committee is of the opinion that a compliance on the part of President Gompers with this suggestion and request on the part of the government, the people and the labor movements of Great Britain and France would be of inestimable value, not only to the peoples of these two countries but to our own as well. We therefore recommend that President Gompers be instructed and is hereby authorized and requested to proceed to Europe at the earliest time consistent with the duties and obligations here, and his own judgment and convenience."

In addition to this, Resolution No. 130 contained the following:

"Resolved, That Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, be, and hereby is, authorized to go to Italy at his earliest convenience, there to maintain the principles of our Federation," etc.

The committee reported and the convention concurred in the following:

"Your committee concurs in this resolution and recommends its adoption with the suggestion that President Gompers' visit to Italy be arranged so as to conform to the time he visits Great Britain and France."

It was highly advisable at that time, when the German armies were pressing most vigorously upon the allied lines and when great numbers were feeling keenly sheer exhaustion after four years of terrific struggle, that the invigorating message of hope and cheer from American labor to the workers of Europe be brought to them as effectually and as frequently as possible in order that they might feel the full support and the great effort which America was then so rapidly developing. Accordingly, the E. C. at its meeting July 23-28, after deliberating on the recommendations of the labor mission to and approved by the June convention, decided that President Gompers should visit as many of the allied countries as possible and that he be authorized to "take with him such assistants as he may deem necessary to carry on his work." Arrangements were made whereby Vice-President Alpine acted as President during the period of President Gompers' absence.

A mission was selected to go to Italy, which had the approval of the E. C. Two missions departed for Europe, one with the special object of visiting Italy and conferring at length with the working people of that country. The other mission in addition to an extended tour for the purpose of conferring with the workers of various countries in their home lands, attended an inter-allied labor conference in London, September, 1918, where it was able to render most valuable service to the cause of Labor and of the allies.

Mission to Great Britain, France and Italy

The mission to Great Britain, France, Italy and other allied countries which departed August 15th, 1918, was composed of:

Samuel Gompers.
 Edgar Wallace, former editor United Mine Workers' Journal.
 William J. Bowen, President Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America.
 John P. Frey, editor Journal International Molders' Union of North America.
 Charles L. Baine, Secretary-Treasurer Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.
 Guy H. Oyster, Secretary of the Mission.

Mission to Italy

The mission to Italy, which departed August 16, 1918, was composed of:

James Wilson, President Pattern Makers' League of North America.
 John Golden, President United Textile Workers of America.
 Frank J. McNulty, President International Brotherhood Electrical Workers of America.
 Michael F. Green, President United Hatters of North America.
 Peter Josephine, Executive Board Member Granite Cutters' International Association of America.

In addition to attendance at the inter-allied conference in London and the visit to other countries, President Gompers and President Bowen bore credentials as fraternal delegates of the American Federation of Labor to the British Trade Union Congress held at Derby. The full reports of these missions will be made to this convention, but attention is called to them here to make more apparent the vastly increased activities which were made necessary by the war. This increase of activity did not end with the signing of the armistice since the most important task of American labor remained to be performed after that day in connection with the Peace Congress.

From the beginning of world hostilities the American Federation of Labor has declared that coincident with the signing of the Treaty of Peace there should be held in the same city, if possible, a representative congress of organized workers.

The San Francisco Convention of the American Federation of Labor in adopting a part of the report of the Committee on International Labor Relations instructed the E. C. to call a conference of representatives of labor coincident with the peace conference and in the same city, also authorizing the E. C. to send two delegates, one of whom should be the President of the American Federation of Labor. The Baltimore Convention in 1916 reaffirmed this action.

The action was again reaffirmed by the Buffalo Convention in 1917, with the addition that at least five delegates, one of whom should be the President of the American Federation of Labor, be selected to participate.

When the armistice was signed it brought the necessity of immediate consideration of this question.

On the day of the signing of the armistice, the E. C. was in session in Laredo, Texas, where it had assembled in order to participate in the Pan-American Labor Congress. Following adjournment of the Pan-American Labor Congress in November, 1918, the E. C. adjourned to San Antonio for its business session and there took up the question of an international conference of representatives of labor. In order to carry out the instructions of the convention of the A. F. of L. to call an international congress of representatives of the labor movements of all nations at the same time and place as the Peace Conference, the E. C. ordered that a call be drafted in compliance with the instructions of the convention, and also in compliance with the same instructions that a delegation of five, including President Gompers, be selected to represent the A. F. of L. The E. C. then elected Vice-Presidents Duncan, Al ine, Duffy and Green to serve with President Gompers.

The mission deals in its own report with the developments in Europe concerning the

International Labor Conference, but two cablegrams in that connection are set forth here. The following cablegram was considered by the E. C. in San Antonio:

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR,
Washington, D.C.

AMSTERDAM.

Request appointment delegates to international conference of trade union centres to be held at same place and time as peace deliberations agenda new rules and regulations transfer bureau international secretariat peace demands (Leeds and Berne programs) election committee trade union representation for peace deliberations. Further particulars following.

OUDEGEEST.

7 A. M. October 29th, 1918.

In response to this the following cablegram was dispatched:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *November 20th, 1918.*

OUDEGEEST,
Amsterdam, Holland,

In compliance with instructions of several conventions American Federation of Labor Executive Council will issue invitations for international labor conference to consider and help in peace discussions and to establish new international trade union federation. We can not be committed to either Berne or Leeds program.

GOMPERS.

Upon arrival of the mission in Europe, President Gompers was selected as the American representative of Labor on the Commission on International Labor Legislation created by the Peace Conference. Edward N. Hurley was selected as the representative of American employers. Due to Mr. Hurley's inability to remain in Paris during the sessions of the commission Mr. Harry M. Robinson filled Mr. Hurley's place as his alternate. Upon organization of the commission, President Gompers was unanimously elected President. Constantly advising with him throughout the protracted sessions of the Commission were the members of the American Labor Mission selected by the Executive Council.

These events demonstrate the grave responsibilities laid upon the American trade union movement during the past year and give some indication of the responsibilities that must inevitably be assumed in the immediate future. If Labor's work in connection with the war has been a work of magnitude and of the highest importance, its work in connection with the peace into which we are just entering will be of no less importance and will of necessity be even more complicated and far reaching in both its demands upon our time and effort and its effect upon the progress of the world.

Labor and Peace

Labor's position in regard to the war was originally made clear to the world before the United States entered the conflict. This was made clear when representatives of national and international unions throughout the country met in Washington on March 12, 1917, and unanimously adopted the declaration of Labor's position in peace or in war. In that declaration fundamental truths were set forth dealing with the maintenance of Labor's standards and the relation of the maintenance of those standards to the cause of freedom and democracy. The declaration set forth that:

"Whether in peace or in war the organized labor movement seeks to make all else subordinate to human welfare and human opportunity. The labor movement stands as the defender of this principle and undertakes to protect the wealth-producers against the exorbitant greed of special interests, against profiteering, against exploitation, against the detestable methods of irresponsible greed, against the inhumanity and crime of heartless corporations and employers.

Labor demands the right in war times to be the recognized defender of wage-earners against the same forces which in former wars have made national necessity an excuse for more ruthless methods."

It further said:

"The cornerstone of national defense is justice in fundamental relations of life—economic justice."

Among the concluding sentences was this definite pledge of service:

"We, the officers of the National and International Trade Unions of America in national conference assembled in the capital of our nation, hereby pledge ourselves in peace or in war, in stress or in storm, to stand unreservedly by the standards of liberty and the safety and preservation of the institutions and ideals of our Republic."

In the St. Paul Convention the E. C. presented and the convention concurred in the declaration which read in part as follows:

"Organized labor, true to its traditions, has offered its full and comprehensive support to the Commander-in-Chief and it will not now be paralyzed by infirmity of purpose or action.

"The pressing need at this moment of imminent peril is that ships be provided whereby American soldiers food and munitions can be transported to reenforce the American Army already fighting with the soldiers of France and England. In order that this may be accomplished there must be full cooperation and earnestness of the people of our country. We advise the organized labor movement that in this crisis it must prove its loyalty to our Republic and to our fellow men, and demonstrate its capacity to deal with big problems and big needs in a constructive manner.

"Deeply impressed by the events upon the western battle fronts, we are constrained to place before our fellow workmen a definite course of action. Yielding to no one in our determination to maintain for the working people of this country the right to work or not to work for a reason or no reason, yet at a time when the destiny of the democratic institutions of the world are trembling in the balance (and still holding sacred the principles of the rights enunciated) we can well afford to waive their exercise in a patriotic desire that the issues of this war may result in a successful termination."

In the purely industrial field of Labor's activity in connection with the war the whole effort of the American labor movement up to the signing of the armistice had been to carry out the spirit of the declaration of March 12, 1917, and the declaration adopted in St. Paul which set forth the doctrine that Labor in the workshops at home should take no action that could not be justified to the men on the firing line in France. This same declaration also held that employers at home should be governed by an identical standard. It may be said in truth and with much pride that this standard was generally observed by the workers and that not only could American labor from day to day justify its action to the men who were on the firing line, but that now upon their return they may find a record of effort and achievement on the part of the labor movement toward maintaining the American standard of life that will justify the confidence and trust that were left to us when they departed for France.

A testimonial to the fidelity of American labor to the ideals of Labor and of the American democracy that should find a place in the records of the American labor movement was contained in the annual report to the President of the United States for the fiscal year ending December 1st, 1918, by Josephus Daniels, Secretary of the United States Navy. Secretary Daniels in his report paid to American labor the following tribute:

"The relations between labor and the Navy Department have been highly satisfactory during the past year. In spite of the general bidding for skilled mechanics, the workmen in our navy yards, with surprisingly few exceptions have remained loyal to the department, and have refused to leave their vitally necessary work in the yards for more lucrative positions elsewhere. In addition, on several occasions when the general relations between capital and labor appeared under the extraordinary conditions created by the war, to have reached

critical stage, the various trades in our navy yards addressed resolutions to the Secretary of the Navy so clearly defining their belief that the duty of all loyal American workmen lay in securing the maximum production of war materials by combined individual efforts, without regard to selfish considerations of personal betterment, as to have no slight effect in bringing both sides in controversies going on outside the yards to a realization of the need of forgetting their disputes and devoting their energies toward winning the war.

"Much of this satisfactory condition is due to the loyal cooperation of the heads of the American Federation of Labor, with whom the department has maintained the friendliest relations and whose wise and patriotic councils have done much to keep such yard workmen as were members of labor organizations keenly alive to a sense of their duty as American citizens.

"The department feels it may take some credit to itself for this condition of affairs on account of the principle it has established during the last five years of frank dealing with men of labor and by the rule that any grievance could be brought, without red tape or formality, directly to the attention of the Secretary of the Navy at any time for investigation or correction. The Navy Department trusts the men who build and repair ships and make munitions, it believes they trust the department, and that is the whole secret of successful cooperation between employer and employee.

"The Navy has suffered severely in common with all industry through the shortage of labor. It was early seen that men to operate our yards to their greatest capacity could only be secured by further crippling the building of merchant ships—so imperatively needed—and the manufacture of munitions. The policy was established, therefore, of making no demands for more labor beyond what was absolutely necessary for the upkeep of the fleet and a very limited amount of new construction. Even this required a large augmentation of our yard forces; but while at times work has been delayed more than we would have preferred, yet enough men have been found to carry on the absolutely needed requirements of the service."

Turning from war to peace upon the signing of the armistice, a condition soon became apparent to everyone that had long been feared by organized labor. It was made apparent very early that there had been no adequate forethought and provision made for the transition from a war basis to a peace basis in industry and that as a result a period of industrial confusion and unemployment was at hand.

In addition there were pronouncements from high sources among employers that extensive reduction of wages would be undertaken. The taunt also was thrown at working people that they should have been able during the war, because of increased wages, to save enough to carry them through the period of readjustment. These statements betray either ignorance or a desire to wilfully deceive because they completely ignored the fact that the rising cost of living had absorbed whatever increase in wages had been secured and in many cases went much beyond the point of absorption, effecting an actual decrease in the purchasing power of the individual.

Declarations of a policy of wage reduction came to our attention at Laredo, Texas. President Gompers there introduced the subject in open conference and declared that Labor would resist to the utmost any policy of wage reduction. This position has been affirmed since that date on many occasions and it is due to this prompt and decisive answer to this challenge fully sustained by labor that there has not been a general assault on wages by employers who can not comprehend the trend of the times.

The position of Labor must be maintained and advanced at all hazards. It is the opinion of your E. C. that no wages paid to American workmen today are too high, but that on the contrary wages far too low still are paid in many industries. Progress is the word today and the progress worth most and best understood is the kind that reaches the individual in the form of a better life, a freer and larger opportunity, and more of the things by which life is sustained and enriched. The progress of our movement in realizing these things for the workers is not to be denied by any influence or obstacle.

PEACE TERMS

The Treaty of Peace formulated in Paris acknowledges the complete justice of the five points set forth by the Buffalo Convention and reaffirmed at St. Paul (pages 53-54, 334-335, St. Paul Proceedings), which are based upon declarations of the President of the United States and contains two of the four propositions added at St. Paul. Thus is justified the high confidence felt by the American labor movement and expressed in these declarations that the result of the world war would be to place the conduct and morals of the governments of the world upon a higher plane and the establishment and maintenance of international relations which shall safeguard the peoples of the world in the enjoyment of a permanent peace.

The Treaty of Peace as drafted by the allied and associated governments sets a new standard in the relation of nation to nation and gives to government a purpose that has been lacking where the monarchical and bureaucratic concept obtained. The Prussian idea, defeated on the field of battle, is now forever made impossible of revival by the Treaty of Peace submitted to the German envoys.

The five guiding principles laid down at the Buffalo Convention of the American Federation of Labor as basic principles of a lasting peace are firmly imbedded in the draft and we feel that with a peace so built the world has in truth been made safe for democracy. Under the guiding principles now laid down as the standard of conduct for all nations the peoples of the world may go forward in security and freedom to work out their own concepts of democracy and their own ideals of freedom.

The covenant of the League of Nations, written into the Treaty of Peace, must meet with the unqualified approval and support of the American working people. It is not a perfect document and perfection is not claimed for it. It does, however, mark the nearest approach to perfection that ever has been reached in the international affairs of mankind. It provides the best machinery yet devised for the prevention of war. It places human relations upon a new basis and endeavors to enthrone right and justice instead of strength and might as the arbiter of international destinies.

It is, we feel, well to recall the adoption of the constitution by our own federal government in the early days of its life. Perhaps no document in the history of the world was more attacked, criticised, and opposed that was the constitution of the United States when it was first formulated and adopted by the Congress. On several occasions that constitution has been amended, yet no one would presume to say, because of these amendments, that the constitution was not good when it was adopted, or is not good today.

Opportunity is afforded for amendments to the covenant of the League of Nations in order that the human family may from time to time make such improvements as may be needed and may so readjust its guiding rules of conduct as to make for the highest good of all the world. We declare our endorsement of the triumph of freedom and justice and democracy as exemplified in the covenant of the League of Nations.

The introduction of the nine specific labor clauses in the Peace Treaty declares that "the well-being, physical and moral, of the industrial wage-earners is of supreme international importance."

No such declaration has ever been written into international law through any previous treaty of peace and it is due to the efforts of the American labor movement more than to any other single factor that it appears in this emphatic form in the present treaty.

The labor section of the treaty as it appears in its final form is, of course, a compromise. It must, however, be a source of deepest satisfaction to the American working people to know that the American position and American declarations as presented for insertion in the treaty ranked above all others in point of progress measured and in point of actual and practical application in the lives of working people. Whatever of compromise appears, was made because of the claim that other nations of the world could not pledge themselves to an immediate and definite acceptance of the standards maintained by the American labor movement as the established practices of our day.

This subject will be more fully dealt with through the report which the A. F. of L. delegation to the Peace Conference will later make to this convention.

PAN-AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

The first international labor conference of the Pan-American countries was held in Laredo, Texas, on November 13, 14, 15 and 16, 1918. The labor movements of the United States of America, of Mexico and the Central and the South American States of Guatemala, Costa Rica, Salvador and Colombia were represented by a total of seventy-two delegates. Antonio Correa of Cuba and Cardenio Gonzalez S. of Chile, both accredited members of the Pan-American Federation of Labor Conference Committee, were unable to be present. Honorable W. B. Wilson, Secretary of Labor, attended the conference as the representative of President Wilson. General Pablo de la Garza, the personal representative of President Carranza, in like manner conveyed the greetings of the President of Mexico to the conference. Honorable George W. P. Hunt, Governor of Arizona, addressed the conference, declaring that the meeting laid the basis for fraternal cooperation between the workers of North and South America. The official proceedings of the conference followed the first day's enthusiastic reception of the delegates by the citizens of Laredo. In two great columns delegates, representatives of the government of both Republics and the city officials of Laredo, Texas, and Nuevo Laredo, Mexico, met at the center of the international bridge which crosses the Rio Grande. Here speeches were made by President Samuel Gompers, Secretary General Louis N. Morones, Secretary Wilson, General Pablo de la Garza and other officials; the two columns thereupon emerging and returning ranks united to the Plaza in Laredo, Texas. The welcome by unions of carpenters, painters, blacksmiths, retail clerks, and other trade unions whose members spoke Spanish, the enthusiastic reception given to this international meeting, can best be appreciated by those who know the long history of strife upon the border caused by the lack of direct understandings and conferences between the workers of the two countries. Secret diplomacy has been the rule upon the border causing in great part the strife engendered in the last fifty years. The international labor conference established the precedent of open diplomacy conducted directly between peoples of the two countries involved. It followed, therefore, that the residents all along the border, especially those of Mexican blood, welcomed the conference with an enthusiasm never given before to any public assemblage on the boundary line.

Before all other things the conference recorded in its various acts its determination to harmonize differences and to come to a good understanding. The first day's proceedings were practically given over to organization. Complimentary speeches were made by the representatives of both countries and the order of business was established. The second day brought an expression of frank opinion on both sides, frank to the point of open difference upon methods of organization and tactics to be pursued. When the conference was at the point where some of the onlookers thought agreement was impossible, at that very moment the decision to come to agreement became plain. The third and fourth days reverted to complete harmony of action proving that however much delegates were determined to speak their minds freely, without reservation, yet they were more determined to come to an ultimate agreement and working program of fraternal action between the labor movements of Mexico and the United States. The entire Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor was present as delegates with the exception of Vice-President Valentine, who was unavoidably detained. The Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana (Mexican Federation of Labor) with an affiliated membership of over three hundred thousand represented the organized workers of Mexico. On the fourth day, the conference unanimously voted to form at that time the Pan-American Federation of Labor to be composed of the organized labor movements of the United States of America, the United States of Mexico, and the labor organizations of the Republics of Central and South America. The objects of the Pan-American Federation of Labor were declared to be:

"First. The establishment of better conditions for the working people who emigrate from one country to another.

"Second. The establishment of a better understanding and relationship between the peoples of the Pan-American Republics.

"Third. To utilize every lawful and honorable means for the protection and promotion of the rights, the interests and the welfare of the peoples of the Pan-American Republics.

"Fourth. To utilize every lawful and honorable means for the purpose of

cultivating the most favorable and friendly relations between the labor movements and peoples of the Pan-American Republics."

The following officers were elected:

Chairman—Samuel Gompers, President of the A. F. of L.
 English-language Secretary—John Murray, Secretary of the Pan-American Federation of Labor Conference Committee.
 Spanish-language Secretary—Canuto A. Vargas, Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' International Union of Morenci, Arizona.

It was ordered that the headquarters of the Federation be established at Washington, D. C., and final agreement was had that the first annual congress of the Pan-American Federation of Labor should be held in New York City July 7, 1919.

The open disagreement which prevailed at one time in the conference finally showed itself to be of the most important educational value. The point of discussion turned upon the question of the imprisonment of the members of the I. W. W. in the United States. According to instructions from their respective unions the Mexican delegates asked of the A. F. of L. that it consider the condition of the prisoners held in various United States jails and see what might be done to obtain their release. There was no thought of avoiding the issue by any delegate present, and during the best part of a day delegates of the A. F. of L. carefully explained the history of the I. W. W. in this country, explained the tactics of its open enmity systematically pursued by the I. W. W.'s toward the A. F. of L. and the plain intention of that organization to completely destroy the A. F. of L., if such a thing was possible. Each member of the E. C. of the A. F. of L. spoke upon the issue. Finally, and in conclusion, the Mexican delegates expressed themselves as having been much enlightened by the debate.

Delegate Torres explained the Mexican position deploring the incarceration of men, who in Mexico were believed to be innocent of any great wrong. He referred to the I. W. W. That was the reason why proposition No. 6 was introduced.

In replying, President Gompers said in part:

"It is all very good for any one to say, 'why not give these people, the I. W. W., the opportunity to live and work out their own propaganda just as they want to.' But I want to say this to you, my friends, that we have one labor movement, cohesive, militant and determined, in the United States of America, and because we have one labor movement in America we occupy a position of power and influence to bring a better time into the lives of the working people of our country.

"The I. W. W.'s in the United States are exactly what the Bolsheviks are in Russia, and we have seen what the I. W. W. Bolsheviks in Russia have done for the working people of Russia, where the people have no peace, no security, no land and no bread.

"I am glad that while presiding I was somewhat persistent in trying to get at what was really meant by proposition No. 6. I did not expect, however, that the A. F. of L. would be put on its defense before this conference. The A. F. of L. has stood from the first day of its existence until now in defense of every right denied to the people and in opposition and protest against every wrong inflicted upon any people. The American trade union movement, with its three million members, the railroad brotherhoods, with nearly three-quarters of a million members, stood 100 per cent in this world's struggle for freedom, and now the war has come to an end, the war is over. I ask you men what do you think the chance for democracy would have been if Germany could have won the war? The war has been won and the people over the whole world breathe freer because the allied countries in their democracy have won, and even the people of Germany and the people of Austria-Hungary are glad and are happier because we are going to help them so that they shall stand again as men, as free men, in the Republic of Germany and in the Republic of Austria."

By the unanimous vote of the conference a report of the Committee on Permanent Organization was adopted as follows:

Formation of Pan-American Federation of Labor

"The proposed plan for the formation of the Pan-American Federation of Labor:

Article I.—Name

"This organization shall be known as the Pan-American Federation of Labor and shall consist of delegates from the American Federation of Labor and delegates from the representative labor organizations of the other Pan-American Republics.

Article II.—Objects

"1. The establishment of better conditions for the working people who emigrate from one country to another.

"2. The establishment of a better understanding and relationship between the peoples of the Pan-American Republics.

"3. To utilize every lawful and honorable means for the protection and promotion of the rights, the interests and the welfare of the peoples of the Pan-American Republics.

"4. To utilize every lawful and honorable means for the purpose of cultivating the most favorable and the friendly relations between the labor movements and the peoples of the Pan-American Republics.

Article III.—Representation

"The basis of representation shall be at least two delegates from each Pan-American Republic, duly elected by the representative labor movements of their countries.

Article IV.—Congress

"The Congress of the Pan-American Federation of Labor shall meet annually on the second Monday in July at such place as the delegates have selected at the preceding Congress.

Article V.—Officers

"The officers of the Pan-American Federation of Labor shall consist of a Chairman and two Secretaries, one of whom speaks the English language, the other the Spanish language, with headquarters at Washington, D. C.

Compensation of Secretaries

"Resolved, That the two Secretaries to be elected by this conference shall receive adequate salaries and are to give their entire time to the work of the Pan-American Federation of Labor.

Terms of Officers

"Resolved, That the officers of the Pan-American Federation of Labor shall be elected for the term of one year.

Expenses of the Federation

"Resolved, That the upkeep and expense of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, its officials, headquarters, etc., shall be borne by the Pan-American countries represented upon a pro rata basis.

Election of Officials

"Resolved, That before this International Labor Conference adjourns it shall elect the officials herein referred to."

In his report on the conditions of organized labor in Central America, Richard de Leon spoke in part as follows:

"In Guatemala there are thirty associations of which five are unions, and one a federation; in Salvador, sixty associations, of which ten are unions and one a federation; in Honduras, in which there are ten general associations, and in Nicaragua, in which there are five general associations, workmen can belong to these associations without distinction of unions. In Costa Rica there are ten associations, of which five are unions and one a federation.

"Thus, it will be seen that we have a total of one hundred and fifteen associations, twenty of them being unions and three federations. The total number of affiliated members is 20,000, more or less, which demonstrates that there are a great number of workers who have not joined the labor unions.

"The labor press of Central America has initiated an era of revival and includes four weekly and six monthly periodicals in Guatemala; ten weekly and fifteen monthly periodicals in Salvador, and three monthly periodicals in Costa Rica.

"Given the present conditions of penury through which the working classes are passing, it is natural to understand their lack of resources and the meagerness of their wages; consequently in cases of need the material aid which they can give to their suffering companions is small, and much less can they check the oppression of capitalism."

The complete list of delegates to the conference is as follows:

United States of America

The American Federation of Labor—Samuel Gompers, President; Frank L. Morrison, Secretary; Daniel J. Tobin, Treasurer; James Duncan, First Vice-President; John R. Alpine, Third Vice-President; Frank Duffy, Fourth Vice-President; William Green, Fifth Vice-President; W. D. Mahon, Sixth Vice-President; T. A. Rickert, Seventh Vice-President; Jacob Fischer, Eighth Vice-President.

Pan-American Federation of Labor Conference Committee—John Murray, Secretary.

Mining Department, American Federation of Labor—James Lord, President.

Building Trades Department, American Federation of Labor—John Donlin, President.

Union Label Trades Department, American Federation of Labor—John Manning.

International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths—G. C. Van Darnes.

International Union Steam and Operating Engineers—Arthur M. Huddell, Milton Snellings, Herman M. Comerford.

International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers of America—James P. Noonan.

International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen—W. M. Walsh.

International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers—Charles H. Moyer, President; H. S. McCluskey, Pascual M. Vargas.

International Union of Brewery and Soft Drink Workers of America—Joseph Proebstle, A. J. Kugler.

Free Federation of Workers of Porto Rico—Santiago Iglesias, President.

Arizona State Federation of Labor—C. A. Vargas.

Texas State Federation of Labor—Edward Cunningham, George H. Slater, Earl Ferguson.

San Antonio Trades Council, San Antonio, Texas—William L. Hoefgen F. D. Guardo, Wayne Bohanan, Frank Hopkins, John W. Ellett.

Metal Trades Craft, Kansas City, Mo.—J. Brennan.

Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' Union No. 80, Morenci, Arizona—J. Ignacio Garcia.

Union No. 84, International Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' Union, Metcalf, Arizona—Luis E. Soto.

Clifton Mill and Smelter Workers' Union No. 86, International Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' Union, Clifton, Arizona—Guillermo Quiroz.
 Dallas Central Labor Council and Local No. 28, United Leather Workers' International Union, Dallas, Texas—George Montijo.
 Local Union No. 2538, United Mine Workers of America, Thurber, Texas—John Hobbs, W. E. Crew, Earl Ferguson.
 Building Trades Council, San Antonio, Texas—E. M. Nagel.
 Carpenters' Local Union No. 14, San Antonio, Texas—Charles Morgan.
 Mexican Printers' Mutual Society, San Antonio, Texas—Jose Reyes Estrada.

United States of Mexico

Mexican Federation of Labor, Central Committee—Luis N. Morones, Secretary General; Ricardo Trevino, J. M. Tristan, Secretaries of the Exterior; Salustio Hernandez.

Federation of Syndicates, San Luis Potosi—Valentin Narvaez.
 Union of Workers of Various Trades, Pachuca, Hidalgo—Wenceslao Espinosa.
 La Esmeralda Workers' Union, Ramos Arizpe, Coahuila, and Grand Union of Industrial Workers of the World, Torreon, Coahuila—Cayetano Perez Ruiz.
 Federation of Workers' Syndicates of the Federal District—Jose Lopez Cortes.
 House of the World's Workers, Mexico City—Reinaldo Cervantes Torres.
 Syndicate of Textile Workers, Sotillo, Coahuila—C. Marcos Torres.
 Mexican Miners' Union, La Rosita, Coahuila—Francisco A. Moreno, President of the Central Committee.

Union of Mexican Machinists, Aguascalientes—Antonio Valdez.
 Syndicate of Farm Laborers, San Miguel, Coahuila—Manuel E. Rodriguez.
 Syndicate of Electric Railway Workers, of Torreon, Coahuila and Gomez Palacio, Durango—Tiburcio F. Montoya.
 Workers' Union of Zacatecas—J. Guadalupe Ascobedo.
 Railway Workers' Union, Mexico City—Severino Sazan.
 Daily Newspaper Workers' Union, Mexico City—Ezequiel Salcedo.
 Linotypists' Union, Mexico City—Juan Rico.
 Progressive Workers' Union of Santa Rosa, Vera Cruz and Orizaba—Alvaro Meza.

House of the World's Workers, Mexico City—Rafael Quintero.
 Free Union of Workers, Venado, San Luis Potosi—Valentin Narvaez.

Guatemala

Workers' Federation of Guatemala—Ricardo de Leon.

Costa Rica

Workers' Federation of Costa Rica—Rafael Paris Escinar.

Salvador

Workers' Confederation of San Salvador—Benjamin Huezo.

Colombia

Organized Workers of Colombia—Francisco Marin.

From the beneficial results already achieved in creating mutual respect, good will and confidence among the workers and the peoples of Mexico and of the United States and further with the representatives of Labor and peoples of several of the Latin and Central American countries, we regard the establishment of the Pan-American Federation of Labor as an augury that still greater mutual respect, good will and confidence will ensue between the peoples and the governments of the Pan-American countries.

We, therefore, recommend that the American Federation of Labor continue its participation in the Pan-American Federation of Labor and be represented at its forthcoming meeting to be held in July of this year.

FRATERNAL DELEGATES TO BRITISH TRADES UNION CONGRESS

The Buffalo Convention, November, 1917, elected J. A. Franklin of the boilermakers, and William J. Bowen of the bricklayers as fraternal delegates to the British Trade Union Congress to be held at Derby, England, September, 1918. Just before the time for undertaking the trip Mr. Franklin found himself so situated as regards important work entrusted to his care that he was unable to make the trip. Owing to President Gompers having been instructed by the St. Paul Convention to visit Europe the Executive Council selected him to fill the vacancy.

THE TRIUMPH OF LABOR PANEL

In our report to the Baltimore, 1916, Convention (page 49) is given a description of the sculptured panel with oak mounting presented by the British Trade Union Congress Parliamentary Committee to the American Federation of Labor. The oak used for the mounting was taken from Lord Nelson's flagship *Victory* at the battle of Trafalgar.

The panel symbolizes the triumph of labor. When that report was prepared, it was confidently expected that the panel would be in place in the A. F. of L. office building by the time the convention opened. However, owing to difficulties and danger of transportation engendered by the war, it was deemed advisable to postpone sending the panel.

In April when the A. F. of L. delegation returned from the Peace Conference, they brought with them the gift from the English labor movement.

The work was done by one of the finest sculptors in England, L. F. Roslyn, R. B. S. It is a magnificent artistic production, and was given the award of high merit by the Royal Academy of Arts of Great Britain.

Upon President Gompers' request, the management of the Corcoran Art Gallery in Washington placed the panel on exhibition for a week. This in itself is an additional attestation of the artistic beauty of this work.

At the time this report is being prepared, it is anticipated to take the panel to Atlantic City for exhibition during the convention period. It is hoped that all labor representatives who visit Washington will not fail to visit the A. F. of L. Building for the purpose of seeing this beautiful demonstration of the tie that binds the working men and women of America with their fellow wage-earners of Great Britain.

While in England, the A. F. of L. delegation learned that one of the most artistic printers in Great Britain had prepared a plate reproduction of the panel. Copies of this can be secured through Mr. C. W. Bowerman, Secretary of the Trade Union Congress Parliamentary Committee, 32 Eccleston Square, London, England.

COMMITTEE ON LABOR

Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, as a member of the Advisory Commission, Council of National Defense, and as Chairman of the Committee on Labor, Advisory Commission, Council of National Defense, has continued the development of the work of this committee. He has been assisted in this work by Matthew Woll, President of the International Photo-Engravers' Union of North America, since August 1, 1918, upon President Gompers' departure for Europe on the A. F. of L. Mission as directed by us.

Up to the signing of the armistice, this committee continued to function in a manner which has proven helpful in the successful prosecution of the war. With the signing of the armistice the war emergency work was discontinued and the work of readjustment was undertaken.

National Committee on Welfare Work

The National Committee on Welfare Work which had distributed expert reports upon "Industrial Fatigue," "Adequate Sanitary Devices to Prevent Industrial Poisoning," and "Lighting Codes," has developed and had printed others upon subjects as important in their relation to the health of workers as the ones reported upon at the preceding convention. One dealt with "Requirements and Standards upon Heating and Ventilation for Industrial Establishments and Dwellings"; another with "Rural Sanitation," having special reference to new industrial villages and construction camps and referring particularly to housing. All of these reports have been sought by officers of labor organizations,

manufacturers and educators; and within the past six months over 13,076 requests have been received for these pamphlets. It also has had put in pamphlet form, under its Section on Industrial Safety, minimum standards of safety, structural safety, fire prevention and accident prevention. These exhaustive codes were prepared by leading experts connected with the National Council of Safety, the American Institute of Architects, the National Fire Protection Association (including the National Board of Fire Underwriters), and the Welfare Department of the National Civic Federation. This pamphlet will be distributed widely among employers. It is as valuable under peace conditions as in war times, as in many states there are no safety requirements in the form of legislative enactments with regard to fire prevention or accident prevention.

Section on Industrial Training for the War Emergency

This section, which was composed of one-third labor, one-third employers and one-third practical educators, conducted an investigation which showed there was no shortage of labor during the war except in some of the skilled trades made urgent by the war, and to this end emergency training was installed. The Section on Industrial Training issued an illustrated pamphlet upon "How to Overcome the Shortage of Skilled Mechanics by Training the Unskilled," and then another indicating what had been achieved by the Committee on Labor in connection with this, entitled "How the Shortage of Skilled Mechanics is Being Overcome by Training the Unskilled." These books had great weight with employers in inducing them to install practical war emergency training rooms. On August 26, 1918, this work officially functioned through the new Division on Dilution and Training of the Department of Labor (Mr. Charles T. Clayton having been appointed director). The chairman of the Section on Industrial Training for the War Emergency of the Committee on Labor, Mr. H. E. Miles, was made Chief of Training of that newly created governmental agency, and the Committee on Labor turned over to the Training and Dilution Service its records.

Recreation

The Section on Recreation of the Committee on Welfare Work issued a preliminary plan for shipbuilding, aeroplane making and munition making centers, providing a program of recreation for: (1) The industrial plant itself; (2) The industrial community.

- (a) Existing communities where the industrial development was merely an addition to the normal life of the town;
- (b) Large governmental plants that constituted a community in themselves and created a town out of nothing.

Maintenance of Labor Standards

One of the important activities of the Committee on Labor has been the maintaining of existing safeguards for the conservation and welfare of the workers and that no departure from such existing standards should be taken without a declaration by the Council of National Defense that such a departure was essential for the effective pursuit of the national defense.

In September of last year, so many women having entered the industrial field to replace the men drafted into our army and navy, a meeting was held by the Executive Committee of the Welfare Committee on the subject of night work for women and steps were taken to secure a complete list of important war production plants in the leading industrial states asking for women to be placed on night work and that an investigation should be made as to the effect of night work upon the health; whether or not in night work it is profitable to use women, and if not, if it would be profitable upon three eight-hour shifts and when three should be used; whether or not it would be practicable to have men upon the third shift or the alternating shift; whether or not it is possible to avoid night shifts; whether, where night work exists, it is absolutely necessary to employ women in order to maintain production and to determine where such cases exist, and what are the operations upon which women can work more efficiently than men and, therefore, must be required to go upon night shifts. With the signing of the armistice this investigation was discontinued.

Committee on Women in Industry

The Committee on Women in Industry advised on women's employment in such ways as to bring about the maximum effectiveness of the woman power of the country and this committee assisted in securing the enforcement of the labor laws.

This committee made investigations into the employment of women in the Brooklyn Navy Yards, the Philadelphia Aircraft Factory and other United States Arsenals and Quartermasters' Depots, issuing reports on conditions of employment for women as they found them and suggesting plans for the betterment of the women workers, which suggestions were accepted in all instances and installed.

Publications:

Sept., 1918 "Making Uniforms for Our Navy."

Oct., 1918. "Women Workers in the Philadelphia Naval Aircraft Factory."

Soldiers and Sailors

Among the efforts vital to the protection of the workers under the reconstruction period which were inaugurated by the Committee on Labor recently, was one to aid the discharged soldiers and sailors to secure employment upon their return to civil life. This work has been undertaken in cooperation with the United States Employment Service of the Department of Labor and the newly created Emergency Employment Committee of the Council of National Defense. The following statement advising trade unions how to help in this connection was issued, more than 28,000 copies having been distributed:

Help Our Soldiers and Sailors—Establish Employment Committees for the Benefit of Our Returning Soldiers and Sailors

Technically, the war has not ended though hostilities have ceased. We are now passing through the initial stages of a process of readjustment and the peoples of most nations are rapidly turning their thoughts and attention to the solution of the many serious and complex problems which have developed out of the war.

The world faces an infinitely more serious situation today than a year ago when the German superoffensive was at its height. At that time all our men were at work. If they were not fighting or training to fight, they were making shells or guns, or building ships or engines, or growing corn or wheat, or were engaged in the production of some of the other many things necessary to maintain the soldiers in the trenches and the sailors on the ships. Military defeat was then averted. With equal fervor and with the same vigor and determination we must now avoid a social and economic collapse, such as is now threatening many of the European nations.

Without the long years of military training of the central powers and practically without preparation, our great Republic and its people entered the world struggle for the supremacy of righteousness, freedom, and democracy. We had the determined American will to win. We did win.

With the signing of the armistice and the ending of hostilities, the American people find themselves practically unprepared for the immediate resumption of peace-time pursuits. The problems of readjustment in many instances are more difficult of solution than were those involved in the conduct of the war. Despite the difficulties and the obstacles, if the American will to win is again expressed, if our people will meet the requirements of readjustment with the determination which was shown in dealing with the demands of war, we should have no cause for fear or apprehension as to the final outcome.

The matters which require our immediate attention relate to the demobilization of our military forces and the readjustment of our productive processes to peace-time pursuits.

Necessarily readjustment involves sacrifices, but the sacrifices of reconstruction are insignificant when compared with the sacrifices which were entailed in the conduct of the war. Replacing the soldiers and sailors into the economic life of the nation is of the greatest importance to the wage-earners. This is a task

in which the helpful cooperation of every individual worker and every group of workers is not only desirable but necessary.

Unfortunately the resources of the United States Employment Service of the Department of Labor have been temporarily curtailed, due to lack of funds. State and private forces have come generously to its support, however, so that it will continue in a large measure, and the Council of National Defense has undertaken the formation of an Emergency Committee on Employment for Soldiers and Sailors to cooperate with the United States Employment Service of the Department of Labor and the War Department and all other agencies and individuals who might help in the successful performance of the task with which this committee is charged.

Colonel Arthur Woods, who is chairman of the Council's Emergency Committee for the Employment of Soldiers and Sailors, has recently been appointed by the Secretary of War as Assistant to the Secretary, to act for him upon all matters relating to the reemployment of soldiers and sailors. Through the Committee on Labor, Advisory Commission, Council of National Defense, he requests every local trade union, every city central body, each state federation of labor, and every international trade union, to take immediate steps, if they have not already done so, to support and assist in every way the Bureaus for Returning Soldiers, which are working under the United States Employment Service of the Department of Labor, if necessary establishing at once an employment committee, raising adequate funds therefor, and definitely lending their cooperation, and, if necessary, their assistance in securing financial support for the Bureaus of the United States Employment Service and such existing agencies as seem best able to serve the community, and coordinating the effort of all agencies interested in securing employment for the returning soldiers and sailors.

When a soldier or sailor returns to your community the employment committee of your organization should immediately get in touch with him and make sure that he is registered with the United States Employment Service or its Bureau for Returning Soldiers and Sailors. Then visit his former employer. In the vast majority of cases, his former employer will take him back.

Should the effort to replace the returned soldier or sailor with his former employer fail, an endeavor should be made to secure him employment elsewhere. While finding employment, provision should be made for his immediate needs. Wherever a soldier or sailor is not content with his former job, or one that is open to him in his community, he should be persuaded to fill it until the industrial transition is over, the troops have returned, and another opening found. The employment committee you are urged to establish should at all times be made available to him for finding a place elsewhere.

The employment committee should, with the help of all other agencies, get in touch with every nonresident soldier or sailor seeking employment in your city, find out where he belongs, and immediately communicate with the employment committee of the local union, city or state federation of labor, or other approved employment service in his home city. On receiving assurance that such employment bureau or agency will take care of him, arrange for his immediate return.

In order that the soldiers and sailors may be helped to reabsorb themselves throughout the country in the ratio within which the man power was withdrawn for military purposes, the slogan should be established—"Local Jobs for Local Men." By adopting this slogan and responding to this dictum we may bring into immediate operation the maximum reabsorbing capacity of the whole nation.

It is fully recognized that the obligation to give employment to the soldiers and sailors rests primarily on the employers. The workers are not in a position to give employment. It is the workers' duty to see that every effort is made to secure suitable employment for the returned soldiers and sailors. It is also their duty to see that when the soldiers and sailors seek employment they are not dealt with unfairly or imposed upon by private employment agencies for profit or otherwise.

Every attempt on the part of any employment agency to impose upon the returned soldiers or sailors should be immediately reported to this office so that the proper steps may be taken to prevent a recurrence of such an unpatriotic and unwarranted act.

It is the expressed hope and desire that the employment committees created by both employers and workers in your community may join hands and cooperate with each other in this patriotic and much needed work and thus prove helpful in the successful demobilization of our military forces and in reestablishing former peace-time activities with the least possible disturbance and a minimum of sacrifice.

MATTHEW WOLL,

Assistant to Mr. Gompers, as Chairman Committee on Labor, U. S. Council of National Defense,

AND

Member Emergency Employment Committee for Soldiers and Sailors, U. S. Council of National Defense.

The Committee on Labor of the Advisory Commission of the Council of National Defense was not created merely as a war emergency body. By an act of Congress in August, 1916, the Secretaries of War, Navy, Interior, Agriculture, Commerce, and Labor were charged with the "coordinating of industries and resources for national security and welfare" and "with the creation of all relations which will render possible in time of need the immediate concentration and utilization of the resources of the nation." The further duty was imposed that the Council of National Defense "should supervise, direct investigations, make recommendations and report on all inquiries or subjects appropriate to the national safety and welfare to the President and through him to Congress, and that it might also report to the heads of executive departments upon special inquiries or subjects appropriate thereto."

Everywhere men and women, employers and employees, placed themselves and their resources unsparingly at the service of our country. This committee, though not vested with executive authority or created for executive action, became an efficient and most helpful channel for centralizing and directing this voluntary effort in our industrial life during the time of national need.

While the problems now pressing for solution have changed in form, there is involved in their solution fundamentally the same principles—that is, the coordination of industries and resources for national security and welfare. To the same degree that the Committee on Labor of the Advisory Commission of the Council of National Defense served to assist in the effective transformation of the country from a peace to a war basis, it can now assist in restoring the nation to normal life in peace with the least possible friction and disturbance.

WAR EMERGENCY LABOR

Acting on Resolution No. 60 the St. Paul Convention directed the officers of the American Federation of Labor to investigate the conditions surrounding the operation of schools for training war emergency labor and to take such steps as might be necessary to protect the interests and welfare of labor.

Before anything definite could be accomplished in compliance with this action, the armistice terminated the war, and therefore terminated the need for war emergency labor.

Your officers have taken no further action.

COMPULSORY MILITARY SERVICE

In the report of the Special Committee on Reconstruction, which is part of this report and to which we have given our entire approval, there appears a discussion and recommendation upon the subject of militarism and its baneful influence and effect upon freedom, civilization and humanity. As an Executive Council, we not only give our hearty endorsement to the declaration set forth in the report referred to, but because of certain elements of activity which may properly be styled pernicious we feel impelled to add that in our judgment the time has passed when in our Republic, or for that matter in any other progressive

nation of the world, the spirit of militarism shall prevail—the spirit of militarism under any guise.

The war against the militaristic, autocratic machine of Germany would have been waged and won in vain if militarism were to be foisted upon the nations of the world. The Treaty of Peace ending the war has destroyed the ability of German militarism to menace the peace of the world, and with the demolition of that juggernaut the opportunity for the peoples and nations of the world to live their lives and work out their destinies unafraid is offered. There is, therefore, no longer necessity for large standing armies or for universal or compulsory military service.

With the danger of militarism destroyed and the League of Nations established there can be no good reason for large standing armies, great navies, or stupendous munition plants, whether governmental or privately owned.

We therefore urge upon this convention and our fellow-workers and fellow-citizens, upon the government of our Republic and upon the peoples and the nations of the world, that with the coming of security in international peace we should come to a basis of the reduction of the armed forces of the world to a minimum consistent with safety and progress.

The views we express upon this subject are not to be construed as opposition to proper physical training; on the contrary, we hold that the workers and the masses of the people should have the fullest and broadest opportunity for the highest physical and mental training. But we do insist that in view of the history of militaristic propaganda and in view of the present situation and the outlook for the future, that physical training should not be confused with compulsory military service—a service thinly veiled to disguise militarism in its incipency.

JUDICIAL CONSTRUCTION OF LAW

A substitute for Resolution No. 19 adopted by the St. Paul Convention instructed the Executive Council as follows:

“To have a study made of the successive steps which have been taken by our Federal and Supreme Courts through which, without constitutional authority and in opposition of the action of the constitutional convention, they laid hold upon power which they now exercise; that results of such a study be prepared in pamphlet form and distributed to the affiliated organizations and given such other form of publicity as may be deemed advisable; and that legal counsel be consulted so that an adequate measure may be prepared and introduced in Congress which will prevent any invasion of the rights and prerogatives of the legislative branch of our government by the judiciary.”

The E. C. in its meeting at Atlantic City, July 23-28, referred the subject to the officers to carry into effect. It has been found impossible thus far to have prepared a draft of a bill to be submitted to Congress, but the study and digest of the subject have been made and published in pamphlet form and distributed to the secretaries of the affiliated organizations throughout the country as directed by the St. Paul Convention. Copies will also be placed on the desks of the delegates to this convention.

The study and digest were made by Mr. Jackson H. Ralston of Washington, D. C., the attorney for the A. F. of L. The remedies he suggests are made part of this report as follows:

Suggested Remedies

If I am correct in what has so far been written the state judiciary and the judiciary of the United States should be placed upon one common basis, and my first proposition would be:

The Supreme Court of the United States and state and national courts generally shall have no power to pass upon the constitutionality of congressional enactments, and the courts of the respective states shall have no power to pass upon the constitutionality of the enactments of their respective legislatures; except so far as they are contrary to the National Constitution or to national laws or treaties, which are given constitutional recognition.

The arguments in favor of this proposition have been sufficiently developed in what has already been said. Some of the counter-arguments may be briefly referred to.

It is urged that this proposition would place too great a power in the hands of the legislative bodies—a power which might be exercised by them to the prejudice of public and private rights. To this it is to be answered that the proposition is not without precedent; that, judged by their standards of principle which in their essence, whatever may be their special forms do not, so far differ from our own as to make their experience inapplicable, England with an unwritten constitution, and France, Germany and Switzerland with written constitutions, have not suffered from the fact that in none of them can the courts review or question their highest legislative acts, although in Germany and Switzerland (federated governments) the highest courts may review the constitutionality of the acts of inferior governments.

It is urged that, though it be admitted that on every great occasion the Supreme Court has failed to reach a safe determination on large public questions as touching their constitutionality, nevertheless, the existence of the power has restrained Congress and the several legislatures from indulging in many other things which would have been clearly and pronouncedly violative of the constitution; that, for instance, Congress might declare itself to be the sole fountain of government and entirely reverse our constitutional forms were it not restrained by fear of Supreme Court action.

This is one of the things which we may regard as conceivable but presenting no objection of practical importance. Today the President is Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy. We might as well assume that because he possesses this enormous power he will employ it to constitute himself a dictator. The fact is that we have no right to believe that a majority of Congress, or, if the President withheld his approval, two-thirds of both houses will unite deliberately to set aside a constitution which has been adopted by and received the acquiescence of the people for more than one hundred and thirty years.

There are certain other assumptions which we have a right to make which may be indulged in to support the belief that the suggestion now made would result in probably better observances of the constitution by the legislature than now is practiced. Today Congress and the state legislatures are tempted to pass unconstitutional acts on the theory that there is no telling what the Supreme Court may say about them and that the final responsibility rests with that organ of the government. Responsibility breeds care, and in the United States increasing care will be exercised in the preparation and passing of measures once Congress or a legislature shall thoroughly feel that there is to be no shifting of responsibility for wrongful acts. The present tendency of legislation, even under the system or want of it, existing in the United States is toward the perfection of legislation before its enactment. This is illustrated by the growth of legislative reference bureaus in half a dozen or more states.

My second proposition is:

The Supreme Court shall retain its jurisdiction to declare unconstitutional acts of executive and inferior judicial powers in excess of legislative authority and like jurisdiction over acts of state legislatures, including acts of commissions; and the state courts shall possess and retain power to pass upon the constitutionality of the acts of counties, cities, towns and administrators of whatever nature.

Our very cohesiveness as a nation depends upon the existence of some national reviewing authority covering the instrumentalities subordinate to the central power, this alike in the interest of good order and good administration. Within the radius of its jurisdiction a like reviewing authority must exist within the several states. We have found it impracticable nationally that Congress should assume and exercise this power, and for other reasons, though not of the same marked importance, the general rule may properly extend to the states.

My third proposition is:

That the Supreme Court of the United States, in the exercise of its jurisdiction to declare an act of the state legislature or of any state or federal agency including the judiciary, to be unconstitutional, shall only do so by the acquiescence of considerably more than a bare majority of its members; that, for instance, three-fourths of the entire membership of the courts should concur to such end, and the like requirements shall hold as to the highest courts of the states.

This proposition finds a certain precedent in the constitution of Ohio, adopted in 1912, and which reads as follows:

"Ohio Constitution, Article IV.—Judicial—Sec. 2. . . . No law shall be held unconstitutional and void by the Supreme Court without the concurrence of at least all but one of the judges, except in the affirmance of a judgment of the court of appeals declaring a law unconstitutional and void."

Its justification is to be found, if any were needed, in numberless decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States. Repeatedly we have been told by the Supreme Court that the power to declare an act of Congress unconstitutional is a power of such gravity that it should only be exercised where there is no reasonable doubt of its application; that all questions of doubt were to be solved in favor of the legislative act. After having declared this principle, so salutary if the Supreme Court were to exercise the power at all, the most important state and national laws have been struck down by a vote of five to four. We are left to conceive if we may that a constitutional proposition is free from doubt when five men only out of nine—a bare majority—are able to unite in saying that unconstitutionality exists. In the case of jury trials, twelve men upon a question of fact involving small amounts of property are required to unite. Why a materially different rule should be adopted as to a question of fundamental law is not readily apparent.

I shall next proceed, departing, perhaps, from the strict letter of my theme, to say that:

Coupled with the foregoing reforms, I think there should go hand in hand the initiative and referendum, proportional representation and the preferential ballot.

Without these reforms our constitutional government, including also methods of attaining justice, will lack much of completeness.

We need the initiative and referendum so that legislative sins, both of omission (corrected by the initiative) and commission (corrected by the referendum) may be promptly corrected.

The remark of Bryce (*The American Commonwealth*, Chapter 23) that, "The Swiss habit of constantly recurring to popular vote (the initiative and referendum) makes it less necessary to restrain the legislature by a permanently enacted instrument," has ample justification.

We need proportional representation for another reason and to meet another objection urged by those who are devoted to the preservation of the powers now held by the judiciary. It is insisted that if the legislature be unrestricted by judicial action, there is danger of oppression by a numerical majority controlling in the legislature. While the danger urged is, in my judgment, largely theoretical, and while the makers of the objection ignore the fact at present through the action of the judiciary, the rights of the majority are repeatedly held subservient to those of a very small minority; even this colorable objection should be met, as far as possible. Under proportional representation any considerable section of the community, whether it be set apart by wealth or religion or color, or any other of the factors which serve to divide human life, may, by uniting, send its share of representatives to the legislature to be present to protect the interests and well-being of those for whom they stand, and the danger of oppressive legislation will be minimized to the vanishing point. At the same time, through the preferential ballot, we may obtain, in executive capacities, men who represent the majority of the people, a condition not now prevailing when often a presi-

dent, to say nothing of the mayor of a town, may be the choice of the minority of his constituents.

It has seemed impossible within a short compass to answer the questions put to me by the E. C. of the Federation, and even if a formal answer might have been quickly given, it has been necessary to justify the faith within us. This I have honestly sought to do, and a study of the question has convinced me that the E. C. now has before it one of the gravest fundamental questions with which it will have to deal—the preservation of truly democratic government against what has often been called “Aristocracy of the Robe.”

Respectfully submitted.

JACKSON H. RALSTON.

Washington, D. C., May, 1919.

The entire subject is now before this convention.

CORONADA COAL COMPANY vs. UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA

A decision has just been rendered which makes necessary once more a review of this case, the facts of which as they had then developed were presented by the Executive Council to the St. Paul (1918) Convention. On July 25, 1914, A. S. Dowd, the receiver for nine coal corporations, brought action against the United Mine Workers of America charging that the organizations since 1898 had been in a gigantic conspiracy with union operators to interfere with the production and commerce of the corporations that followed a non-union policy by means of strikes and attendant violence.

A local strike of miners in Arkansas gave rise to the case. The Bache-Denman Coal Company alleged that they were damaged by reason of the strike and that the officers and members of the United Mine Workers of America conspired to prevent the operation of their mines and the shipment of their coal in interstate commerce. A demurrer was sustained to this complaint by the federal judge of the district court. An appeal was made to the Circuit Court of Appeals but that court held that the complaint was good and remanded it for trial. In its opinion, the Circuit Court of Appeals took the position that a labor union although unincorporated, could be sued in its union name. This opinion of the judge is without precedent. We reported this decision to the 1916 convention.

The trial took place before Judge Elliott. After the jury had been out about forty-eight hours they were called before the court and instructed by the Judge:

“Now, gentlemen of the jury, this is a pretty serious situation and I want to say to you that the court has no thought at all of discharging you. You were sworn upon your oaths to do your duty as jurors. In the opinion of the court there is no reason on earth why reasonable men with due regard for right, and each having due respect and consideration for the other's opinion, should not arrive at a conclusion in this case. What would be a fortune to either of you or I has already been spent and a failure to render justice in this and others is what brings the courts into contempt. I say this to you that you may understand the seriousness of your situation. The facts in this case have got to be found by a jury. Another jury will have no better opportunity of knowing what these facts are or be in any better position to determine these facts than you, and it is your duty as jurors under your oaths to get together and return a verdict.

“Now the Federal Courts recognize the right of this court under these circumstances to say what this court believes in relation to the facts in this case, and you are advised that this court is of the opinion that the facts in this case justify you in the conclusion, overwhelmingly, that it was the policy and therefore the agreement for years of this national organization to prevent mining of non-union coal for the unlawful purposes named in this complaint that it might not come into competition with union mined coal; that there is no question in this court's mind but that that strike was ordered down there for that purpose to prevent the mining of non-union coal in these plaintiff's mines; that the strike was called by those who were the instrumentality of the greater organization, the general organization, the defendants and their act was its act, and that they put

into motion the force that destroyed this property, and that that force was put into motion for the purpose of preventing the mining of that coal, the shipping of that coal, the running of these mines. Why, this court has not a thought that there would ever have been any trouble there if it had not been for the prevention of the mining of non-union coal. Now, that is the judgment of this court, and if it were my duty to decide it I would decide it here. Now you are not bound by my opinion. I have a right to give you my judgment, however. You are the sole and exclusive judges of the facts and it is for you to determine these issues of fact independent of my judgment and this court believes you ought to determine it and under your oaths as jurors agree upon a verdict.

"If there is any question about the law on the responsibility for this, responsibility of the greater organization, that is for the higher court to say, but you can not reach it until you have done your duty—you are the stumbling block in the way and this whole time is wasted. Now after I have said what I have, I am going to say that *I have no thought of discharging you, you must return a verdict in this case.* You are amply qualified to do the right thing as you see it, and as it should be done and the thought of the court is that no other jury will ever be better prepared to render a verdict than you and to separate without a verdict will be to have rendered all this expense of all this trial for naught—make it necessary to go all over the ground again with no better opportunity on the part of the jury in the box when it has all been done, to do the right thing than you have now, no advantage, none in the world. You see the importance of the situation and I now urge you with the idea of doing the right thing and putting this matter in that condition that a trial of the case with a legitimate end, in which a verdict of the jury will place. And with a knowledge and feeling of responsibility and that that responsibility is with you, that you now return to your jury rooms and bring in a verdict."

Continuing the report of the case we informed the St. Paul Convention that the jury of the federal district court at Fort Smith, Arkansas, rendered a verdict of \$200,000 damages against the United Mine Workers of America and that under the provisions of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law this amount was automatically trebled. The officers of the United Mine Workers of America appealed to the Federal Circuit Court of Appeals from the verdict of the district court. The court requested an appealed bond amounting to \$800,000, a requirement which was met.

The Executive Council in its report to the St. Paul Convention stated that "it is earnestly hoped that the higher court reverses the decision and award reached" and made the following additional comment:

"It should be borne in mind that the case was brought under the provisions of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, and not as modified by the labor provisions of the Clayton Anti-Trust Law."

The Federal Circuit Court of Appeals, however, did not reverse the decision of the lower court but sustained it in a decision handed down on May 1. A decision now rendered by the Circuit Court of Appeals of the Eight Circuit renders the United Mine Workers of America liable for damages amounting to \$625,000. The District Court in 1917 awarded the mine owners interest from the day of the alleged destruction of property to the day of trial, which would have placed an extra burden of \$120,000 upon the mine workers. The Circuit Court of Appeals on May 1 reversed the District Court on the question of interest.

The United Mine Workers contended:

"First, That an unincorporated labor union is irresponsible in the eyes of the law and can not be held liable in damages for the acts of its members.

"Second, That the Bache-Denman strike and alleged riot was a purely local affair with which the international organization of the mine workers had nothing to do.

"Third, That the union rules forbade violence by the members and that if members of the union had disobeyed these rules the union was not responsible."

A complete copy of the decision of the Circuit Court of Appeals was not available when this report was prepared, consequently, we are unable to report the full text of the Court's decision. Printed copies were not available nor would the Clerk of the Court allow a copy to be made previous to the same being officially printed.

The appeal was heard by Judges Trieber and Hook, who disagreed, the latter holding that a new trial should be granted. The disagreeing judges then called in Judge Sanborn who presides in that circuit, and he held with Judge Trieber which affirms the judgment of the lower court. Even in this opinion it is held that District Judge Elliott erred in adding to the verdict an amount of interest figured from the time of the destruction of the mines to the return of the verdict. As this was trebled by him (under the Sherman Act) the amount of their judgment which the receivers' of the coal companies must release is about \$130,000.

Not knowing what the dissenting opinion of Judge Hook is nor upon what features of the appeal he dissented from the opinion of the majority of the Court, we are unable to express an opinion as to whether or not we may hope for a reversal of this decision by the Supreme Court of the United States.

Your Executive Council has been officially informed by the officers of the United Mine Workers of America that an appeal will be immediately taken to the Supreme Court of the United States and that the case will be diligently prosecuted through the court of last resort. In our opinion this should be done because the effect of this decision is far-reaching and of vital importance to the organized labor movement of America. If the decision of the Circuit Court is affirmed by the Supreme Court of the United States and stands as a principle of law, the existence of every national and international union is endangered.

We, therefore, recommend that this convention of the American Federation of Labor authorize the Executive Council to cooperate with the officers of the United Mine Workers of America and render such assistance as may lie within their power in appealing from the decision of the Circuit Court of Appeals to the Supreme Court of the United States.

LABOR POLITICAL POLICY

With independent political labor activity engaging attention in a number of localities during the year, the views of President Gompers were sought by a great many members of the labor movement. In December President Gompers took advantage of a gathering of the committees on health insurance and reconstruction to express his views on the question of political policy. A number of representative men and women of labor were invited to meet with the members of these two committees in New York City on December 9, 1918.

The address delivered by President Gompers at that time was later considered by the Executive Council and endorsed by the Council as expressing the views of the Council. The address is therefore presented here in full as follows:

President Gompers' Address

And now, a consideration of the subject I have in mind and for which I have asked the gentlemen of the committees and the ladies and gentlemen of labor to participate in this conference.

In the last few weeks there have been published certain situations which exist and certain movements which were about to be inaugurated. In a few of the cities that situation and that movement have become accentuated. In Chicago, New York City, and two or three other places the labor movement has expressed itself through the central bodies in favor of the formation of a political labor party.

No man has the right to look upon such a move lightly, or without deep consideration or deep concern. Either the proposed movement about to be inaugurated for the establishment of a political labor party is good, or it is bad. Either it is advantageous or it is injurious, and the purpose of my asking that we meet this afternoon is to present to you some facts upon that subject.

You who were in the movement of long ago will remember that to which I refer. We had in the United States a fairly growing labor movement of some trade

unionists in some form of a federation called the National Labor Union. That organization went along, inspired good spirit and activity among the workers, and then called a national convention for the purpose of nominating a president of the United States. That convention met and nominated Justice David Davis, a judge of the Supreme Court of the United States, as its candidate for president and after nominating Mr. Davis adjourned and never met again. The trade unions then in existence fell off in membership until the organizations became very weak and ineffective. Some organizations fell by the wayside. Labor was in a most deplorable condition, without opportunity for defense and robbed entirely of any power to press forward its rightful claims.

In 1885-1886, after a few years of precarious early existence, the A. F. of L. tried to build up and extend its influence and organize the workers into their unions.

In 1884 the A. F. of L. declared for the introduction of the eight-hour work-day, May 1, 1886. It proposed negotiations with the employers to the accomplishment of that high purpose. The movement gained great impetus and large advantages followed, but on May 2 or 3, 1886, a bomb was thrown at a meeting which was being held at Haymarket Square, Chicago, which killed and maimed more than twenty policemen. The meeting was supposed to have been held in the interest of the eight-hour movement. The wrath of the people which was aroused against those in charge of the Haymarket meeting gave the eight-hour day a severe blow and set-back. However, the eight-hour day was secured for the workers in several industries and a reduction in the hours of labor from 16 to 12 or from 12 to 10 became almost universal in the United States. But the eight-hour movement as such was destroyed for the time being.

Due in part to that incident and to the resentment of the workers because they had lost so much that they could have obtained and due to certain local conditions, political rather than economic, in various cities the local movement undertook political campaigns and organized a political party in Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Louis, Boston and New York. This resulted in the organized labor movement of New York City launching into a campaign which nominated Henry George as mayor of the city. It was my privilege to enter into that campaign with the men (there are a few of them in this room now) who were active at the time. I aided to the very best of my ability. Henry George received 68,000 votes and came very near election. Some claim that he was really elected, but that in the last hours many of the supporters of Theodore Roosevelt who was the mayoralty candidate of the Republican party abandoned him and cast their votes for Abraham S. Hewitt who was the democratic candidate for mayor.

After the campaign closed and the election was held, the movement took on another phase. It was called the Progressive Labor Party. They admitted to membership not only the men of organized labor but what had popularly been called by a great many the "brain with brawn" or "brain with labor." The campaign was carried on with such scandalous results, that nearly all the men of labor who had some self-respect had to hold themselves in the background for fear that they might be besmirched with the incidents which occurred in the campaign.

A man, an extremely rich man, in business in the city of New York at the time, was induced to become the candidate for mayor as the representative of labor. I think it was Mr. Coogan, a man engaged in the furniture business. Mr. Coogan had, I was informed, wonderful experience in financial transactions of which he was not entirely and fully aware until it was all over. By the way, there was a popular phrase which came into effect right at that time, "Wass ist loos mit Coogan." (What is the matter with Coogan.)

I mention these things of our own country, and now I want to mention a few things of other countries of which I have been a personal, intimate, and close observer.

In Germany, the trade union movement having been dissolved by Bismark and the organizations of labor not having the right to exist, went to its death for the time. Then when there was a slight moderation of that order, the trade union

movement of that country was organized from the top down. There were executive officers who imposed their will upon the rank and file. There was no democracy of administration, of construction, or of the right of the membership to determine policies. Benefits were paid by the officers of the general organization. These officers had the power to determine whether the workers were entitled to the insurance and other benefits. It was a matter of power vested in the executives. You can imagine how necessary it was for the rank and file to endeavor to curry favor with the executives in order that they might not be discriminated against unfairly.

In 1905 I was in Hamburg and Bremen, in consultation with the officers of the general labor movement of Germany, among whom were Legien and Von Elm. They were not permitted to hold public meetings dealing with any subject affecting labor or the government. Before I reached there Mr. Von Elm, with whom I had been in correspondence because he belonged to the Cigarmakers' International Union here, of which I am a member, invited me to deliver an address in German in a public meeting before five or ten thousand persons, but it was necessary for me to address them in German because an address in any other language but German would not be permitted. I could speak and read German but I did not feel competent to deliver an address in the German language before a gathering of five or ten thousand people. I was afraid of my own weakness and that possibly by reason of grammatical errors some might say: "Well, if he can not speak he ought not try to speak to us," and thereby discount anything I might say. Therefore, I declined it. They agreed, however, to call a social gathering. Invitations were sent out to 132 people to attend. The full number responded. I spoke to them in the German language, but the meeting was secret. The unions were struggling for the right to meet as unions and to have the guarantee of the law for their legal right to maintain their organizations and to hold such meetings; in other words, the right of free association. I had the assurance of Von Elm, Legien and others that the Socialist political party of Germany denied the demand made by the trade unions to work to secure from the government a law guaranteeing the workers the right to organize as a free association of workers. The Socialist political party of Germany, which is the only political party claiming to be the workmen's party, denied the union labor movement of Germany the right to take political action in order to secure the lawful right for its existence.

The French organized labor movement is not extensive. Some of the most completely organized unions are wholly out of touch with the Confederation Generale du Travail, that is, the French Federation of Labor, because they want to exercise their individual right of trade unionism and trade union action. To the Inter-Allied Labor Conference in London in September, there came a delegation from France of three or four men representing the French Federation of Labor and then a delegation of about seven, eight or ten representing the majority Socialist party of France and about that same number representing the minority Socialist party. The vote of the delegation was divided between the majority and minority Socialist party and the French Federation of Labor. The political party dominates the trade union movement of France.

In England there is the British Trade Union Congress, the British Federation of Trade Unions, and the Labor Party. For the discussion of business when the conventions of either party are not in session, they meet jointly in conference through the Parliamentary Committee of the British Trade Union Congress and the Executive Committee of the Labor Party. Quite a number of the members of the Parliamentary Committee of the British Trade Union Congress are members of the Labor Party, and quite a number of them who hold their seats in Parliament are members of the Labor Party. As a matter of fact, the Executive Committee of the Labor Party dominates the entire movement of England.

At a conference held at Derby, England, in September, 1918, the executive officers of the Labor Party presided and dominated the proceedings. And all the time that I was in England I never heard of a phrase like this: "The British Trade Union movement and the Labor Party." I never heard it said: "The Parlia-

mentary Committee of the British Trade Union Congress and the Executive Committee of the Labor Party." It was always the Labor Party and the Trade Union Congress. The Labor Party of England dominates the labor movement of England.

When the Inter-Allied Labor Conference opened in London, September 17, early in the morning there were sent over to my room at the hotel cards which were intended to be the credential cards for our delegation to sign and hand in as our credentials. The card read something like this: "The undersigned is a duly accredited delegate to the Inter-Allied Socialist Conference to be held at London," etc., and giving the dates.

I refused to sign my name, or permit my name to be put upon any card of that character. My associates were as indignant as I was and refused to sign any such credential. We went to the hall where the conference was to be held. There was a young lady at the door. When we made an effort to enter she asked for our cards. We said we had no cards to present. "Well," the answer came, "you can not be admitted." We replied: "That may be true, we can not be admitted, but we will not sign any such card. We have our credentials written out, signed, and sealed, and will present them to any committee of the conference for scrutiny and recommendation, but we are not going to sign such a card."

Mr. Charles Bowerman, Secretary of the Parliamentary Committee of the British Trade Union Congress, at that moment emerged from the door. He asked why we had not entered. I told him the situation and he persuaded the young lady to permit us to pass in. We entered the hall and presented our credentials. Mr. James Sexton, officer and representative of the Dockers' Union of Liverpool, arose and called the attention of the conference to this situation, and declared that the A. F. of L. delegates refused to sign any such document. He said that it was not an Inter-Allied Socialist Conference but an Inter-Allied Socialist and Labor Conference.

Mr. Arthur Henderson, of the Labor Party, made an explanation something to this effect, if my memory serves me:

"It is really regrettable that such an error should have been made, but it has been made. It was due to the fact that the old card of credentials which had been used in former conferences was sent to the printer, no one paying any attention to it, and thinking it was all right."

I want to call your attention to the significance of that explanation. That is, that the trade union movement of Great Britain was represented at these former conferences, but at this conference the importance of Labor was regarded as so insignificant that everybody took it for granted that it was perfectly all right to have the credential card read, "Inter-Allied Socialist Conference," and with the omission of this more important term "Labor."

The fact is that an independent political labor party becomes either radical, so-called, or else reactionary, but it is primarily devoted to one thing and that is vote-getting. Every sail is trimmed to the getting of votes. The question of the conditions of Labor, the question of the standards of Labor, the question of the struggles and the sacrifices of Labor, to bring light into the lives and the work of the toilers—all that is subordinated to the one consideration of votes for the party.

I have read the fourteen points which have been formulated for the proposed Labor Party here. Is there one of them of an essential character to the interests and welfare of the working people of the United States which is not contained in the curriculum, the work and the principles of the bona fide labor movement of our country?

Which movement, economic or political, in any country on the face of the globe has brought more hope and encouragement, more real advantage, to the working people than the trade union movement of America has brought to the wage-earning masses of our country?

The organization of a political labor party would simply mean the dividing of the activities and allegiance of the men and women of labor between two bodies, such as would often come in conflict.

In the British Trade Union Congress at Derby there were divergent views.

There were four different points of view upon one subject before the Congress. In order to try to unite the thought a committee of four was appointed for the purpose of trying to bring in some agreed proposition and recommendation for adoption by the Congress. In the course of a few days the committee reported a resolution. For the purpose of conserving time the four members of the committee representing the divergent views were called upon in turn to express their views. Each in turn expressed his own view and placed his own construction upon the resolution recommended. Then each declared that he was going out to fight for his own view.

In our movement we have done some things. We have brought together more than three million workers, organized into our trade unions and belonging to the A. F. of L. In addition there are between four and five hundred thousand workmen in the railroad brotherhoods not affiliated with us, but yet in accord with our work and our policies. In other words, there are nearly four million of organized trade unionists in the United States. There is not always harmony; there is disagreement; there is opposition, all of it important, all of it tending to crystallize the sentiment of unity and devotion to the cause of Labor. The American labor movement occupies the field of activity without yielding one inch to any other body.

Mr. Longuet, representing the majority Socialists of France, at the Inter-Allied Labor Conference in London, expressed his regret that what he called the American Socialist party was not represented in the conference. He proposed that the votes of the A. F. of L. delegates should be reduced because the American Socialist party was not represented.

Who are we going to have as the leaders of this new political labor party here? I understand that there is impatience among our fellows. It is creditable to them that they are impatient. There is not any man in all America, or in all the world, more impatient than I with the progress that has been made, with the position we occupy. I want more, more, more for Labor. I think I have tried and am trying to do my share. My associates of the E. C. have tried to do their share, but there is such a thing as attempting to overrun, and by overrunning to defeat the object we would gain for the wage-earners and to throw them into the hands of those who do not know the honest aspirations of Labor or who would direct them for personal aggrandizement.

I have been the President of the A. F. of L. for many, many years. I regard that position as the most exalted that I could occupy. I have no aspiration to hold this or that position. It is not that I ask you to follow me. I ask that the trade union movement be given its fullest opportunity for growth and development so that it may be the instrumentality to secure better and better and better and constantly better conditions for the workers of our country.

Here we are in this transition period from war into peace, with all that it may mean. A week ago last evening, that is, on Sunday evening, December 1, at the Century Theater, I delivered an address. I am proud of the address I delivered there on that night. I do not think that any one realizes all the dangers which I felt and tried to express as to the situation now and which may arise in the near future. I ask you whether the creation of a political labor party, and particularly at this time, would help to solve these problems and meet these dangerous conditions? If ever unity was needed for the toilers, it is now.

It is not true, as some carping critics allege, that the A. F. of L. is a non-political organization. As a matter of fact, the workers of the United States and the organized labor movement act voluntarily in the exercise of their political right and power. We have changed the control of our government from the old-time interests of corporate power and judicial usurpation. We have secured from the government of the United States the labor provision of the Clayton Antitrust law, the declaration in the law that the labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce. In that law we have secured the right of our men to exercise functions for which, under the old regime our men were brought before the bar of justice and fined or imprisoned. We have secured the eight-hour work-

day not only as a basic principle but as a fact. We have secured the Seamen's Law giving to the seamen the freedom to leave their vessels when in safe harbor. The seamen of America are now free men and own themselves. We have secured a child labor law, and although it has been declared unconstitutional, we are again at work to secure a law for the protection of our children. Better than all, we have established the concept in law and in administration that the interest and welfare of the workers are paramount, and this not only in the laws of our republic but in the laws of our states and municipalities.

There are other laws in the interest of labor which we have secured, more than I can mention off-hand, but far above all these are the improvements brought into the lives and work of the toilers by their own actions as organized workers. We have established unity of spirit; we have brought about the extension of organization among the formerly unorganized, and our organized free existence to function and to express ourselves is now practically unquestioned.

Suppose in 1912 we had had a labor party in existence; do you think for a moment that we could have gone as the American labor movement to the other political parties and said: "We want you to inaugurate in your platform this and this declaration." If one of the parties had refused and the other party consented and took its chance, would the A. F. of L. have been permitted to exercise that independent political and economic course if the labor party had been in existence? How long would we have had to wait for the passage of a law by Congress declaring in law, in practice and in principle that the labor of a human being is not a commodity or an article of commerce—the most far-reaching declaration ever made by any government in the history of the world.

I say this to you. I am sixty-eight years of age. I have been tried and seared as few men have. I have almost had my very soul burned in the trials of life. With my two associates, Mr. Mitchell and Mr. Morrison, I have suffered the indignity of being brought before the courts of our country and adjudged guilty and sentenced to imprisonment. Our eyes were wide open. I do not think that it is improper for me to say that I led in the thought and activity of that work, of that willingness to suffer, but it was not a very nice thing to have the endeavor made to besmirch our honor by a sentence of imprisonment—Mr. Morrison six months, Mr. Mitchell nine months, and I twelve months. We fought that sentence, fought it and fought it, supported by the activity of the organized labor movement in all the states and towns of our country, until the principle for which we were contending through that action brought about the incorporation of those provisions in the Clayton Antitrust law which confirmed and legalized the very things for which we were sentenced to imprisonment. They were legalized, not for us alone but for Labor.

I repeat, we have secured the enactment of the Seamen's Law, the right of a seaman to quit his vessel whenever his vessel is in safe harbor in any part of the world, a law which does not exist in any other country—secured it by our political activity and by our economic powers. Has anything like that been accomplished in any country of the world? Our delegates proposed it at the Inter-Allied Labor Conference in September, and there was not a hearty agreement to stand for it as an international demand.

I think you know that I have been most cruelly hurt in the recent past. Somehow or other I believe that there are yet considerable years of fight in me for Labor. I have said that I hold the position of President of the American Federation of Labor in the most exalted estimation, but it is not that for which I am contending; it is not that which I would want to keep one moment beyond the time when I can no longer be of service to my fellows. The only thing that I can leave, to my fellow men is that I have helped in trying to bring about a labor movement in our country that is better, more comprehensive and more united than in any other country on the face of the globe.

I wanted to present these thoughts to you. I did not have in mind any particular theme or course to present to you. I know I feel and understand and apprehend the danger which is involved in the project which is now being

so very actively agitated in some quarters of the labor movement of our country. I fear no danger, I am just as good a follower, perhaps a better follower, than I am a leader, and I am perfectly willing to occupy either position. I would be recreant to the great labor movement and all it portends now and for the future if I did not take you into my confidence, men and women of labor, and tell you what I have told you. I am apprehensive, justly so, justified by every event in the whole history of Labor, that a great mistake may be made, a great injury inflicted upon our fellows, not for a day, not for a year, not for a decade, but perhaps for many, many, many years to come. I want to present that view to you so that you may understand the situation clearly.

I have spoken calmly and without ceremony or attempt to touch your feelings, but simply to touch the innermost recesses of your minds and to lay before you the responsibility which rests upon you.

The Executive Council meeting which considered the address and the whole question of political policy was held in New York City on December 28. It expressed its approval of the address and its position in the matter as follows:

The address expresses the judgment of the Executive Council to protect and to promote the best interests of the workers and of the labor movement of America. It conforms to the letter and spirit of the provisions of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor, Article III, Section 8:

"Party politics, whether they be Democratic, Republican, Socialistic, Populistic, Prohibition, or any other, shall have no place in the Conventions of the American Federation of Labor."

While local and central bodies and state federations may enter into the political field, either independently or otherwise, it is not within their province to form or become part of a national political party.

REPORT OF LABOR LEGISLATION

Summary of Legislation Enacted Since the Report Made to the St. Paul Convention, Including Portion of Second Session and All of the Third Session of the Sixty-Fifth Congress

1. Extending the use of the special fund and authorizing acceptance of gifts under the Rehabilitation of Disabled Soldiers' Act. (Public, No. 279, 65th Cong., 3d Session.)
2. Commission to fix minimum wage for women and minors in the District of Columbia. (Public, No. 215, 65th Cong., 2d Session.)
3. To readmit to United States after discharge from foreign service aliens in cobelligerent friendly armies. (Public, Res. No. 44, 65th Cong., 2d Session.)
4. Transportation including sleeping-car accommodation to war workers of the U. S. government no longer needed. (Public, No. 246, 65th Cong., 3d Session.)
5. For the manufacture of cotton fabrics at the Atlanta, Ga., penitentiary to supply the requirements of War and Navy Departments with tents, etc., for the Army. (Public, No. 194, 65th Cong., 2d Session.)
6. To enable the President to carry out the price guarantee for the 1918 and 1919 crops of wheat. (Public, No. 348, 65th Cong., 3d Session.)
7. Revenue Act, approved February 24, 1919, provides a 10 per cent tax on income of concerns employing child labor. (Public, No. 254, 65th Cong., 3d Session.)
8. Legislative, Executive and Judicial Appropriation Law carried \$184,000 to enforce the child labor provision in the Revenue law. (Public, No. 314, 65th Cong., 3d Session.)
9. Government grants \$240 temporary increase in compensation to all employees. (Public, No. 314, 65th Cong., 3d Session.)
10. Bonus of \$60 is given to soldiers, sailors and marines at the time of their discharge. (Revenue law; Public, No. 254, 65th Cong., 3d Session.)
11. Allowing persons of Army, Navy and Marine Corps, in the present war, to retain uniforms, also to receive 5 cents per mile for railroad fare home. (Public, No. 300, 65th Cong., 3d Session.)
12. Increase in compensation for postal employees. (Public, No. 299, 65th Cong., 3d Session.)

13. Provision for commission to reclassify salaries of the government employees. (Public, No. 314, 65th Cong., 3d Session.)
14. Provision for commission to investigate the salaries of postmasters and employees of the Postal Service with a view to the reclassification and readjustment of same. (Public, No. 299, 65th Cong., 3d Session.)
15. Appropriation of \$200,000,000 to aid the states in the construction of rural post roads. (Public, No. 299, 65th Cong., 3d Session.)

Hindrances to Legislation

Many of the measures supported by the American Federation of Labor were lost in the general legislative wreck caused by obstructive methods in the last few weeks of the third session of the 65th Congress. Among the measures of interest to Labor which were stalled in the weary waste of worthless words which marked the close of the session were: Appropriations for—

- U. S. Employment Agency.
- Women in Industry Service.
- Working Conditions Service.
- War Labor Board.
- Investigation and Inspection Service.

Burnett bill (H. R. 13603) forbidding immigration for four years, during the period of industrial reconstruction.

The McKellar-Keating bill for an old-age retirement system for federal employees in the classified service.

Nolan bill providing a minimum wage of three dollars a day for federal employees.

A bill for the reclamation of land for soldiers' homesteads, in accordance with plans formulated by Secretary of the Interior Lane.

Convict Labor bill, which proposed to give states the same power over the products of convict labor from other states as they exercise over the products of their own prisons.

Department of Education.

Industrial vocational education for persons crippled in industry.

Increased pay for teachers.

Woman suffrage.

The failure of Congress to function at critical times could be avoided by reasonable amendments to the rules of procedure, such as: A stated date after which no new bills should be introduced, except those which contain an element of emergency; each committee required to hold hearings and report within a reasonable time, say 30 days after receipt, on all measures referred to it; each measure not of an urgent nature to take its place on the calendar and be acted upon in order; each speaker to confine himself strictly to the subject under discussion and be given a reasonable time limit; a proper method of cloture.

An illustration of the need of some provision similar to the one last above suggested is found on page 5104 of the Congressional Record, March 3d. With final adjournment due on the following day, and the calendar loaded with essential measures—appropriation and other important bills—the Chair stated the pending question to be on the bill to reclaim lands for homes for the returning soldiers, whereupon Senator Sherman arose and said: "On that I will take the floor, and, in pursuance of the immemorial custom, I will proceed to talk about something else," and he occupied hours of time, 11 pages of the Record, and about 17,000 words in discussion of the peace league and other matters not at that time before the Senate. The bill for homesteads for soldiers was heard of no more.

Much valuable legislation might have been enacted in those precious last hours of the dying Congress had not the 96 Senators been compelled by discredited rules, or lack of rules, to waste time while the Senator from Illinois thus flagrantly violated the primary elemental rules of parliamentary procedure. We recommend that the convention consider whether the A. F. of L. would not be conserving the interests of the workers of this country by memorializing Congress to make such changes in the rules of congressional procedure as would facilitate the transaction of the legislative business of the people. With the purpose of securing the widest possible publicity, unity and effectiveness in the promotion of bills

supported by the A. F. of L., the following suggestions are offered for the consideration of the convention:

1. Print list of measures which A. F. of L. is supporting as soon as possible after the close of the convention, and give it wide circulation.
2. Transmit monthly to every union in the country detailed information regarding labor measures, the legislative status of each, and the record of the Representative in Congress from the district in which the union is located, together with an appeal that all members aid in the nomination and election to Congress of candidates who will actively support those measures.
3. Adopt a suitable system of questioning candidates.

Child Labor Legislation

After many years of agitation, the Congress attempted to regulate child labor throughout the nation by the enactment of public statute No. 249 of the 64th Congress, approved September 1, 1916, which provided that no producer should ship or deliver for shipment in interstate or foreign commerce any article or product of any mine or quarry in the production of which children under the age of 16 years had been employed, or the product of any mill, cannery, workshop, factory or manufacturing establishment in which children under the age of 14 years had been employed, or children over the age of 14 years had been permitted to work more than eight hours in any one day, or more than six days in any week, or after seven in the evening or before six in the morning. On June 3, 1918, the Supreme Court declared this law unconstitutional by a vote of 5 to 4. The court held that the Congress had gone beyond its powers in attempting to exclude from interstate commerce a product not in itself evil. This law, the court said, prohibits instead of regulates, which latter is the power given to Congress by the constitution. At its meeting on July 23-28, 1918, the Executive Council, acting under authority of Resolutions Nos. 91, 121 and 125, adopted at the St. Paul Convention, decided to introduce as a war measure a bill containing provisions similar to the provisions in the act rejected by the court. The bill, H. R. 12767, was introduced by Congressman Keating on August 15. It placed the same restrictions as to age and working hours as were contained in public statute No. 249.

On July 12 the War Labor Policies Board outlined as a national policy that contractors doing work for any of the government departments should not directly or indirectly employ child labor contrary to the provisions contained in the act adopted by Congress and declared unconstitutional by the court. The Secretary of Labor was made responsible for the enforcement of a contract clause to that effect, to be inserted in all government contracts.

By direction of the Secretary of Labor a conference was called to discuss permanent child labor legislation, which met on August 21. There were present representative of the American Federation of Labor, National Child Labor Committee, Women's Trade Union League, National Consumers' League and various governmental officials who had helped to formulate or enforce the act of September 1, 1916. After numerous meetings and much discussion, a new child labor bill was agreed upon which proposed to levy an excise tax upon the products of any mill, cannery, workshop, factory or manufacturing establishment in which children under the age of 14 years had been employed, or children between the ages of 14 and 16 years had been employed for more than eight hours in any one day or more than six days in any one week. The measure was submitted to President Wilson and received his approval. The bill was submitted to Senator Pomerene of Ohio with the suggestion that it be offered as an amendment to the pending eight billion dollar revenue bill. After consulting with other Senators interested in child labor legislation, some changes were made in the bill and Senator Pomerene on November 15 offered the measure in the Senate and asked for its reference to the Senate Finance Committee, which was then considering the revenue bill.

The changes made by the Senators who considered the bill were, first, the excise tax is levied upon the net income of establishments wrongfully employing child labor, instead of upon the product of those establishments; secondly, the enforcement of the provisions of the act rests primarily with the commissioner of internal revenue, instead of with the Labor Department.

The amendment as proposed in the Senate was accepted by the Senate Finance Com-

mittee and reported favorably to the Senate as a part of the revenue bill on December 10, 1918. On December 18, by vote of 50 to 12, the Senate adopted the amendment, and it then became sections 1200 to 1207, inclusive, of the Revenue Act, Pub. Stat. No. 254, 65th Congress (H. R. 12863). Some opposition was expected to the child labor provisions when the bill went to conference, but no serious opposition was developed, either in conference or in the adoption of the conference report in the two Houses. The measure was signed by the President on February 24, 1919. The tax of 10 per cent on the net income of any establishment wrongfully employing children in violation of the statute is expected to be high enough to make the labor of children so unprofitable as to prohibit their employment and so exclude them from such establishments.

But while the measure itself was so satisfactorily secured, some complications have arisen in regard to its administration. On February 20, 1919, the bill making appropriations for the legislative, executive and judicial departments being under consideration, H. R. 14078, Senator Lodge moved as an amendment that \$184,160 be made available to enable the Secretary of Labor to make inspections and to fulfill such other duties as may be assigned to him for the purpose of carrying into effect, in cooperation with the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, the provisions of the child labor sections 1200-1207 of the revenue bill, H. R. 12863.

Senator Hardwick of Georgia made the point of order that the amendment was out of order, as the appropriation was not authorized by any existing law. (The revenue bill, of which the child labor law was a part, had not then been signed.) The chair overruled the point of order, and upon appeal was sustained. The amendment was then agreed to, and thus funds were made available to carry out the provisions of the child labor tax law.

This appropriation bill went to conference between committees of the two Houses to consider the Senate amendments. When it was reported back from conference, the wording of the Lodge amendment had been changed in such manner as practically to exclude the Labor Department from participation in the enforcement of the child labor law. The words "in cooperation with the Commissioner of Internal Revenue" were changed by the conference committee to read "upon the request of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue." So until the Secretary of Labor is requested by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue to make inspections or perform other duties in connection with the enforcement of the law no part of the \$184,000 is available to the Labor Department. No such request has yet been made. Just how, and to what extent, the Commissioner of Internal Revenue will enforce the provisions of the child labor law, the future will disclose, but the opponents of the employment of young children in industry have more hope than confidence that the internal revenue department will adequately enforce the law.

However, the child labor law, being a part of the revenue bill, can have effect only during the life of that bill, the duration of which may be for only two years. It behooves those opposed to child labor in industry to formulate and if possible secure the enactment of some permanent legislation to take effect at the expiration of the life of this bill. Permanent legislation appears to be impossible without an amendment to the federal constitution. It is therefore recommended that the convention determine upon the advisability of seeking the adoption by Congress and submission to the states of a constitutional amendment which will enable Congress to deal effectively with child labor.

On May 2 Federal Judge James E. Boyd of Greensboro, North Carolina, held the provisions of this latest Child Labor Act to be unconstitutional. This is the same honorable judge who enjoys the distinction of being the first to discover the unconstitutionality of the previous act. His decision, according to the newspapers, is based upon the assumption that Congress was trying to do by indirection what it has no constitutional power to do directly. Whether or not this is true, Congress through the power of taxation has repeatedly accomplished ends which it could not reach directly. The tax on oleomargarine was placed deliberately in the first instance with intent to destroy the industry for the benefit of the farmers. The phosphorous match industry was destroyed, and was intended to be destroyed, by a tax. And the whole structure of high protection was camouflaged by the title "to raise revenue," when the distinct purpose, in hundreds of instances, was to prevent or diminish importation of certain goods or articles, and thus prevent to that extent the raising of revenue. The Supreme Court of the United States has refrained heretofore from inquiring into the motives of Congress in passing legislation, particularly tax legislation,

but this judge of a lower court does not hesitate to enter into such an inquiry, notwithstanding the fact that the Supreme Court has refrained. What the final result will be when Judge Boyd's swift decision reaches the court of last resort can be only conjecture, but the promptness of the delivery of this decision raises a query as to whether it was written in advance of the presentation of the case, and by whom.

While the lower court decided adversely on the child labor law, yet the case is pending before the Supreme Court of the United States. We hope and expect that that court will declare the law to be constitutional. Pending decision by the Supreme Court the officers of the internal revenue service have decided that the purport of the law as declared by the Congress and signed by the President shall be in effect and will remain in effect subject to decision by the Supreme Court of the United States.

Education

Resolutions Nos. 112 and 128, adopted by the last convention, each proposed a Department of Education. No. 128 asks for the appropriation of \$100,000,000 to be apportioned to the several states by a Federal Department of Education if one is created; or, that failing, by a Federal Board upon which organized labor and education should be represented, such fund to apply only to the payment of salaries of public school teachers, including teachers of physical education and English to adults, under public school supervision, after such state shall have satisfied the Federal Department or special board that adequate standards are to be maintained.

Much discussion and consideration was given to the development of a suitable bill the result of which was the introduction in the House on January 30, 1919, at the request of the American Federation of Labor and the American Federation of Teachers, of what was known as the Towner Educational bill, H. R. 15400.

In the meantime Senator Hoke Smith of Georgia had introduced into the Senate a bill for a similar purpose, S. 4987, sponsored by the National Educational Association, which was subsequently withdrawn, and S. 5635 was substituted.

The Towner bill established a Department of Education with a secretary at its head who would be a member of the President's cabinet. Authority is given by the bill to the President to transfer to the department such other educational bureaus, commissions, boards, divisions and branches as in his judgment ought to be administered by the Department of Education. There are said to be more than 80 of them scattered through the various departments of the federal government. The bill makes it the specific duty of the Department of Education to encourage the states in the development of public educational facilities and authorizes investigation and research in the fields of illiteracy, immigrant education, physical and health education, preparation and supply of competent teachers. It authorizes the appropriation of \$100,000,000 annually to be apportioned among the states for the following purposes:

1. To encourage the states in the removal of illiteracy, \$7,500,000.
2. To encourage the states in the Americanization of foreigners, \$7,500,000.
3. To encourage the states in the equalization of educational opportunities, and for the partial payment of teachers' salaries, providing better instruction, extending school terms and otherwise providing equally good schools for all children, \$50,000,000.
4. To encourage the states in the promotion of physical and health education and recreation, \$20,000,000.
5. To encourage the states in providing facilities for preparing and supplying better teachers, \$15,000,000.

The appropriations are allotted to the states on condition that the state, or local authority, or both, shall furnish an equal amount for each specified purpose, in addition to the amount heretofore expended by the state for such purpose. The administration and control of education is left entirely to the states, and to local authorities, the federal government exercising supervision only to an extent necessary to see that the several amounts appropriated are used by the states for the purposes specified in the act. The bill provides that the funds allotted to the several states shall be paid quarterly to the respective state

treasurers, and disbursed on the order of the state's chief educational authority, as designated by the state legislature.

Many copies of the Towner bill and a brief analysis were distributed. This wide distribution brought some criticisms in regard to minor details. All these were carefully considered and a redraft of the bill embodied such changes as seemed to be wise in the light of the criticisms.

No action was taken by the House Committee on Education on the Towner bill, but it is hoped that favorable action may be secured at an early date. While some opposition developed, in the main the expressions of opinion were favorable to the measure.

Education of Adult Illiterates

S. 4185, referred to in the report of the Executive Council to the St. Paul Convention, and endorsed by that body, required the Commissioner of Education to devise methods and promote plans for the elimination of adult illiteracy in the United States. The bill provided in substance that the Commissioner of Education under direction of the Secretary of Interior shall devise efficient economic methods for teaching adult illiterates and men and women of meager education in the United States, promote plans for the elimination of illiteracy, and the extension of education among the adult population, and cooperate with state, county, district, and municipal education officers and others in such work. The bill was reported out favorably from the Senate Committee on Education and Labor on March 25, 1918. Representative Bankhead introduced a similar bill into the House and the Committee on Education reported favorably upon it, but no further action was taken in either House, except that in the Senate on April 1, 1918, the amount proposed to be expended for the purpose was increased by amendment from \$50,000 to \$100,000.

On January 28, 1919, Senator Smith of Georgia introduced another bill upon illiteracy, authorizing the Secretary of the Interior through the Bureau of Education, to cooperate with the states and with other federal agencies, in the education of illiterates. This measure proposed appropriations of \$18,500,000 to be expended in cooperation with the states which appropriated equal amounts, in the elimination of adult illiteracy. This bill was reported favorably in the Senate on February 27, but no further action was taken on it.

The great need of this legislation is indicated by the fact that out of 1,552,256 soldiers examined at 28 stations, 386,196 or 24.9 per cent were classified as unable to read and understand newspapers and write letters home.

National Conservatory of Music

Resolution No. 7, approved by the St. Paul Convention, sets forth in a long preamble the desirability of a National Conservatory of Music and resolves that Congress be requested to pass a bill establishing a free National Conservatory of Music, to be owned and managed by the government, and gradually also establish branches in other cities. Provision was made for cooperation by the American Federation of Labor to extend its moral aid to those who were endeavoring to secure the establishment of such a conservatory.

On July 8, 1918, President Gompers addressed a communication to each member of Congress on the subject of a National Conservatory of Music, and included a copy of Resolution No. 7.

A bill to establish a National Conservatory of Music had been introduced by Congressman Bruckner of New York on October 4, 1917, H. R. 6445, and referred to the Committee on Education, on which a hearing was held by the Committee on Education on January 17, 1918. Congressman Bruckner retired from Congress on August 22, 1918, and on the same day Representative Donovan of New York introduced H. R. 12803, a bill with the same purpose as the Bruckner bill, but with several changes. A hearing was held on this latter bill on Wednesday, January 8, 1919, at which the A. F. of L. was represented. The committee took no action upon the measure and it died without having reached the floor of the House for consideration.

Rehabilitation Bills

The bill for the vocational rehabilitation and return to civil employment of disabled persons discharged from the military and naval forces of the United States, alluded to in the report of the Executive Council to the St. Paul Convention and approved by vote of

the convention, was enacted by the Congress and approved by the President on June 27, 1918. It provides that every disabled person who is discharged under circumstances entitling him to compensation after being discharged from the military or naval forces of the United States, and who at the time of his discharge is unable to carry on a gainful occupation, to resume his former occupation, or to enter some other occupation, shall be furnished by the Federal Board for Vocational Education with such course of vocational rehabilitation as the board shall prescribe and provide. Such person shall receive monthly compensation and allotments and family allowances so long as he follows the prescribed course of rehabilitation which he has elected to follow.

The rehabilitation of those physically disabled in the industrial field was omitted from this bill, but later, after the work for the rehabilitation of sailors, soldiers and marines was under way, a second bill, S. 4922, to promote the rehabilitation of cripples in industry was introduced into Congress and referred to the Senate Committee on Education and Labor. This bill provided large appropriations for the use of the states, for the purpose of cooperating with them in the maintenance of such discharged persons and returning them to civil employment. The work of re-education was to be in charge of local authorities assisted by the Federal Board for Vocational Education. Hearings were held by the Senate Committee on this bill, at one of which President Gompers appeared in support of the measure. The bill with amendment was favorably reported to the Senate on December 26, 1918. It was reached on the call of the calendar on February 28, but Senators Penrose of Pennsylvania and King of Utah objected to its consideration and it was passed over. A similar bill was favorably reported to the House from the House Committee on Education on February 13, 1919. Neither of these bills had been acted upon when the Congress expired on March 4. The work of re-educating and re-fitting into industry of the many cripples made by accidents in industry is of vital importance to Labor, and we recommend that full support of the American Federation of Labor be given to this measure.

Minimum Wage Legislation

In the report of the Executive Council to the St. Paul Convention a bill (H. R. 11431), introduced into Congress by Representative Keating of Colorado, was noted which provided for the establishment of a Wage Board for the District of Columbia, to fix reasonable wages for women and minor workers in the District. The proposed bill was endorsed by the Committee on Executive Council's Report and its report was unanimously adopted by the convention. Later Mr. Keating introduced into Congress a second bill (H. R. 12098) for the creation of such a minimum wage board, which was referred to the Committee on District of Columbia on May 14, 1918, and passed the House on August 26, 1918, and the Senate on September 13, and was signed by the President on September 19, 1918. The act provides for an unpaid Minimum Wage Board composed of three members, to be chosen, so far as practicable, one as a representative of employees, one as a representative of employers and one to represent the public. The board is given ample power to secure the attendance and testimony of witnesses, the production of books, papers and other evidence relative to matters under investigation, and to make rules and regulations to carry the act into effect. If, after an investigation concerning the wages of women and minors in any occupation, the board is of the opinion that any substantial number of them are receiving wages inadequate to meet with the necessary cost of living, maintain them in health and protect their morals, the board shall call and convene a conference, composed of not more than three representative employers and an equal number of representative employees in such occupation, and three disinterested persons representing the public; which conference, after considering all the information and evidence in its possession and in the possession of the board, shall make a report containing its findings and recommendations, including recommendations for minimum wages in the occupation under inquiry.

If the board approves the recommendations, it shall hold a public hearing, at which all persons in favor of or opposed to such recommendations may be heard. After the public hearing, the board may make an order adopting the recommendations and carrying them into effect, requiring all employers in that occupation within the District to observe and comply with the minimum wages set forth in the order. The order becomes effective sixty days after it is made, and whoever violates the act, whether employer, agent, director, or officer or any agent of any corporation, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and pun-

ished by a fine of not less than \$25 nor more than \$100, or by imprisonment for not less than ten days nor more than three months, or by both such fine and imprisonment. Any employer who discharges an employe or in any other manner discriminates against one because such employe has served on any conference or has testified before such conference, is subject to similar punishment.

The law requires the board to fix the minimum wage for one industry at a time, and the printing and publishing industry was selected as the first to be dealt with. This industry employs something more than 700 women in the District, about 76 per cent of whom receive less than \$15, and about 47 per cent of whom receive less than \$11 per week.

The Wage Board selected consisted of Messrs. Charles F. Crane, Frank A. Hill and Lee Baumgarten for the employers; Judge William Hitz, Mrs. Frances C. Artell, Dr. John A. Ryan, representing the public; Mrs. Nettie Kirchner, Miss Nellie Sheiry and Miss Essie Reid, for the employes.

The board found that \$16 per week was the minimum cost of living for a woman in the District of Columbia. The final conclusion of the conference was that \$15.50 per week was the lowest wage that should be paid to women employed in the printing industry in the District of Columbia. Before the adoption of this legal wage women were working for as low as \$8 per week in this industry.

The Minimum Wage Board is collecting payrolls from the retail stores, and as soon as sufficient information is in hand expects to call a conference in that industry.

The Nolan Bill

On April 2, 1917, Congressman John I. Nolan of San Francisco introduced into Congress a bill (H. R. 152) fixing a minimum compensation of not less than \$3 per day for all adult government employes who have been two years in the service of the government. This bill has been endorsed by the Federation conventions on three occasions.

At the St. Paul Convention in the Executive Committee's report note was made of this measure and Resolution No. 64 strongly endorsing the bill was adopted.

A hearing was had on this bill on January 11, 1918, at which it was shown that 66,746 persons were working for the government at a wage of less than \$3 per day. The standard of pay for some of these employes had not been changed for nearly fifty years.

On January 14, 1918, the bill was reported favorably from the Committee on Labor and committed to the House calendar on that date. There it remained until September 24, when the Committee on Rules reported a rule for its immediate consideration, which rule was adopted and the bill was passed with only 16 dissenting votes. The bill then went to the Senate and on September 25 was referred to the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, Senator Hoke Smith of Georgia, chairman. Every possible effort was made to induce the chairman to hold hearings, appoint a subcommittee, or take any other action looking toward the consideration of the bill, but with no success until February 20, 1919. On that date a public hearing was held by a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, consisting of Senators Jones of New Mexico, Borah of Idaho and Hollis of New Hampshire.

This subcommittee never made a report to the general committee. Senators Borah and Hollis were willing and anxious to make a favorable report, but Senator Jones, chairman of the subcommittee, refused.

The Nolan Minimum Wage bill was lost because no direct action could be secured in the Senate. It could not be dragged out of a committee to which it had been committed for consideration, and with the close of the session it died in the hands of that committee.

Better Social and Industrial Conditions

On December 11 Senator Kenyon submitted Senate Resolution No. 382, which was agreed to, instructing the Committee on Education and Labor to investigate and recommend methods of promoting better social and industrial conditions, particularly as to:

A national tribunal to review and adjust difficulties between employers and workmen; the development of the United States Employment Service into a national labor exchange; regularization of employment; prevention of unemployment; promotion of better living conditions; extension of soldiers' insurance to the civil population, so that the workmen

may insure at the lowest possible rates; the feasibility of a national insurance law against old age, disability, sickness and accident; national minimum wage law; extension of training and education of all disabled people.

Extended hearings on Senator Kenyon's resolution were held. President Gompers appeared before the committee on January 3-4. He took issue with the first proposal, as it seemed to imply or might lead to compulsory arbitration. He approved the suggestion that the soldiers' and sailors' insurance system be extended to the civil population, so that workmen might insure against sickness, accident and death at the lowest possible rate, and urged that the system be so extended, to be voluntary, and not compulsory. In regard to the feasibility of a national insurance law against unemployment, old age, disability, sickness and accident, President Gompers said that if "unemployment," "disability" and "sickness" were stricken out, he would be in favor of the proposition. Of government insurance against non-employment he said:

"I should be opposed—I know that my associates would be opposed—to leaving it within the power of the government or its agent or agents to determine what was non-employment, whether it was justifiable or otherwise, and who would be entitled to the insurance or the benefits that would result from the provisions of the law—that is, insurance against non-employment.

"There was a resolution proposed by a member of the House some two or three years ago covering that feature. This member of the House was present at the committee hearing, and finally stated that it is true that the government agent would have to depend, or on him would rest the obligation of determining what constituted non-employment so as to entitle an unemployed person to receive the benefits of the insurance. Now, that would mean, where there would be any controversy with the employer, that the man would be unemployed. Who would determine that question? Well, the answer would be, by the government agent, 'there is work for you, and so long as you can get work you are not entitled to this government insurance for non-employment.'"

In connection with the consideration of Senate Resolution No. 382, Senator Kenyon introduced two bills, one on January 20, 1919, S. 5397, to provide for the commencement or prosecution of public works in order to increase opportunities for employment during the period of demobilization and industrial readjustment, which was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor. It provided for a United States Emergency Public Works Board, to cooperate with all federal, state and municipal agencies intrusted with the execution of any public work and endeavor to stabilize industrial and employment conditions during the present period of demobilization and industrial readjustment by providing or stimulating increased opportunities for employment on useful public works during periods of extraordinary unemployment. The board should stimulate the prosecution of public work to provide employment in the regions where acute unemployment exists or is threatened, and for this purpose the board shall make or cause to be made investigations and reports concerning the plans for authorized public works of the federal, state and municipal governments, with an estimate of the amount, character and duration of employment and the number of employees which would be provided or required thereby.

An appropriation of \$100,000,000 was to be made to enable any department, office, board or other agency of the federal government having charge of the construction or execution of any authorized public work for the completion of which the existing appropriation is insufficient to proceed with such work, or to enable the chief of engineers of the United States Army to proceed with the construction or repair of roads which the Secretary of War shall certify to the board would be of strategic or military value; or to make advances, under such regulations as the board may prescribe, to enable workers recommended by a United States public employment office to reach the place where any such public work is being carried on.

None of the work so authorized was to be undertaken unless the Secretary of Labor certified that extraordinary unemployment existed in the community or vicinity where the work was to be performed. Federal loans were authorized to states, counties or municipalities for the construction of public works when the Secretary of Labor certified that such work was necessary to relieve actual or threatened unemployment within their borders.

Senator Kenyon's second bill, S. 5581, introduced on February 1, proposed to create a commission to investigate and report to Congress on the questions involved in plans of the national housing systems. Unfortunately neither of these bills came out of committee.

Unemployment and Lands for Soldiers

Shortly after the signing of the armistice on November 11 unemployment began to be a factor in the industrial situation. The number of workers out of employment continued steadily to increase. Much discussion was aroused in Congress on the matter. The danger at this critical time of any considerable body of unemployed was recognized, excepting in the House Committee on Appropriations, which refused the means necessary for the continuation of the United States Employment Service.

Besides the needed work of bringing the "manless job" and the "jobless man" together, it was recognized that there was a possibility that there would not be enough jobs for all.

In 1915 the Secretary of Labor in his annual report suggested the idea of making new opportunities of employment by acquiring land, fitting it for use, placing suitable buildings thereon and disposing of ready-made farms and homes to workers who desired that kind of employment. After our country entered the war this suggestion was taken up for more serious consideration and was embodied in House bill, H. R. 13415, introduced by Representative M. Clyde Kelly of Pennsylvania. On February 5, 1919, Mr. Kelly introduced a second bill to provide for the emergency arising out of the demobilization of soldiers, sailors and marines, and the discharge of workers from war industries and other occupations by securing therefor permanent opportunities for profitable employment by means of a national construction service organized for the systematic extension of useful public works and the development of natural resources. These measures were intended to carry out the plans of Secretary William B. Wilson. Community life rather than needless rural isolation for the returned soldier was the purpose in the Kelly measures and also in another bill introduced by Representative Crosser, H. R. 11329. The first thought in these measures was opening up new opportunities of employment. The preparation of these farms for habitation would involve a considerable expenditure and employ a large number of workers, and each farm would furnish permanent employment for one or more workers and thus relieve the labor market when over-crowded. The Secretary's plan also included the acquisition and operation of both forests and mineral lands. The Kelly bills called for an appropriation not exceeding in the aggregate \$500,000,000. Both Kelly and Crosser bills failed of passage.

Secretary Franklin K. Lane also made a similar recommendation to Congress and proposed that homesteads, with buildings and equipment to make them ready for immediate occupancy should be provided for soldiers and sailors who wished to engage in farming.

Secretary Lane's plan was to purchase dry, wet and cut-over lands in all sections of the country, to subdivide the tracts thus acquired, to build on each parcel a house and barn and put the ground into condition for use for truck gardening, farming or grazing, as the character of the soil, the climate and other factors dictate.

The settlements were not to be scattered haphazard, but established as communities so that the homesteaders might have the advantage of churches, schools, telephones, transportation and markets. The government would allow the soldiers and sailors a maximum of forty years in which to pay for their land and homes. Money would be advanced also for the purchase of machinery, equipment and livestock. These loans would be for short periods. Interest at a rate of not more than 4 per cent would be charged by the government.

With the appropriation of \$100,000,000 which the bill authorized, the Interior Department estimated that 25,000 homesteads ranging in area from 5 to 160 acres could be purchased and developed. The task of preparing the land for cultivation, it was expected would afford immediate employment to many soldiers and sailors. The whole undertaking was delayed by the Republican filibuster, which killed the appropriation, along with many other popular and salutary measures.

These propositions are in line with work undertaken in the state of California before the war and with the provisions being made for returning soldiers in Canada, England, Australia and New Zealand. In California an appropriation was made two years ago for the development of a farm community. Six thousand acres were purchased, subdivided,

buildings erected and small farms prepared for immediate occupancy. There was an eager demand for the places and the project has been exceedingly successful.

The Canadian soldier, if he is qualified to succeed as a farmer, can secure a free homestead of 160 acres in Alberta and Saskatchewan; a free homestead of 100 acres, 10 acres of it ready for planting, in Ontario; a homestead on land bought by the government for homesteads at \$500 less than the government paid for it, in British Columbia. The Dominion government will lend the soldier \$2,500 to improve his farm, at 5 per cent interest on twenty years' time. The province of Ontario will lend a soldier settler in that province \$500 in addition, and some provinces will lend him up to \$1,500. In Canada, therefore, he can get 160 acres of land for nothing and have a loan of from \$2,500 to \$4,000 at 5 per cent interest, with which to improve it. In addition, Canada has farm schools where men can get the practical training necessary to enable them to farm properly.

The Australian soldier can in any of the six Australian states secure a farm improved and ready for settlement and cultivation, or find a state board ready to lend him money, give him practical instruction in farming, and advice and direction in improving and cultivating his farm. The state of Queensland has purchased 500,000 acres of land from which soldiers can select homesteads by paying the survey fee and an annual rental of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on the value of the land. He would be loaned \$2,500 for the erection of buildings and \$3,500 for equipment, and he would be given forty years' time in which to repay the improvements loan and twenty-five years' time to pay the equipment loan at $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 per cent interest.

The state of Victoria has provided irrigable lands and wheat-growing lands and has made available \$11,250,000 with which to buy, subdivide and improve privately owned land. The state lends up to 75 per cent of the value of permanent improvements and \$2,500 can be borrowed on $31\frac{1}{2}$ years' time. New South Wales has provided 1,500,000 acres for homestead entry by soldiers, the title to be a perpetual lease, the rent being $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on its capital value, and the state will lend the settler \$2,500 for improvements.

The Australian Commonwealth government has supplemented the provision of the Australian states by appropriating \$200,000,000, to be loaned to settlers to improve and equip their farms, the general idea being that the states are to provide the land, the federal government is to provide the money to reclaim it, if it needs reclaiming, and also to improve and equip the individual farms. The New Zealand or South African soldier will find the same generous provision for his future. In Great Britain 6,000 acres of land has already been bought for soldiers and a law enacted authorizing the purchase of 60,000 acres more.

The proposals of Secretary Lane were embodied in two bills, S. 4947, which was introduced September 19, 1918, by Senator Myers and reported favorably from the Committee on Public Lands on October 7, 1918, passed the Senate February 24, 1919, where its legislative career ended. This measure provided for a survey and classification by the Secretary of the Interior of all unentered public lands of the United States and all unused cut-over, logged and swamp lands and other unused lands of the United States, with a view to disposing thereof to honorably discharged soldiers and sailors and others.

The second bill along the lines of Secretary Lane's project was S. 5652, introduced into the House by Representative Taylor of Colorado on February 15. It provided for cooperation between the United States and the state governments in the reclamation of lands for rural settlement of soldiers, sailors and marines.

An identical bill was brought into the Senate by Senator Myers on February 22. Both these measures were reported favorably into the House and Senate but failed of passage in either House.

On December 17, 1918, Representative N. Clyde Kelly of Pennsylvania introduced a bill (H. R. 13415) to secure permanent and profitable employment for soldiers and sailors through the development and settlement upon a systematic and comprehensive basis of agricultural lands and of forest, mineral and other natural resources. The bill would create a special administrative board to be known as the National Emergency Board for soldier employment to consist of the Secretaries of Labor, Agriculture and the Interior. This board is to organize a United States construction service, the interests of the employees of which are carefully safeguarded by detailed provisions in the bill. The board is empowered and directed to locate areas of land in the United States and Alaska suitable to be settled and colonized in community units; to reserve for this purpose any and all parts of the public domain and to purchase lands in private ownership; to reclaim and prepare the said lands

for settlement, including the provision of ready-made farms, farm buildings, stock and machinery; to maintain demonstrative farms for agricultural training; to organize cooperative buying and selling agencies, and to make loans and other suitable provisions for the settlers' welfare. The ready-made farms should be paid for upon long-time terms, the interest not to exceed $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent per annum.

This measure was favored by the Department of Labor but the Committee on Labor which held hearings upon the measure on January 17, 1919, at which the American Federation of Labor was represented, never reported it out of committee. On February 5, Representative Kelly introduced H. R. 15672, which proposed an appropriation of \$100,000,000 to be expended under the direction of the President of the United States for purposes similar to those of H. R. 13415. This measure was referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

Retirement System for Employees in the Classified Civil Service

An earnest and persistent effort to secure the passage of a retirement system for federal employes was made during the three sessions of the 65th Congress, but without success.

S. 4637 provided that the classified civil service employes of the United States shall be eligible for retirement on an annuity at the age of 68 years, except that mechanics, letter carriers and railway mail clerks may retire at 65 years. The bill divides the employes coming under its provisions into four classes: A, 30 years' service or more; B, 25 to 30 years' service; C, 20 to 25 years' service; D, 15 to 20 years' service. It provided a retirement compensation of \$600, \$540, \$480 and \$420 to each of these classes, respectively. The fund from which these annuities are to be drawn is to be made up by a deduction of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of each employe's basic salary or wage, to which the government is to contribute an equal amount.

This measure was approved by the St. Paul Convention by the adoption of Resolution No. 66. All the unions of governmental employes supported the bill. It was reported favorably into the Senate on September 23 by Senator McKellar, chairman of the Committee on Civil Service and Retrenchment, but every effort to move it from its position as unfinished business on the calendar failed. An attempt to secure consideration and favorable action was made on November 18. It was reached and read by title on the call of the calendar on that day, but a motion by Senator McKellar to proceed to its immediate consideration was defeated on a voice vote when but few Senators were in the chamber.

The measure was up again on December 5, on which date an objectionable substitute offered by Senator Pomerene of Ohio was adopted. The bill retained its place as unfinished business on the Senate calendar until December 10, when it was displaced by the war revenue bill.

The retirement bill was introduced into the House by Representative Keating on June 3, 1918. It was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce, which committee reported favorably on the bill on January 27, 1919. The bill then went to the House calendar. A special rule for its early consideration was secured from the Committee on Rules, but no opportunity occurred to bring up the measure in the House before the close of the session. Thus the bill was on the calendar for action in each House when the Congress expired.

"Work or Fight" in the Draft Bill

The second draft bill, which required men between 18 and 45 years of age to enroll, was introduced on August 5, both in the Senate (S. 4856), and in the House (H. R. 12731). The Senate Committee on Military Affairs began consideration of the bill at once and on August 19 reported it to the Senate with an amendment, said to have been offered in committee by Senator James A. Reed of Missouri, but the drafting of which was credited to Senator Charles S. Thomas of Colorado. This amendment read as follows:

"Provided, that, when any person shall have been placed in a deferred or exempted class for any of the reasons in this paragraph set forth, he shall not be entitled to remain therein unless he shall in good faith continue, while physically able to do so, to work at and follow such occupation, employment, or business, and if he fails to do so shall again become subject to the draft."

Newspaper reports had before this date stated that such an amendment would be

embodied in the bill as it came from the Senate Military Committee. In view of those statements, on August 10, President Gompers addressed to Senator Thomas a strong protest against such legislation, setting forth that the workers in the United States were producing more per man, and in the aggregate, than any man or group of men in any other country in the world, and that legislation of this kind would be interpreted as a reflection upon the loyalty and services of the whole body of workmen for the sake of penalizing a few who might not be working up to the full measure of their powers.

The amendment was at once construed by members of organized labor as a covert attempt to punish strikers by making them subject to the draft, regardless of the merits of their case or the nature of their grievance. It would enable unfair employers to impose upon their workmen such conditions as they saw fit, and if the workers resorted to their extreme remedy and ceased work they would be inducted into military service forthwith.

The American Federation of Labor immediately started a vigorous opposition to embodying this obnoxious clause in the bill. Its opposition was well supported by international and local bodies throughout the country. Numerous letters and telegrams of protest reached the Senators from home.

The opposition to the amendment pointed out that the President already had power to deal with such situations, but what the proponents sought was a law to deal summarily with strikers, not leaving action to the discretion of the President.

As Senator Poindexter put it on August 27, "The difference between existing law and the one proposed is that under the latter the Senate exercises the authority [which the President had not found it necessary to exercise]. Under the law existing now, the men striking do so with impunity and yet escape military service; and no public official, neither the President nor anybody else, is violating any law in permitting them to do so. If this law is passed that can not be permitted without a violation of the law."

Senator Nelson of Minnesota stated it in this way:

"But now we are seeking to do in this matter as we are seeking to do in the liquor question—make it mandatory instead of leaving it to the discretion of the executive department, where we fear that that discretion will not be exercised as effectively as it ought to be."

On the same day that the Senate Committee on Military Affairs reported the draft bill to the Senate with this "work or fight" amendment, the House Committee on Military Affairs took up consideration of the draft bill. Secretary Morrison appeared before the committee in opposition to the Reed-Thomas amendment. The House Committee on Military Affairs reported the draft bill to the House without the "work or fight" amendment and it passed the House without that amendment on August 24, with 336 yeas, 2 nays and 92 not voting. The bill as it passed the House reached the Senate and was substituted for the pending Senate bill on August 26, but before the substitution the Senate Committee on Military Affairs had inserted the "work or fight" amendment into the House bill, so that the House bill came before the Senate with that obnoxious clause.

During the discussion of the Reed-Thomas amendment on August 27, Senator Cummins of Iowa offered the following amendment to the amendment:

"This proviso shall not apply in the case of a strike if the strikers have submitted or will at once submit the dispute to the War Labor Board, agree to abide and do abide by its decision, and are willing at once to resume and continue work pending such decision. The said board shall take up and decide all such disputes as speedily as practicable."

The amendment was approved by a vote of 73 to 29. Later on the same day Senator McKellar of Tennessee moved to strike out the Reed-Thomas amendment. This motion was defeated by a vote of 29 favorable, 40 opposed, 26 not voting.

After the passage of the draft act by the Senate, the bill was sent to conference between both Houses in order to reach an agreement regarding amendments. The House conferees insisted upon the elimination of the Reed-Thomas "work or fight" clause and to this the Senate conferees finally agreed. So the measure was enacted in each House without that clause.

Prohibition of Immigration

The two resolutions regarding the introduction of Chinese coolie labor into this country, introduced in the House on May 29, 1917, and in the Senate on December 7, 1917, considered at some length by the St. Paul Convention and condemned, never were reported from either committee.

On September 13, 1918, Representative John L. Burnett introduced in the House a joint resolution authorizing the readmission to the United States of aliens who were conscripted or who volunteered their services with the military forces of the United States, which was reported, passed both Houses and approved on October 19, 1918.

On January 28, 1919, Representative Burnett introduced a bill (H. R. 14774) to prohibit immigration for a period of four years. Representative Lufkin of Massachusetts had on December 10, 1918, introduced H. R. 13325 which sought to prohibit immigration for two years.

Extended hearings were held upon these bills, at two of which Secretary Morrison appeared. A new bill, H. R. 15302, was reported favorably from the committee on January 29, which provided that from and after the passage of the act, and until the expiration of four years next after its passage, the immigration of aliens to the United States is prohibited and during such time it shall not be lawful to come into the United States from any foreign port or place.

Suitable exceptions were made for various officials and their families, ministers, teachers, travelers and aliens previously admitted. The bill remained upon the House calendar until the close of the session without further action.

We recommend that every effort should be put forth to secure the enactment of this measure by the next session of Congress.

While this report is being prepared, information comes of the passing away of Mr. Burnett. We desire here formally to express Labor's appreciation of his staunch championship and advocacy of Labor's fight for the restriction of immigration and recognition of the principle which the labor movement has considered advisable and in the interests of the people generally.

So-Called Efficiency Systems

For a number of years the naval appropriations laws have carried this provision against so-called efficiency systems:

"That no part of the appropriations made in this act shall be available for the salary or pay of any officer, manager, superintendent, foreman, or other person having charge of the work of any employe of the United States government while making or causing to be made with a stop watch or other time-measuring device a time study of any job of any such employe between the starting and completion thereof, or of the movements of any such employe while engaged upon such work; nor shall any part of the appropriations made in this act be available to pay any premiums or bonus or cash reward to any employe in addition to his regular wages, except for suggestions resulting in improvements or economy in the operation of any government plant."

A similar provision in the army appropriation bill of this year was opposed by Representative Parker of New Jersey, who in committee of the whole House on February 18, 1919, moved to strike it out. The motion was lost by a vote of 24 to 46. Both the army and the naval appropriation bills subsequently failed of passage.

Woman Suffrage

Woman suffrage failed of approval in the Senate by narrow margins on two occasions. H. J. Resolution No. 200, introduced on December 18, 1917, by Representative Raker of California, passed the House on January 10, 1918, by a vote of 274 to 136, 17 not voting. It reached the Senate calendar on May 6, 1918, but no vote upon it was secured until October 1, when the vote was 53 ayes, 31 nays, 12 not voting. A motion to reconsider was made, and this kept the measure upon the Senate calendar, and on February 10, 1919, it

was again voted upon, but again failed of approval by a vote of 55 yeas, to 29 nays, 12 not voting. A change of one vote would have given the required two-thirds majority.

Department of Labor

After many years of agitation and education on the part of organized labor, the federal Department of Labor was established to deal with those important human relations which grow out of the association of workers and management for production. The organic act thus specifies the purposes of the department: "To foster, promote and develop the welfare of the wage-earners of the United States, to improve their working conditions, and to advance their opportunities for profitable employment." These purposes are essential to national well-being as well as to the development of business organization in accord with sound principles.

From year to year we have reported upon and recorded the good work carried on by the Department of Labor in behalf of the interests and well-being of the wage-earners of the country which justifies our advocacy of the department. We appreciate that much more could have been done if the government had given full recognition to the utility of the department and Congress had made the necessary appropriations.

Although the work of the Department of Labor affects directly the foundations of organized society, Congress from the very first has failed to appropriate sufficient funds for its proper maintenance. Congress instructed the Department of Labor to perform a humanitarian work of great value to business as well as to wage-earners, but has withheld the funds necessary to carry out instructions. By this parsimonious and ill-advised policy Congress has for years prevented the Department of Labor from fully developing the great usefulness that properly belongs to its functions and field.

The Seattle (1913) Convention of the American Federation of Labor instructed the Executive Council and the Legislative Committee of the A. F. of L. to use every possible means to induce Congress to make adequate appropriation for the Department of Labor. But not until war emergency and war needs demonstrated that national welfare and safety depended upon authorizing the Department of Labor to develop and make effective national labor policies, was the Department of Labor given sufficient funds to organize agencies to perform the work which Congress instructed it to do in the organic act creating the department.

In addition to the National War Labor Board, one of the principal and essential of these newly created agencies was the employment service. This service had its origin in 1907 when there was created in the Bureau of Immigration a Division of Information. This division established a public employment system in connection with the immigration station in New York. It had only the authority granted under the act creating the immigration station in New York and provided solely for the distribution of aliens.

The Department of Labor, with but meager funds at its command entered into cooperative relations with the Postoffice Department whereby the country-wide agencies of the latter department were utilized to relieve the labor shortage and more advantageously distribute labor to meet the demands of the harvest season in the wheat-growing states.

Early in 1917 an emergency situation arose when the employment service was called upon to locate employment for members of the National Guard who had been relieved from service on the Mexican border.

Although every department of government was almost immediately provided with funds when Congress declared war on April 6, 1917, the employment service of the Department of Labor did not receive any appropriation until October 6, 1917, six months after war had been declared, and then only \$250,000 was appropriated. With this meager appropriation the employment service faced a dilemma of either almost utter failure or the securing of the necessary funds to expand the service to such proportion as would enable it to function adequately in keeping industries supplied with necessary man power. Fortunately, Congress had placed in the President's hands a fund of \$100,000,000 to be disbursed by him as emergencies arose. From this fund the President turned over to the Department of Labor on December 5, 1917, for the use of the employment service, \$825,000.

It required fully nineteen months for this country to transform itself from a peace to a war basis, and it is a reasonable assumption that the period of readjustment will require

an equal amount of time. The need, therefore, for the continuation of the employment service is plain and imperative.

In partial recognition of this need the House Appropriation Committee provided in an urgent deficiency bill, reported and passed by the House just prior to the adjournment sine die of the 65th Congress, a sum totaling nearly \$2,000,000 to maintain the employment service until the end of the fiscal year June 30, 1919. When the House Appropriations Committee made its report to the House on the Sundry Civil bill, the measure carrying general appropriations for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1919, the employment service was completely cut out, thus temporarily and seriously curtailing the work of the service. However, a minority report was submitted by four members of the committee—Representatives Gallivan of Massachusetts, Evans of Montana, Eagen of New Jersey and McAndrews of Illinois. While the minority report was ably championed by those who signed it, the House adopted the majority report by a large vote.

Upon the passage of the urgent deficiency bill and the Sundry Civil bill by the House, they went to the Senate for action, but the filibuster in that body prevented action and they died in committee. As a result of the failure of the urgent deficiency bill the employment service was compelled to reduce its activities.

Prior to the creation and country-wide expansion of the employment service, private employment agencies, and agencies controlled and operated by employers in certain industries conspicuously noted for their system of blacklisting, together with racial groups, maintained contact with the unemployed. The private agencies operated purely on a commercial basis, and fostered grave abuses. Employment agencies supported by racial groups have retarded the influences which make for an understanding of American institutions. The agencies controlled by employers complete the trio of iniquities in the employment field. The questionable methods of private employment schemes are again being restored to their former status.

No more convincing testimony as to the necessity for a federal employment service could have been given than the rallying of states, municipalities, voluntary organizations, business concerns and individuals to provide funds to tide over the United States Employment Service until Congress shall make the necessary appropriation.

By appropriations in the Sundry Civil Act for 1918 to 1919, the Secretary of Labor was authorized and did develop additional agencies to perform the work which Congress at that time deemed essential and important, all of which were looked upon with disfavor at the last session of Congress with the exception of the Women in Industry Service and to this Service Congress allowed only \$40,000 where \$150,000 was asked. As it is evident that women will remain in industry in greater numbers than ever before, and that this Service has an important work to perform in the reconstruction period and in the formulation of general labor policies which affect wage-earning women, this service should be continued and enlarged.

This report foreshadowed a policy and purpose of the House of Representatives so to hamper the Department of Labor that it would be unable to do constructive work in the readjustment period in which the industrial problems are most vital. The House of Representatives adopted the report of the committee. By thus stripping the Department of Labor, facilities are made even smaller than they were in pre-war times. This action was taken despite the fact that industrial problems are even more vital and urgent than they were before the beginning of the war. The country has passed through a period of development in which the federal leadership has come to the front and in which national economic development is recognized as of an importance at least equal to political development and clearly conditioning all political progress.

At a time when foreign movements are challenging political democracy and making imperative a clear definition of economic right and justice, the House of Representatives refuses to grant the Department of Labor the necessary funds for promoting constructive work.

The appropriations for the Department of Labor have been less than for any other department in the government. In order that a comparison may be made of the treatment by Congress of the Department of Labor, the Department of Agriculture and the Department of Commerce, the following appropriations recommended by the House Appropria-

tions Committee and other bills carrying appropriations is indicative of the attitude of Congress:

Appropriation, Department of Agriculture.....	\$31,691,562
Appropriation, Department of Commerce.....	25,533,205
Appropriation, Department of Labor.....	4,171,320

Out of the \$4,171,320 recommended for the Department of Labor, \$2,815,550 is provided for the enforcement of the immigration and naturalization laws, thus leaving only \$1,355,660 to carry on the necessary and vital work of the department, involving the interests of 38,167,336 men, women and children over 10 years of age, engaged in gainful occupations, according to the 1910 census report. There are now over 40,000,000 people engaged in gainful occupations.

Especially at a time when there is world-wide recognition of the fundamental importance of industrial problems, the Congress of the United States shows by its appropriations policy that it has failed to interpret correctly the spirit and the trend of the present-day development. We maintain that the importance of the interests at issue and the faithful, loyal service the workers have given the government and society, have earned for us the right to fair consideration in the expenditure of national funds.

We recommend that Congress be advised that it is the earnest desire of the organized labor movement and of all America's workers that the Department of Labor be provided with adequate funds for performing the important work which devolves upon that department.

Railroad Operation

Protracted hearings and long discussions of the railroad problem failed to produce any legislation on the subject in the 65th Congress. Even an appropriation bill carrying a revolving fund of \$750,000,000, needed to keep the roads in operation, failed of passage.

All the private interests which desired to recover control of the nation's railways were exceedingly active. They urged that the national government is inefficient and incompetent to conduct properly so great an enterprise as the national railroad system, and that to attach two million railroad workers to the government pay roll would be so dangerous to the Republic that it ought not to be considered. The whole system of government, it was said, would degenerate into an inert bureaucracy, lacking initiative, and so hampered by its own limitations as to be incapable of rendering the service required. The influence that so great a body of employees might exert upon politics was frequently enlarged upon at congressional hearings and before the public. The progress and efficiency of private initiative and enterprise which would surely develop a magnificent system fully capable of meeting all the needs of the country, were dwelt upon in glowing terms; but the perversion of courts, the corruption of legislative bodies and public officials, the rebates and discriminations creating monopolies, the deliberate looting, the manipulation of securities, stock watering, the suppression of water transportation, and the inadequate equipment, which marked the private operation of railroads for fifty years, were carefully kept in the background. It was claimed that the real root of the evils of past railroad operations lies not in the greed and perversion of the promoters, managers and financiers, but in ill-conceived legislation and misapplied regulation.

It may be significant that the strongest advocates of a return to private control of the railroads deemed that two important measures were absolutely essential to make private control safe and successful: (1) Large grants of public credit or cash for rehabilitation, current capital and extensions; (2) "remedial" legislation so deep and high and strong that it can be absolutely relied upon surely to protect the public against financial exploiters, who apparently are expected again to control the roads if they go back to private operation. How such legislation can be secured against the opposition of the exploiters was not indicated. If the government would advance or underwrite the necessary funds, which the broken credit of the roads makes it impossible for them to secure for themselves, then the railroads would no longer be dependent on bankers or subject to their dictation.

Various plans for the future control and operation of the roads were proposed to Congress or advocated in the public press. Among the more important were those of the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Association of Railway Executives, one by Paul M.

Warburg, formerly Vice-Governor of the Federal Reserve Board; one by Nathan L. Amster, President of the Investors' Association of America, and a plan by Glenn E. Plumb, Esq., endorsed in principle by the railroad unions. The last was the only one among those mentioned which proposed public ownership.

The Chamber of Commerce of the United States organized a conference composed of representatives of many large organizations, to consider the railway situation, which held four two-day sessions in Washington, December 12-13, 1918; February 13-14, March 28-29, and April 17-18, 1919. President Gompers was invited to participate in this conference, but it was impossible for him to attend, and the A. F. of L. was represented by Secretary Morrison.

The plan of the Association of Railway Executives declares for private ownership, management and operation of the American railways as the national policy; regulation exclusively by the national government through machinery responsive to the needs and convenient to the people; the Interstate Commerce Commission to be relieved of its executive and administrative duties, except federal valuation and accounting, and to exercise quasi-judicial functions and pass upon rates and discriminations; a department of transportation to be created, the head of which should be known as Secretary of Transportation and be a member of the President's cabinet. By suggestion and cooperation with the carriers, and recommendations to the Interstate Commerce Commission, he should maintain proper service and create the credit necessary for the private companies to meet the public needs for facilities, while protecting the interests of employees, owners, shippers and the traveling public. He would recommend to the President such measures and policies as would promote the interests of the public and the adequacy of the service, and would have power to divert traffic from congested lines and require common use of terminals on such terms as he deems reasonable. In national emergencies he could direct the carriers to coordinate their facilities and operate as a unified national system. New branch lines or expensive terminals would require a certificate of public convenience from the Secretary of Transportation. The carriers would have power to initiate rates, subject to his immediate approval and final approval by the Interstate Commerce Commission. For the operation of the railroads the Interstate Commerce Commission should divide the country into regions, with regional commissions to hear and determine complaints within the jurisdiction of the Interstate Commerce Commission. The Clayton Act and other existing laws should be so modified as to permit consolidations, mergers, agreements, pooling and division of earnings. Federal incorporation of all interstate railroad companies should be compulsory. Questions of wages and working conditions should be settled if possible by officers of the railroad and representatives of the employees. A board on which employees, employers and the public would have equal representation would investigate and report to the Secretary of Transportation on the merits of such labor controversies as the parties are unable to adjust. Pending such investigation and report, and for a reasonable time thereafter, there should be neither lockout nor strike.

For the Investors' Protective Association, Mr. Amster proposed the following:

- (1) The incorporation, under a federal charter, of a national transportation corporation which shall absorb the stocks of all the railroads which at present are being operated under federal control, and of such other roads as it may be deemed necessary or expedient to absorb.
- (2) The corporation to have an authorized capital of \$15,000,000,000, represented by stocks of one kind and denomination of the par value of \$100 each.
- (3) The corporation shall issue only as much stock as may be found necessary to acquire the stock of the railroads which are to be acquired by it, and the issue shall be on the basis of one share of federal stock for each \$100 of actual value represented by stock so acquired.
- (4) The creation of a permanent valuation adjustment commission to determine the fair value of the stocks to be acquired by the federal corporation.
- (5) The federal corporation shall be managed by a board of governors composed of seven members, who shall be named by the President of the United States, by and with the approval of the Senate, and shall hold office, within a proper age limit, for life, removable only by impeachment by the Congress of the United

States under the rules of procedure in the impeachment of a member of the Congress. The said board shall have absolute control of the management and financing of the proposed corporation, with the same rights and powers as are now exercised by corporate directors under state charters and under the common law.

(6) Four members of the board of governors shall be selected from the stockholders of the railroads, one member from railroad employees, one member from the commercial, or shipping, interests, and one member shall represent the government.

The stock of the federal corporation shall carry cumulative dividends up to 5 per cent and shall be limited in dividends to 6 per cent. All earnings of the corporation in excess of the 6 per cent dividend paid to the stockholders, shall be used in the interests of labor and the public, as follows: 40 per cent to be distributed among the employees on a percentage basis in proportion to their wages; 30 per cent to be set aside as a fund to be known as a bonus and merit fund, to be used from time to time in the public interest in the form of bonuses or rewards as an incentive to employees for unusual service or inventions, or for the introduction of economies that may result in better service and reduced operating costs. The remaining 30 per cent shall be placed in a fund to be used for property improvements.

The plan submitted by Mr. Plumb, supported by the railway employees' organizations, advocates government ownership of the railroads and suggests that such ownership would mean an annual saving in interest costs of from four to six hundred million dollars and believes that this saving would permit a reduction of 10 per cent in the current rates of transportation. It proposes the operation of the roads by a single corporation regulated by and accountable to the government for all its acts and expenditures.

Such a corporation would require no capital. It should be organized under a federal law. It should be authorized to take and hold and operate these properties under the full regulatory power of the government. It should be required to meet all costs of operation and fixed charges upon the capital employed, which had been guaranteed by the government. A certain agreed percentage of the net results of operation should belong to this corporation. The stock of this corporation should be held in trust for the benefit of the employees. The earnings of the corporation should constitute a trust fund to be declared as a dividend upon the amounts paid to the labor which it employs, every employee receiving that proportion of this trust fund which his annual wage bore to the total annual compensation of all employees. The affairs of this corporation should be administered by a board of directors, which, tentatively, it is suggested, should be selected in the following manner—one-third of the directors to be elected by the classified employees below the grade of appointed officials; one-third by the appointed officers and employees; the final third being appointed by the President of the United States. This board of directors should have power to appoint all officers from president down to the point where employment begins by classification, and to prescribe the conditions of employment and classification of all other employees. Such an organization, it was said, would promote a morale among employees that has never been approached in any industrial enterprise. It would supplant the old system of competition under which the profits of the laborer's industry went to another, and in which he could never hope to share, by a new system where the profit of his industry accrued to himself alone; where all employees were united by a common purpose, all working toward a common end, inspired by the same motives, by the same incentives, and with no opportunity for a division of interests, and no apprehension that another would reap what he had sown. The territory benefited would be required to contribute toward the cost of new extensions.

Its sponsors claimed that this plan would remove the operation of the roads from undue political influence.

For these reasons and our declarations on reconstruction and general information upon the subject we recommend to the convention the endorsement of government ownership of railroads.

District of Columbia Two-Platoon System

Resolution No. 28, concurred in by the St. Paul Convention, urged untiring effort by all labor organizations in aid of the adoption of the two-platoon system for firemen, and the report of the Executive Committee made special mention of H. R. 11231, which made pro-

vision for the two-platoon system for the firemen of the District of Columbia. This bill passed the House on April 22, 1918, passed the Senate on July 8 with amendments. On September 30 it was sent to conference, the conferees on the part of the Senate being Senators Saulsbury of Delaware, King of Utah and Dillingham of Vermont, and Representatives Johnson of Kentucky, Crosser of Ohio and Cary of Wisconsin on the part of the House. This conference committee never reported, and the bill died with the expiration of Congress.

Nevertheless, the two-platoon system has been installed in Washington. In the District Appropriation bill of 1918 was a clause allowing the fire force to be increased to 144. This increase would permit the Commissioners to arrange for two platoons, and it was understood that this would be done. In the District Appropriation bill of this year was a clause making the two-platoon system mandatory. Notwithstanding the bill was among those which failed at the close of the session, the mandatory clause for the two-platoon system was acted upon by the Commissioners and the system went into effect on February 8, 1919.

Porto Rican Conditions

Persistent requests of Porto Ricans for statehood or independence for the people of that island at last secured enough attention from Congress to secure the introduction and committee consideration of a joint resolution, introduced on January 14, 1919, by Senator Saulsbury of Delaware, to authorize the President to appoint a commission of three members to study and report upon the industrial and economic conditions of the island. The Committee on Pacific Islands and Porto Rico reported favorably on the resolution on February 10, but no further action was ever taken upon it.

A party of twenty members of the House, however, went to Porto Rico early in April, for investigation and information, with a view to future legislation. A representative of the American Federation of Labor also went to Porto Rico at about the same time, in connection with the extensive strike of tobacco workers and cigarmakers then prevailing on the island.

Meat Packing Monopoly

On February 17, 1917, President Wilson requested the Federal Trade Commission to "investigate and report facts relating to the production, ownership, manufacture, storage and distribution of foodstuffs and the products or by-products arising from or in connection with their preparation and manufacture; to ascertain the facts bearing on alleged violations of the antitrust acts, and particularly upon the question whether there are manipulations, controls, trusts, combinations, conspiracies, or restraints of trade out of harmony with the law or the public interest," to the end that "proper remedies, legislative or administrative, may be applied."

On July 3, 1918, in a letter to the President, the commission reported that it had found an intricate fabric of "monopolies, controls, combinations, conspiracies and restraints." The commission said:

"It appears that five great packing concerns of the country—Swift, Armour, Morris, Cudahy, and Wilson—have attained such a dominant position that they control at will the market in which they buy their supplies, the market in which they sell their products, and hold the fortunes of their competitors in their hands.

"The producer of live stock is at the mercy of these five companies because they control the market and the marketing facilities and, to some extent, the rolling stock which transports the product to the market.

"The competitors of these five concerns are at their mercy because of the control of the market places, storage facilities, and the refrigerator cars for distribution.

"The consumer of meat products is at the mercy of these five because both producer and competitor are helpless to bring relief."

The commission found that these combinations and monopolies were made possible

through the ownership or control of the stockyards, refrigerator and other special cars, warehouses and cold-storage plants. It recommended:

1. That the government acquire, through the railroad administration, all rolling stock used for the transportation of meat animals and that such ownership be declared a government monopoly.

2. That the government acquire, through the railroad administration, the principal and necessary stockyards of the country, to be treated as freight depots and to be operated under such conditions as will insure open, competitive markets, with uniform scale of charges for all services performed, and the acquisition or establishment of such additional yards from time to time as the future development of live-stock production in the United States may require. This to include customary adjuncts of stockyards.

3. That the government acquire, through the railroad administration, all privately owned refrigerator cars and all necessary equipment for their proper operation, and that such ownership be declared a government monopoly.

4. That the federal government acquire such of the branch houses, cold-storage plants, and warehouses as are necessary to provide facilities for the competitive marketing and storage of food products in the principal centers of distribution and consumption. The same to be operated by the government as public markets and storage places under such conditions as will afford an outlet for all manufacturers and handlers of food products on equal terms. Supplementing the marketing and storage facilities thus acquired, the federal government establish, through the railroad administration, at the terminals of all principal points of distribution and consumption, central wholesale markets and storage plants, with facilities open to all upon payment of just and fair charges.

These recommendations were embodied in a bill, H. R. 13324, but the committee failed to report upon it. Long hearings were held by the Interstate Commerce Committee of the House and seemed to show conclusively the existence of a combination which not only controls and regulates the price of beef, lamb, hogs, and other meats, but also eggs, butter, poultry, cheese, rice, fish, canned goods of all description, leather and wool. In so far as this combination restricts the supply and enhances the cost of these necessities, the laboring people of the country are adversely affected and the matter becomes one of vital concern to the American Federation of Labor. The Federal Trade Commission, illustrating the Armour operations, states that Armour & Co. first began dealing in rice in 1917, and in that one year sold more than 16,000,000 pounds of rice, becoming the greatest rice merchants in the world. The wholesale price of rice advanced 65 per cent. The packers during the war-shortage of leather, when it was difficult to furnish shoes for soldiers, hoarded such quantities of hides that it was impossible to find proper storage room for them.

The history of the development of the firm of Armour & Co. was one of the interesting features of the evidence. The original firm dates from 1867, and in 1868 it represented a capital investment of \$160,000. From the beginning it was the policy of Armour & Co. to declare only small dividends and to reserve the greater part of the profits for reinvestment in the business. For many years 87.9 per cent of the total earnings have been reinvested in the business and only 12.1 per cent of the earnings have been paid out in dividends. In 1900 the corporation of Armour & Co. was formed, succeeding the partnership which had heretofore existed. At this time a merger was effected with the Armour Packing Co. of Kansas City, a concern founded in 1869 by Simeon B. Armour, a brother of Phillip D. Armour, founder of the original firm. The persistent reinvesting of earnings in the business caused the original \$160,000 to grow to \$20,000,000 in 1900. The combined capital stock and surplus of the two concerns was given in that year as \$33,438,981. Profits continued to be largely reinvested in the industry. In 1916 the corporation was able to declare a 400 per cent stock dividend—that is to say, each holder of one share was given four additional shares without cost. This made the capital stock of Armour & Co. over \$100,000,000, a gratifying increase of the original investment of \$160,000. It did not appear that any capital additional to the original \$160,000 had ever been invested in the business, excepting when the merger was effected with the Armour Packing Co. of Kansas City in 1900.

Second-Class Postal Rates

In compliance with the instructions of the St. Paul Convention, as embodied in Resolution No. 123, copies of that resolution were sent to President Wilson, Postmaster-General Burleson, and to all members of Congress, together with a protest signed by President Gompers against the taking effect on July 1, 1918, of the increased rates and the postal zone system for second-class publications. In spite of this protest the increased rates took effect on July 1, as provided by section 1101 of the revenue act of 1917. An effort was made to secure a repeal of the increased rates and the postal zone system in the new revenue bill approved February 24, 1919, and an amendment to the revenue bill to repeal the zone system in relation to second-class postage was adopted in the Senate December 23, 1918, but the repeal was not contained in the revenue bill when finally passed. So this effort also failed, but the increased rate of one cent on all mail matter of the first class was repealed, to take effect on July 1, 1919.

Tax Exemption for Cooperatives

The report of the Committee on Cooperation submitted to the St. Paul Convention contained a recommendation "that the convention favor an amendment to the federal income tax law by which cooperative societies organized under the 'no profit' system would be added to the exemption section of the income tax law, and that every reasonable effort be made to obtain relief from Congress by this suggested method. To bring about an amendment to the law is the only safe and positive course to adopt. Under a proper exemption clause cooperative societies would be entirely free from any possible reverse or cross rulings by administrative officials."

At a meeting of the Executive Council on July 23-28, 1918, the recommendation was referred to the officials at American Federation of Labor headquarters to carry into effect.

The House Ways and Means Committee was holding public hearings upon the new revenue act at the same time that the St. Paul Convention was meeting, so there was no opportunity to bring this subject to the attention of that committee. Its hearings were closed when final action had been taken on the subject by the A. F. of L. A suitable amendment was drafted and brought to the attention of members of the committee, but no result followed. Representative Dallinger of Massachusetts offered the amendment on the floor of the House on September 17 when the revenue bill was up for discussion, but Representatives Madden of Illinois and Treadway of Massachusetts opposed its adoption and it was defeated. After the passage of the revenue bill by the House and its reference to the Senate Committee on Finance, the attention of Chairman Simmons and the members of that committee was called to the subject, with the result that that committee amended the revenue bill by adding an exemption from the income tax for the cooperative societies to apply only to their transactions with their own members and not to apply to income derived from sales to non-members. The bill carrying this amendment was reported to the Senate on December 6, 1918. Consideration of this particular amendment was reached on December 11 and it was agreed to by vote of the Senate. The bill was passed by the Senate December 23 and went to conference between the two Houses on January 2, 1919. The conferees continued their labors for a month or more and during that time the clause exempting the cooperative societies from the operation of the income tax disappeared. The bill as finally enacted contained no such clause.

National War Housing

Immediately upon the signing of the armistice, November 11, 1918, announcement was made in both Houses of Congress that large expenditures ought to be curtailed and various projects stopped, in order to save as much money as possible. In the Senate the national housing project came up for discussion. During the period of the war \$50,000,000 was voted in one bill for the Shipping Board to enable it to house its employees properly. In May, 1918, Congress passed another bill authorizing the Housing Bureau of the Department of Labor to expend \$60,000,000 for provision of dwellings for workers employed in war activities, in places where there was a scarcity of housing facilities. Of this sum \$10,000,000 was to be expended in Washington. There had been delay in the passage of these bills and

further delay occurred before the appropriation became available and actual construction began. When the armistice was signed there were about eighty house building projects under way, some of which were nearing completion, but on many of them not much work had been done. After some criticism in the Senate a sub-committee headed by Senator Reed of Missouri of the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, began an investigation of the housing work which had been undertaken by the bureau. Some little friction between Senator Reed and Otto M. Ridditz, head of the Housing Bureau, was developed in the public hearings. Before the hearings were finished the committee reported to the Senate Joint Resolution No. 194, ordering the immediate cessation of work on a large number of dormitories being constructed for the accommodation of war workers on the plaza near the Capitol, and construction on all buildings not 75 per cent completed to stop. With but little debate this measure was rushed through the Senate and sent to the House. The American Federation of Labor, in company with other organizations and individuals, demanded that a public hearing on the bill be held by the House Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, it being believed that the sudden stopping of the housing work was a detriment to many thousands of workers in the war emergency whose services would still be required for some time to come. A public hearing was ordered to take place on January 8, at which the completion of the plaza buildings was urged by the representative of the A. F. of L. and the proposition to end construction of all buildings not 75 per cent completed was denounced as unbusinesslike and foolish. The committee was asked to make detailed inquiry and determine the advisability of completing or the abandonment of each project upon its individual merits. The House Committee amended the Senate Resolution No. 194 in accordance with these requests and recommended its passage as amended. The bill was not passed, but the Secretary of Labor continued the housing work along the lines indicated in the bill as amended by the House Committee.

Seamen's Bill

On April 12, 1918, Representative Fordney of Michigan introduced a bill to amend section 4516 of the Seamen's Act of March 4, 1915. The bill was referred to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries. On May 10 that committee reported the bill favorably with amendments. The bill passed the House on December 16, 1918, went to the Senate and was referred to the Senate Committee on Commerce December 17, 1918. The Senate Committee made no report on the bill. On January 7, 1919, Senator Calder introduced into the Senate and Representative Gould brought into the House bills S. 5285, H. R. 13671. These bills proposed to amend vitally the Seamen's Act of 1915 by striking out section 4 of that law, which provided that a seaman shall be entitled to receive on demand one-half of the wages which he shall have earned at every port where such vessel shall load or deliver. The bills also proposed to strike out section 5, which provides a method of procedure for entering complaint against a vessel as being in a condition unsuitable to go to sea. Representatives of the American Federation of Labor protested against these bills to both the Senate and the House Committee and no hearing was ever held or any action taken upon them.

Initiative and Referendum

One more state was added during the year to those which have finally attained a full measure of government "by the people," through the adoption of the initiative and referendum. This makes 20 states in which the voters may propose and enact laws without the interference of adverse influences. After a struggle of a quarter of a century by the labor men of Massachusetts, through the action of a constitutional convention which sat in the summers in 1917 and 1918, and submitted to the voters a constitutional amendment embodying the initiative and referendum, that desirable feature of democratic government was added to the constitution of the Old Bay State by its ratification by the voters at the last November election. A bitter and expensive campaign was made against ratification by a group consisting of wealthy men, scholars and corporations. Accusations were made that a "slush" fund of \$80,000 or more was used to flood the state with adverse literature, and large payments were made to prominent politicians to use their influence against ratification. The American Federation of Labor used such influences as were

at its command to secure favorable action by the voters. The margin in favor of the initiative and referendum was only about 8,000 votes.

Convict Labor

This year we again failed to secure legislation on prison labor. As reported to the St. Paul Convention, H. R. 7353, drafted by the American Federation of Labor and the National Committee on Prisons and Prison Labor with the approval of the Secretary of Labor Wilson, was rewritten with amendments and reintroduced on February 8, 1918, as H. R. 9683. On February 22, 1918, it was favorably reported by the Committee on Labor with the recommendation that it be passed.

It provides that when an emergency exists or when war is imminent, creating a demand for supplies which can not easily be furnished by privately conducted factories, the agents for the departments or bureaus charged with the buying of war or government supplies are empowered, subject to the approval of the President, to place an order for such supplies with the superintendent or other head of any penal institution, federal or state, county or municipal, willing to undertake the production of such supplies.

Compensation and hours of labor for inmates working upon such supplies shall be based upon the standard hours and wages prevailing in the vicinity in which the institution is located, and the cost of maintaining the inmates so employed shall be deducted from their compensation. Contracts with persons using prison labor are forbidden.

Section 3 provides that the products of prison labor transported into any state or territory for use or sale shall be subject to the operation and effect of the laws of such state or territory to the same extent and in the same manner as though such good had been produced in such state or territory.

The Secretary of War is authorized by the bill to establish and operate, in the United States army prison and disciplinary barracks, factories for the manufacture of supplies for the United States government.

The Secretary of the Navy is authorized to operate in the United States naval prisons a factory for the manufacture of supplies for the United States government.

This bill took its place on the House calendar and efforts were made to bring it to a vote. On September 18, 1918, as it seemed apparent that the measure would not be soon enacted, President Wilson issued the following executive order:

"Whereas, The present emergency has created a demand for supplies which can not wholly be procured or supplied by privately owned or conducted factories not employing prison labor, it is ordered that the agents for the departments or bureaus charged with the buying of war or government supplies are, for the period of the war, empowered in addition to any method of purchase or procurement now authorized, to place an order for such supplies with the superintendent or other head of any penal institution where persons are confined by any State, county or municipal authority, willing to undertake the manufacture, production and delivery of such supplies; provided, that the compensation to be paid for such supplies shall, so far as possible, be the prevailing price for like commodities in the vicinity of the institution furnishing them. Compensation and hours of labor for inmates of any institution above specified, working upon such supplies, shall be based upon the standard hours and wages prevailing in the vicinity in which the institution is located. The pro rata cost of maintaining the inmates so employed shall be deducted from their compensation."

Many members of Congress believed that this executive order covered all that was essential in the bill H. R. 9683 and this rendered the work of securing a vote upon the bill more difficult. The bill was still upon the House calendar when the Congress adjourned on March 4th.

Workmen's Compensation

It was believed that the passage of an amendment to the judicial code, inserting in clause 3, section 24, the words, "and to claimants the rights and remedies under the workmen's compensation law of any state," approved October 6, 1917, relieved the hard-

ships arising from the anomalous condition in which longshoremen and other water front workers were placed by the United States Supreme Court decision of May 21, 1917. That decision was to the effect that men engaged in loading vessels were maritime workers and came within the admiralty jurisdiction. Immediately upon the passage of this amendment to the judicial code, the commission having charge of the administration of the New York workmen's compensation act began paying claims presented by the longshoremen and other water front workers. It is said that the California compensation commission did the same.

In the state of Washington, however, a different interpretation was placed upon the act amending the judicial code. John M. Wilson, Chairman of the Washington Industrial Insurance Department, wrote:

"Our Supreme Court has held in the case of *Jarvis vs. Daggett*, 87 Wash., 253, that this commission can not enforce against employers the payment of premiums upon payrolls in maritime employment, for the reason that we can not protect the employer against suits that may be brought for damages under the admiralty jurisdiction of the federal court."

And further, that an employer who had paid contributions to the commission was sued under the admiralty law and recovery was sustained amounting to \$3,000.

This seemed to expose the employers of maritime workers to two liabilities, one in the admiralty court and one to the state workmen's compensation fund. In the State of Washington the situation was such that if an accident occurred to a workman at one end of a gang plank, next the shore, he would be compensated, but if the same accident occurred at the other end of the gang plank, on the vessel, there would be no compensation. This condition would not obtain in states whose compensation laws were elective, but where the compensation law is compulsory it is difficult to determine whether the longshoremen were or were not under the state compensation act.

Government Employees

At the time the St. Paul Convention was in session, the annual agricultural appropriation bill was pending in the Senate. This bill contained an hour-lengthening amendment which required the federal employees to work a full eight-hour day, without any provision for overtime. Although the clerks and other employees of the government work nominally a seven-hour day the head of the department is at liberty to call upon them for overtime or Sunday or holiday work without extra pay. This is frequently done. The federal clerks declared that they had no objection to Congress establishing by law the basic eight-hour workday, but that in doing so Congress should provide for payment of time and one-half for all hours worked in excess of eight. No such provision was made.

Resolution No. 71, which was adopted by the convention, denounced this proposition to lengthen the workday without provision for overtime, and instructed the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to take appropriate means for defeating the same. Urgent letters opposing this amendment were addressed by President Gompers, by instructions of the E. C., to each member of both Houses of Congress. Nevertheless the obnoxious provision was incorporated in the agricultural appropriation bill as it finally passed Congress and was transmitted to the President. A vigorous protest was then made to the President, in which it was respectfully and urgently submitted that unless the Congress would exclude the so-called Borland amendment from the measure the President might see the justice and wisdom of returning the bill to Congress without his approval.

On July 1, President Wilson vetoed the bill and it was subsequently passed without the hour-lengthening amendment.

The labor people in Congressman Borland's district, aided by the A. F. of L., made a vigorous opposition to his renomination and he was defeated by a large vote.

This matter came up again on February 20, 1919, when Senator Thomas of Colorado offered a similar amendment to the last legislative, executive and judicial appropriation bill, which was then pending in the Senate. The amendment was rejected.

For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, the Federal employees were granted an increase of \$120, beyond their statutory salaries. They asked that the increase be \$360 for the

fiscal year ending June 30, 1920. This was refused by the House Committee on Appropriations, which in H. R. 14078 reported in favor of the former sum, \$120. On January 18, by a vote of 202 in favor, 79 opposed, 149 not voting, Representative Nolan of California secured the adoption of an amendment to H. R. 14078, increasing the \$120 to \$240, which sum remained through all stages of the passage of the bill. This additional compensation is effective only for the year ending June 30, 1920, and it does not apply to railroad or postal employees, or to persons whose basic wages or salaries have been increased more than \$200 since June 30, 1918, or who entered the service since that date (Sec. 7, Public Statute 314, 65th Congress.)

Section 9 of the same statute created a Joint Commission on Reclassification of Salaries, consisting of three Senators and three Representatives, all to be members of the 65th Congress, to investigate and report not later than January, 1920, what reclassification and readjustment of compensation should be made so as to provide uniform and equitable pay for the same character of employment throughout the District of Columbia in the services enumerated.

Senators Jones of New Mexico, Henderson of Nevada, Spencer of Missouri, and Representatives Keating of Colorado, Cooper of Wisconsin, Hamil of New Jersey, were appointed members of the commission.

Cash in Lieu of Vacation Leave of Absence

Resolution No. 116 before the St. Paul Convention opposed the passage of H. R. 7638, the object of which was to give employees in the Navy Yard service permission to accept cash in lieu of their present grant of thirty days leave per year with pay, the effect of which would be to deprive them of necessary rest.

H. R. 7638 had then been reported favorably from the Naval Affairs Committee of the House and was supported by House Report No. 330. Opposed by the American Federation of Labor, it advanced no farther and died with the expiration of the 65th Congress.

Payments and Privileges for Soldiers and War Workers

Public Statute No. 300, 65th Congress, approved February 28, 1919, permits any person who served in the United States Army, Navy or Marine Corps, in the present war, to retain one complete suit of outer uniform clothing, including overcoat and such other articles of personal apparel and equipment as may be authorized by the Secretary of War or the Secretary of the Navy. Where clothing or uniforms had been restored to the government, the same or similar clothing is to be returned and given to the soldier, sailor or marine on application. It is further provided that enlisted men, honorably discharged from the army, navy or marine corps, shall receive 5 cents per mile from the place of their discharge to their home or place of original muster into the service.

The revenue act approved on February 24, 1919, provides that soldiers, sailors and marines shall be paid \$60 in addition to any amounts due them at the time of their discharge.

By Public Statute No. 246, approved January 7, 1919, the heads of the several departments and other governmental establishments in the District of Columbia were authorized to furnish transportation, including sleeping car accommodations, to war workers whose services were no longer required and whose employment was terminated, without delinquency or misconduct on their part, during the period from November 11, 1918, to February 20, 1919; their actual railroad transportation from the District of Columbia to the place from which they accepted employment, or to their legal residence, or to such other place not a greater distance as the employee may elect. Employees who had left the District of Columbia prior to the passage of this act were entitled to have refunded the cost of actual railroad transportation including sleeping car accommodations, provided they made application within 60 days after the passage of the act. In the Legislative, Executive and Judicial Appropriation Bill the time limit for payments on transportation given to war workers was extended to March 15, 1919.

Wheat Price Legislation

The St. Paul Convention directed the Executive Council to watch wheat price legislation and in the interest of the consumer to favor as low a price as possible for wheat, not inconsistent with the interests of the farmers. Several attempts were made in Congress to raise the price fixed for wheat from \$2.20 to \$2.50, but they all failed. The official price for the 1919 crop was fixed at \$2.26 per bushel.

H. R. 15796 which passed the House on February 22nd, the Senate on March 3rd, and was approved by the President on March 4th, carries an appropriation of \$1,000,000,000, to be used for the purpose of paying the difference between the government guarantee of \$2.26 and the current market rate.

Against Excessive Government Borrowings

Resolution No. 33, introduced at the St. Paul Convention, by delegate W. D. Mahon, declares that "excessive borrowings result in inflation and consequently in unnecessarily high prices of commodities, reducing the purchasing value of wages and placing an unjustifiable burden upon the people, especially upon the workmen." The resolution urged Congress to levy taxes on "war profits, swollen incomes and on land values, to an extent that during the period of the war will provide by taxation at least 50 per cent of the expenditures of the government in each year."

The Ways and Means Committee of the House was at that time considering the Revenue Bill of 1918. Resolution No. 33, was submitted on July 18th by Secretary Morrison to Senator Simmons, Chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, and to Representative Kitchin, Chairman of the House Committee on Ways and Means, who each acknowledged its receipt and promised careful consideration and submission to the committees. The Revenue Bill as finally adopted bears heavily upon war profits and large incomes, as suggested in resolution No. 33, but land values are not taxed by that bill.

Moving Picture Censorship

The 1916 convention of the American Federation of Labor at Baltimore took decisive action against legalized censorship of moving pictures. The subject came up during this past year, as bills for such censorship were introduced into the legislatures of Nebraska, North Carolina and Michigan. The Federations of Labor in these states were advised of the action of the Baltimore Convention and our understanding is that these bills were defeated.

There was some agitation to prevent the exhibition of pictures portraying scenes of labor unrest and some further discussion of a federal censorship. A bill appeared in the House providing for censorship of motion picture films, sponsored by Congressman Randall, of California. It was referred to the Judiciary Committee, from which it never reappeared. We feel sure that a proper and judicious use of the moving picture would be of value in promoting better conditions of labor. It is impossible to be too vigilant in guarding the freedom of all the various modes of public expression.

A different phase of the moving picture question was presented when we were asked to interfere in Tennessee and Indiana in relation to bills in the legislatures of those states allowing moving picture shows on Sundays. Our only proper course, as the American Federation of Labor had taken no action on this proposition, was to refer the question to the decision of the local organizations.

Postal Wage Legislation

Supported by the legislative influence of the American Federation of Labor, the organized postal employees made a determined fight for higher permanent salary classifications. They were in part successful. The Congress adopted the wage standards urged by the organized employees, but limited the application of these standards to the next fiscal year only. Under the provisions of the fiscal-year postal wage classification the entrance grade for post office clerks and city carriers is raised from \$800 to \$1,000, and the maximum wage is raised from \$1,200 to \$1,500. The maximum grade is reached by successive yearly promotions of \$100. All clerks and carriers now in the grades between \$1,000 to \$1,400 will receive increases of \$100 on July 1, 1919. The rate of pay for substitute

clerks and carriers is increased from thirty-five to forty cents per hour. The entrance wage for railway mail clerks is fixed at \$1,100, an increase of \$100, and the maximum in the highest grade (Class C) at \$1,800 a year, an increase of \$300. Other groups of postal employees—laborers, printers, special clerks, supervisory officers and rural carriers—will continue to receive during the next fiscal year the percentage increases over their basic pay that are now in effect. Efforts to secure overtime pay for time in excess of eight hours per day and prevailing rates for skilled workers in postal employment were not successful. An investigation into the subject-matter of postal wages is now being made by a congressional commission with a view of recommending appropriate wage legislation to the next Congress. The organized employees are hopeful of securing some constructive remedial legislation based on the commission's report.

Navy Yard and Arsenal Services

On July 1, 1918, the mechanical trades of the Navy Yard received an increase of 8 cents per day. This was to make the Navy Yard pay agree with the pay awarded by the Macy Board for the shipyards. The actual daily wage fixed upon was \$5.76 plus the congressional increase of 5 per cent and 10 per cent then in force. On November 9th, following the award of the Macy Board an increase of 56 cents per day was granted, making \$6.40 for first-class mechanics and \$6.88 for specially skilled men. On November 16 an increase went into effect at the arsenals amounting to 64 cents per day. After July 1st the Navy Department declined to give to mechanics at the Navy Yard the \$120 congressional increase. At the arsenals, however, that increase has been continued to a large proportion of the men.

According to the language of the \$240 increase clause carried in this year's Legislative Appropriation Act, a comparatively small number of the employees in the navy yards and arsenals will receive it unless the departments choose to exercise their discretion in the employees' favor, as the bill gives them the right to do. In that respect the bill is worded the same as the \$120 increase clause. An effort was made to have this clause so amended that it would give employees in the navy yards and arsenals the benefit of the \$240 increase in case they had not received during this fiscal year an increase aggregating over \$200. They have received an increase of 64 cents per day, which for 313 working days amounts to \$200.32, and this would bar them from participation in the increase, excepting through departmental discretion.

An attempt to amend the bill so as to make absolutely certain that the men in the navy yards and arsenals receive the \$240 increase failed. A second attempt to assure these employees the \$240 was made by an amendment offered to the general deficiency bill, but this bill failed of passage.

INVESTIGATION OF EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM—LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

The last convention directed the Executive Council to appoint a committee to investigate the educational system of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and other similar schools with a view of reporting to this convention whether a feasible plan could be found which could be applied generally to the United States and Canada.

The committee thus appointed is: Michael Green, Harry Jenkins, James Roach, Charles B. Stillman, Thomas F. Flaherty.

The report of the committee is herewith submitted:

Report of the Committee on Schools Under Union Auspices

To the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor:

Your committee has personally examined the classes conducted by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union in New York City and Philadelphia, and the system of classes organized in Chicago by the Women's Trade Union League, in cooperation with the Chicago Federation of Labor. Through correspondence we are also able to report on the Boston Trade Union College conducted by the Boston Central Labor Union, and the classes organized on the initiative of the Los Angeles Labor Union. As a preliminary to general discussion we submit the following description of the activities in each city:

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New York City

At the headquarters of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union we found quarters for an educational department with an adequate staff. We were cordially offered every facility for our investigation. The following statement of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union is a brief summary of the activities of the educational department as we found them:

"Our regular and systematic work is being conducted in four public school buildings as unity centers, one high school building as central classes, and one branch of the New York Public Library. These buildings are situated in different parts of the city within reach of our members. In each of these schools, regular classes in English and complete courses on various topics are being given. The students are expected to come regularly. Accurate records are kept as to their attendance, and absentees are notified by the monitor of the class. From time to time, a general circular letter is sent out by this office to each individual student announcing new courses, or giving news of the educational department. Each of the classes has a secretary whose duty it is to take care of the class and report next day to our office on special blanks prepared for the purpose, giving, among other items, a total of attendance, men and women, subject treated, name of lecturer, kind of weather, remarks on special occurrences as announcements, requests or suggestions made by students, new registrations, etc.

"Courses, classes, concerts, and all other activities arranged by the educational department are entirely free to the members of the international.

"English is taught in all our unity centers three times a week: Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday evenings, by qualified teachers furnished by the Board of Education. Lectures on special topics or complete courses are conducted by authorities on the subject. Those lecturers are well selected and are engaged by us.

"Because of a recent ruling by the Board of Education only English can be spoken in the schools. For lectures given in other languages than English we use private halls.

Classes

	<i>Activities Per Week</i>
19 classes in English; 3 times a week.....	57
4 health lectures weekly.....	4
(These lectures are given by prominent physicians and attended by an audience of from 200 to 500.)	
3 classes in literature or reading circles.....	3
3 classes in gymnastics.....	3
1 moving picture center weekly.....	1
3 public speaking classes weekly.....	3
1 special class for our business agents where public speaking and economics are taught.....	1

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"The above activities are carried on in our unity centers. Our central classes are at the Washington Irving High School, and the following courses are given weekly, consisting each of from 10 to 20 lectures with the exception of a few that consisted of three to six lectures:

Social Interpretation of Literature;
Evolution and the Labor Movement;
Problems of Reconstruction;
Sociology and Civilization;
Labor Legislation;
Social Problems;
Trade Unionism;
Cooperation;
Etc., etc.

"From time to time, musical programs and other entertainments of an educational character, including, without exception, a speaker on some current topic in each center, are given in the auditorium of the schools and attended by an audience of from 500 to 1,000. In addition to the above, other activities not in the regular list are arranged when the occasion for such presents itself.

"*Visits to the Museums*, conducted by interested leaders, are arranged weekly. Lectures are given at the museums explaining to the visitors the objects exhibited there. This is a new feature introduced lately, and proves to be a great success.

Theatricals

"By arrangements with the managers of leading theaters our members can obtain passes issued by our department to see good shows at reduced prices which, in some instances, are as low as 20 cents instead of \$1. The reduction of prices is of minor importance when you consider the fact that groups can go at one time and have occasion to discuss the play afterwards. That makes the play of greater value to them. When possible, discussions and lectures on these plays are arranged either before or after the show is given.

"*An Extension Educational Service* has been established through which every local of the international can have educational activities introduced at their own meeting places, and although this service is in its infancy, it has already answered a great demand. These activities are usually lectures on topics related to the worker and his conditions, like Trade Unionism, History of the Labor Movement, Industrial Democracy, Political Action, Piece and Time Work, Shorter Work Day, etc.; in almost all cases, a musical or literary number is given in connection with it. In all cases, these lectures are given during their business meetings. They help increase the attendance at their meeting, stimulate an interest among the members, and establish a friendly spirit and strengthen the organization.

Spontaneous Work

"In the time of strike, the educational department provides special activities in the halls where the strikers meet. At the present time we have several strikes on hand. Many thousands of members assemble in meeting halls and between 11 A. M. and 3 P. M., the time when the strikers come back from picketing and wait for the time to return to their duty, educational activities keep them in good cheer and full of courage. Any number of activities daily, comprising motion pictures, concerts, lectures, etc., are provided.

Libraries and Reading Rooms

"Several of our locals have their own library and reading rooms with librarians in charge. Plans are under consideration to establish reading rooms and libraries in each of the waiting rooms of our locals where the members will find magazines and books treating the labor question as well as good literature. In connection with this, a general reference department will be maintained, giving such information as may be desired. Daily papers in corresponding languages will be kept on file.

Self-Governing Groups

"Some of the locals or circles of members have their own educational activities taken care of directly by their locals or groups.

"The Unity House is a model of cooperation kept up by a group of about forty girls, members of Local No. 25 of the International. They have leased a house and here they have rooms, board, a library and other social rooms. It not only secures them the proper commodities and comfort at a lower cost, but it also brings together a social group of people and helps to introduce a friendly social life as rarely exemplified. At the Unity House there is a large social room that is used for receptions, sociables, banquets, lectures, concerts, etc. Hardly a week

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passes without some program, prepared by the committee for the members and their friends.

"Local No. 35 of the International maintains its own cooperative grocery stores.

"Other locals are following in line on such propositions, and, needless to say, the educational department of the International is stimulating the interest in such work, and lends a hand when necessary."

Philadelphia

The situation in Philadelphia is summarized as follows by Harry Jenkins, who was delegated by the committee to investigate the work there:

The training of the members of the Ladies' Garment Workers' Union in this city is conducted along the same lines as those of New York City, except that here they have the use of but one school as yet. As the plan has been in operation only since December, 1918, however, the progress made is good.

The workers attend the school three nights per week and are taught English, civics, economics, etc. There are also lectures by professors from the University of Pennsylvania and Temple University, selected by the principal of the school, Mr. Frank C. Nieweg, in conjunction with the instructor furnished by the union, Miss Kennan.

To date there are about 350 members enrolled as regular students and about 50 who do not attend regularly.

The school itself maintains regular classes in the evenings, open to all who will enroll in the studies being taught, and in connection therewith maintain a Manual Trade School with classes also at night.

The Garment Workers also support a community summer home like the one mentioned in New York where the members may spend their vacation by paying a small sum just sufficient to cover the cost of maintaining the home.

In summing up the situation, the public school is open three evenings a week to all who care to attend the classes, and the Ladies' Garment Workers' Union have taken advantage of the opportunity as an organized body to assist its membership to secure additional education.

Boston

In Boston a similar movement has been inaugurated in the organization of the Trade Union College by the Boston Central Labor Union. The character of the work is indicated by the following announcement:

Trade Union College

The Trade Union College has been established by the Boston Central Labor Union in order to make directly accessible to workingmen and workingwomen the study of subjects essential to the progress of the organized labor movement. The aim of the Trade Union College is in accord with the following statement in the Reconstruction Program of the American Federation of Labor: "Education must not stifle thought and inquiry, but must awaken the mind to the application of natural laws and to a conception of independence and progress."

Committee in Charge

Michael A. Murphy, Stablemen's Union.
 Arthur M. Huddell, Building Trades Council.
 P. Harry Jennings, Teamsters' Union.
 Fred J. Kneeland, Painters' Union.
 George E. Curran, Stage Employes' Union.
 Denis D. Driscoll, Horseshoers' Union.
 Anna T. Bowen, Cigar Factory Tobacco Strippers' Union.
 John J. O'Hare, Pressmen's Union.
 John F. Stevens, Stone Cutters' Union.

Jeremiah Driscoll, Milk Wagon Drivers' Union.
 Mabel Gillespie, Stenographers' Union.
 Henry W. L. Dana, American Federation of Teachers.
 Harold J. Laski, American Federation of Teachers.
 George Nasmyth, American Federation of Teachers.

Admission: The courses will be open to all trade unionists of the American Federation of Labor, and to members of their families.

Enrollment: Those wishing to register for any of the courses may enroll with the Secretary at the headquarters of the Boston Central Labor Union, 987 Washington Street, Boston, on Thursday, March 27th; Friday, March 28th, or Saturday, March 29th, from 8 to 10 P. M.

Fees: A payment of \$2.50 for each course of ten lectures is to be made at the time of enrollment.

Time: The session will last from 8 to 10 P. M., the first hour usually being devoted to the lecture, and the second hour to a general discussion.

Place: The lectures will be given in the rooms of the Roxbury High School, Roxbury, Mass.

Information: For information, apply to Miss Mabel Gillespie, Secretary, 66 Washington Street; Telephone, Beach 5251.

Trade Union College

List of Courses

The following courses of ten lectures each will be given during the spring of 1919:

English

- Course No. 1. *How to Write English.*—Practice in English composition. Monday evenings, April 7, 12, 21, 28; May 5, 12, 19, 26; June 2, and 9. Instructor, C. E. Noyes.
- Course No. 2. *Organising and Conduct of Discussion.*—Writing of outlines, summaries and reports. Friday evenings, April 11, 18, 25; May 2, 9, 16, 23, 30; June 6, 13. Instructor, A. D. Sheffield.
- Course No. 3. *Masterpieces of Literature.*—A survey of the great literatures of the world as exemplified by masterpieces. Saturday evenings, April 12, 19, 26; May 3, 10, 17, 24, 31; June 7, 14. Instructor, H. W. L. Dana.

Labor Organization

- Course No. 4. *History of Trade Unions.*—A survey of the growth of the trade union movement. Friday evenings, April 11, 18, 25; May 2, 9, 16, 23, 30; June 6, 13. Instructor, D. Foley.
- Course No. 5. *Shop Committees and Collective Bargaining.*—Study of the methods of industrial administration. Monday evenings, April 7, 14, 21, 28; May 5, 12, 19, 26. Instructor, W. L. Stoddard.
- Course No. 6. *History of the Freedom of Labor.*—Historical changes in the status of labor in society. Friday evenings, April 11, 18, 25; May 2, 9, 16, 23, 30; June 6, 13. Instructor, H. M. Kallen.
- Course No. 7. *Labor Administration.*—Developments in national labor policies during the world war. Wednesday evenings, April 9, 16, 23, 30; May 7, 14, 21, 28; June 4, 11. Instructor, A. Fisher.
- Course No. 8. *History of Labor in America.*—Historical account of the American labor movement. Wednesday evenings, April 9, 16, 23, 30; May 7, 14, 21, 28; June 4, 11. Instructor, C. C. Ramsey.

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Government

- Course No. 9. *Representative Government*.—A study of the methods of popular representation. Thursday evenings, April 10, 17, 24; May 1, 8, 15, 22, 29; June 5, 12. Instructor, J. J. Laski.
- Course No. 10. *Theory and Practice of Democracy*.—Study of the conditions, the use, and the success of democracy. Tuesday evenings, April 8, 15, 22, 29; May 6, 13, 20, 27; June 3, 10. Instructor, J. MacKaye.

Economics

- Course No. 11. *Economics*.—A study of the economic principles which are of special importance to labor. Friday evenings, April 11, 18, 25; May 2, 9, 16, 23, 30; June 6, 13. Instructors, G. Nasmyth and I. Fisher.
- Course No. 12. *The Distribution of Wealth*.—A study of the division of the products of labor. Tuesday evenings, April 8, 15, 22, 29; May 6, 13, 20, 27; June 3, 10. Instructor, H. Feis.
- Course No. 13. *Physics*.—Lectures and experiments on the fundamental principles of physics. Thursday evenings, April 10, 17, 24; May 1, 8, 15, 22, 29; June 5, 12. Instructor, H. Taylor.

A fuller program of courses, each of twenty or more lectures, to begin in October, 1919, will be announced later.

List of Instructors

Roscoe Pound, Dean of the Harvard Law School.
Irving Fisher, Professor of Economics, Yale University.
William Z. Ripley, Professor of Economics, Harvard University.
Alfred Dwight Sheffield, Assistant Professor of Rhetoric and Composition, Wellesley College.
Sara Stiles, Professor of Economics, Simmons College.
Charles C. Ramsay, Lecturer.
Daniel Foley, Teacher of Economics, Boston English High School.
James MacKaye, Formerly Lecturer on Political Engineering, Harvard University.
Horace M. Kallen, Professor of Philosophy, New School of Social Research, New York City.
Henry W. L. Dana, Formerly Assistant Professor of Comparative Literature, Columbia University.
Roy Kenneth Hack, Assistant Professor of Classics, Harvard University.
Zachariah Chafee, Assistant Professor of Law, Harvard University.
R. F. A. Hoernle, Assistant Professor of Philosophy, Harvard University.
George Nasmyth, Formerly Lecturer on Political Economy.
Felix Frankfurter, Formerly Chairman War Labor Policies Board.
Horace Taylor, Lecturer.
Francis B. Sayre, Professor of Constitutional Law, Harvard University.
Harold J. Laski, Lecturer on Government, Harvard University.
Samuel Eliot Morrison, Instructor in History, Harvard University.
William Leavitt Stoddard.
A. Gerhard Dehly.
Lucien Price.
Herbert Feis.
Arthur Fisher.

Chicago

In Chicago during 1916-1918, the Women's Trade Union League organized classes in English, parliamentary law and public speaking, and arranged courses of lectures in the history of the trade union movement, trade agreements and

labor legislation. Cooperation with the public schools was established in the beginning. But during the current year an interesting development has been worked out. The Chicago Federation of Labor organized its educational council, consisting of one delegate from each interested local, and this council in conjunction with the educational committee of the Women's Trade Union League has enlarged the scope of the Trade Union League and secured an encouraging response from the workers.

Classes in English, both elementary and advanced, parliamentary law, practical citizenship, and physical education are offered, both teachers and classrooms (including gymnasium) being furnished by the board of education. For courses in political geography, judicial decisions affecting labor, public speaking, and History of trade unions, the services of members of university faculties and prominent leaders in labor and kindred lines are secured.

The outlines of courses in practical citizenship and history of trade unions follows:

Practical Citizenship

"This is a study of mechanism of our government with a view of determining how far it can be used as an instrument for democracy, and a consideration of the devices that have been proposed and in some places adopted to make it more responsive to the spirit of the times. It will deal with the English constitution and government, our American constitution, the powers of the different branches of our government, the federal judiciary, the government of the state, the government of Illinois, and of the county, the townships and cities. It will deal with the election laws, the registration laws, and some of the methods for bettering the government.

"Miss Eunice Peter, a high school teacher, will conduct this class. Miss Peter has been admitted to the bar."

History of Trade Unions

Every Friday evening, Room 704, 139 N. Clark Street.

- Feb. 7. "Forerunners of Trade Unions before 1860." By Professor John R. Commons, University of Wisconsin.
- Feb. 14. "Revival of Trade Union from 1860 to 1880." By Professor F. S. Diebler, Northwestern University.
- Feb. 21. "Knights of Labor." By Professor F. S. Diebler.
- Feb. 28. "American Federation of Labor." By George W. Perkins, President, International Cigarmakers' Union.
- Mar. 7. "The Different Forms of Organizations within the A. F. of L." By Agnes Nestor, President, Women's Trade Union League of Chicago.
- Mar. 14. "The Radical Movements and Labor." By Nathan Fine. Mr. Fine made a special study of this subject at the University of Chicago.
- Mar. 21. "Judicial Decisions Affecting Labor." By Lieutenant Newton Jenkins, of the Chicago Bar.
- Mar. 28. "The Use of Injunctions in Labor Disputes." By Lieutenant Newton Jenkins.
- Apr. 4. "Trade Agreement." By James Mullenbach.
- Apr. 11. "British Trade Union Movement from 1799 to 1906." By Professor H. A. Millis, University of Chicago.
- Apr. 18. "Present Day British Trade Unions." By Alderman John C. Kennedy.
- Apr. 25. "The Labor Movement of Denmark and other Northern Countries." By Christian Madsen, of the Painters' Union, Local 194, and former member of the Illinois Legislature.

(Fee for entire course, one dollar. Single lectures, twenty-five cents. Fee for six lectures, beginning March 21, fifty cents.)

Los Angeles

The educational work in Los Angeles is now completely under the control of the Board of Education and does not strictly come within the instructions of this committee. But the development from union initiative to Board of Education control is instructive.

Two years ago some classes for the members of the United Garment Workers' Union were formed in English, Spanish, arithmetic, music, dressmaking, millinery, cooking, physical culture and commercial work. These classes were taught by teachers from the public school system of the city, who donated their services for the term of six weeks—the summer session. The enrollment was 80, with an average daily attendance of 65. The principal reason for these classes was the teaching of English to non-English-speaking girls in the industry, and they composed the bulk of the enrollment.

The school was held during the summer session at 5 P. M., directly after the factory day, and held in rooms of the Labor Temple donated by the board of directors of the Labor Temple.

The classes were so successful that the Board of Education, upon the presentation of a petition signed by some 200 prospective students, instituted an elementary night school in the Labor Temple for these girls, but insisted that it also be open to the general public since the teachers were to be paid by school funds. However, there was no outside enrollment.

The school was provided with all equipment needed by the Garment Workers' Union.

Few new classes were added during that year. The enrollment was continuous. The Garment Workers' Union passed a law compelling all non-English-speaking members to learn English, partly to help them along in their work, to avoid accidents in the factory, and also from a patriotic standpoint.

During the year these English classes were transferred to the factories, being taught by regular teachers from 4.30 to 5.30 P. M., and are still in session there, both beginning and advanced.

After the classes in English were transferred to the factories, the work in the Labor Temple became entirely vocational, most of it falling under the provisions of the Smith-Hughes Act. The Painters' Union asked for a teacher in commercial art and the Board of Education furnished an expert. During the summer of 1918, classes were formed in plumbing, sheet metal pattern work, telephone engineering, inside wiring, electrical machine work, welding, vulcanizing, mechanical drafting, and power machine operation. The courses were drawn up by the teachers, a "coordinator" between the unions and the public school system, and a supervisory committee of three, elected from each industry for its particular branch of study. These courses are now before the Board of Education for its approval.

The Board of Directors of the Labor Temple raised \$6,000 for remodeling the basement for the purposes of the classes, and the Board of Education installed \$4,000 worth of equipment. The classes in power machine operation are offered in two union factories.

Vocational education is outside the field of this committee, and, aside from that, none of the work is now under union auspices. It is also noticeable that many valuable courses offered in the other cities, such as History of the Trade union movement, and labor legislation, are not provided. But Los Angeles illustrates the response of the public school system to a demand first demonstrated by the unions.

General Conclusions

In the judgment of your committee the most important differences in the systems described lie in the varying degrees of cooperation of the unions with the public schools, and of the unions with each other. In New York City it is chiefly one large international, the Ladies' Garment Workers, which has developed its

own educational department and secured cooperation with the public schools to the extent of the use of four elementary school buildings for their unity centers, one high school for their central classes, and of the services of teachers of English. All of the educational work of the Ladies' Garment Workers in Philadelphia is in cooperation with the public schools. In Boston, the Central Labor Union has organized a Trade Union College for advanced work, the public schools furnishing a high school building. In Chicago also, the Chicago Federation of Labor, in conjunction with the Women's Trade Union League, has organized the educational work, the public schools furnishing a large proportion of the teachers and meeting places. In Los Angeles, while the movement was initiated by the unions, the Board of Education now has full control, though utilizing the close cooperation of the unions in working out courses and methods.

Your committee is instructed to formulate from its study of all these systems, recommendations applicable to the labor movement as a whole. We consider the subjects taught a matter of minor significance—you may feel that some should be added or omitted; the main question at issue is the machinery, the basic principle on which the work is organized, its soundness from the standpoint of trade union and public policy, its effectiveness, and its adaptability to the varying conditions of different communities.

It is unnecessary to emphasize Labor's keen appreciation of the value of education. And it is unnecessary to more than mention organized labor's pride in the part it took in the establishment of our public schools, and the consistent and vigorous stand it has taken ever since, for the highest development of our system of public education.

One of the things that impressed the committee in the classes of the Ladies' Garment Workers' Union in New York City was the feeling of the students that the classes belonged to them, that they were at home in them, and took a collective pride in them. That is high praise for those classes, but it is also an indication of a serious shortcoming in our public schools, and in the attitude of the public, that is not limited to New York City. For that sense of part-ownership should be in the minds of students in all public school classes; whenever any citizen passes or enters a public school building he should feel, "Here is an institution which belongs to and is created to serve my fellow-citizens and me. It is an investment which should yield returns not merely during the five or six hours, five days a week, when the children use it, but during as many of the twenty-four hours as we may find uses for it." When that conception becomes general, the schools will be indeed a melting pot. That that conception is not more general is partly the fault of the public, and partly that of boards of education, which is again the fault of the public.

Your committee believes that the educational facilities described in this report should be provided by boards of education whenever requested by a sufficient number, and should be open to the public. But this implies that the courses offered shall be selected in cooperation with the unions or other groups making the requests, that they shall meet the wishes of the citizens who are prospective students, rather than of the boards of education. And it also implies that the instruction and discussions must be unhampered. A teacher must not be open to the taunt, "Do you say that because you think it is true, or because if you said any thing else you would lose your job?" It is a sad commentary on American education that it is necessary to state these conditions. But it is necessary. Boards of education in an alarming number of our communities are unresponsive to public opinion, forget that they and the teachers are simply fellow-servants of the public, and assume proprietorship over the schools, and the minds of the teachers. In such communities, before the goal of centering union educational activities in the public schools can be fully realized, labor and other liberal elements must secure effective representation on the boards of education. Meanwhile classes under union auspices will serve the additional purpose of demonstrating the existence of a demand which the schools are failing to meet. But such classes should be considered a stop-gap. The sound solution is a progressive board of education, responsive to the public.

Where the types of courses and instruction desired can not be obtained from the public schools, we believe that all interested unions, working through their central labor bodies, should cooperate in organizing their educational work. Not only would there be economy and efficiency in centralized effort, but it would make for better understanding among members of the various locals. In case sufficient interest can not be aroused in the central labor body, or a local has an educational problem peculiar to itself, an interested local would naturally take the initiative and work out its own solution. But it is a question to be worked out in each community according to its peculiar conditions and needs.

We are not inclined to make invidious comparisons among the systems examined. We found in all of them an admirable idealism, a sincere and effective effort to enrich the lives of the workers. We believe that we are asked to present general conclusions, not to single out details for comment. But we would like to call attention to an activity of the Chicago public schools apart from the classes already described. One of the most important features of the work discussed in both New York and Chicago is the teaching of English to those unable to read and write the language of their adopted country. The Chicago school system is sending teachers of English to factories wherever there is an agreement of the employer to give fifteen minutes of the working time to match fifteen minutes which the employe gives from his lunch time, or other time of his own. This opportunity for a daily half hour lesson in English given at the places of employment is being eagerly seized by hundreds of workers in need of elementary English. Of course, many lunch periods are too short to stand further curtailment, but the general plan would seem to furnish possibilities of cooperation with the public schools and employers worth investigation by unions with non-English-speaking members.

To summarize its general conclusions, your committee recommends that central labor bodies, through securing representation on boards of education, and through the presentation of a popular demand for increased facilities for adult education, make every effort to obtain from the public schools liberally conducted classes in English, public speaking, parliamentary law, economics, industrial legislation, history of industry, and of the trade union movement, and any other subjects that may be requested by a sufficient number, such classes to be offered at times and places which would make them available to workers. If the public school system does not show willingness to cooperate in offering appropriate courses and type of instruction, the central labor body should organize such classes with as much cooperation from the public schools as may be obtained. Interested local unions should take the initiative when necessary.

We further request that the E. C. instruct the Secretary of the A. F. of L. to transmit these recommendations to all affiliated central labor bodies.

M. F. GREENE, *Chairman.*
HARRY JENKINS.
JAMES ROACH.
THOMAS F. FLAHERTY.
CHAS. B. STILLMAN, *Secretary.*

HEALTH INSURANCE

During a period of several years the conventions of the American Federation of Labor have given consideration to the subject of health insurance. The St. Paul Convention instructed the Executive Council to appoint a special committee for the purpose of making an investigation into the subject of health insurance, to report to the E. C. and if the Council approved that a model bill be drafted for the purpose of carrying health insurance into effect. We appointed John A. Voll, John J. Manning, Mrs. Sara Conboy, Hugh Frayne and Collis Lovely.

The committee reported having had many sessions and making its investigations. It reported further its conclusions. The report was considered by the E. C. There were divergent views manifested by some of our members. Because of this fact and desirous of

reaching a conclusion which should receive the unanimous judgment of the convention of the A. F. of L., we have reached the conclusion to recommend to this convention, and we do so recommend, that the report itself together with the entire subject-matter of health insurance be referred to the E. C. to make further investigation into the subject-matter and that this convention give the E. C. authority when it reaches a conclusion upon the matter to make that opinion public as the position of the A. F. of L. upon health insurance.

THE SHORTER WORKDAY

In another section of this report, that is, the Reconstruction Program of the American Federation of Labor, which has been approved by us, the subject of hours of labor is considered. In view of the several resolutions of the St. Paul Convention dealing with the subject of the eight-hour day and the directions of the convention that the Executive Council should continue its work along the line of the shorter workday activities, we feel it necessary to make further reference to the subject, for there is nothing in which Labor is more vitally interested than in fewer hours of daily toil whereby are afforded leisure for rest and recuperation and opportunity for the things that make life worth living.

In the statistical section of this report record is made of those organizations which have been successful during the year in establishing the shorter workday. In every way within its power the A. F. of L. through its executive officers and organizers has assisted the organizations that have made the struggle for the shorter workday.

There is nothing spectacular in such work. It is the steady onward progress day by day. Particularly in the textile industry has progress been made. Many of the workers of that trade now enjoy the forty-four-hour week. Other organizations have conducted vigorous and fruitful campaigns for the eight-hour day or the forty-four-hour week.

Few other years have shown a more satisfactory progress in the reduction of the length of the workday than the year just closed. It is significant that the practical value of the shorter workday was shown most emphatically during that period of the nation's life when the utmost in production was required to satisfy the demands of war.

The satisfactory results, not only in health and comfort and the general well-being for the workers, but in volume of production as well were demonstrated during the war beyond all question. The rapid trend toward the general establishment of the shorter workday developed during the war must not be allowed to wane during the period of reconstruction.

In order that the subject may be dealt with most comprehensively and completely to the end that the most constructive suggestions may be placed before the convention we recommend that the entire subject be referred to the committee on shorter workday with instructions to report to this convention for consideration and action.

COOPERATIVE PLAN

The Buffalo, 1917, Convention when considering the report of the Special Committee on Cooperation directed "that every local trade union under the jurisdiction of the American Federation of Labor be requested to contribute the sum of one dollar in order to establish successfully the Federation Bureau for promoting and advancing the cause of true cooperation in the United States and Canada." That convention also authorized the President of the A. F. of L. to appoint for a period of one year a qualified trade unionist as lecturer and adviser on a broad plan of cooperation. We reported to the St. Paul Convention that the fund created under authority and the plan authorized by the Buffalo Convention had not reached sufficient proportions for the appointment of a cooperative lecturer and adviser.

As is shown in Secretary Morrison's financial statement, which is part of this report, the fund at this time amounts to only \$2,383.03. It will thus be seen that many of the affiliated organizations have not contributed to the fund, and therefore we are as yet unable to inaugurate the work of the cooperative lecturer and adviser. We urge that all affiliated national and international organizations and central bodies take this matter under consideration and promptly send in their contributions to the Secretary of the A. F. of L.

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF BRIDGE, STRUCTURAL AND ORNAMENTAL IRON WORKERS vs. BUILDING TRADES DEPARTMENT, A. F. of L.

On appeal of the International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers from the action of the Building Trades Department, which was presented by a delegation of that organization, along with a brief of the contention, it was found that the delegation based their appeal on the statement in the brief known as Paragraph 2, as follows:

"While the action taken by the Building Trades Department Convention at St. Paul forces us to go through the form of an appeal, it is our contention that all steps taken in these controversies beginning with the action at the Buffalo Building Trades Department Convention are unlawful and therefore legally void. This appeal consequently requests recognition at your hands of the final decisions rendered prior to the year 1917 and the declaration that all subsequent action is void for lack of jurisdiction on the part of those bodies which have taken any action in these causes subsequent to the final decisions herein referred to."

The subject was carefully considered but as the appeal as above stated showed that the Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers based their action on subjects previous to and at the Buffalo Convention and as the action of the Buffalo Building Trades Convention which the Structural Iron Workers desired to reverse had been brought to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor by the Structural Iron Workers following the Buffalo Building Trades Convention, and later had gone from the action of the E. C. thereon to the St. Paul Convention, and as the action of the Building Trades Convention and the action taken by the E. C. thereon had been sustained at the St. Paul Convention, and which constitute the methods of appeal between the departments and the A. F. of L., the E. C. decided in this instance that the appeal of the International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers was not sustained.

PROPOSED AMALGAMATION OF TEXTILE WORKERS

The St. Paul Convention directed that two of the Federation organizers should be appointed to meet with the representatives of the three organizations of textile workers for the purpose of formulating a plan to effect their amalgamation, August 1, 1918, having been set as the time limit within which the terms formulated and approved should be accepted by the three organizations, and the organization or organizations which might fail to accept the plan of amalgamation to be suspended from membership in the American Federation of Labor on the date named.

Because of the fact that two of the organizations involved would hold their annual conventions after August 1, 1918, and their officers being required under the provisions of their constitutions to secure authority from their conventions to enter into such negotiations for amalgamation, it was deemed advisable that the time limit set by the St. Paul Convention be extended.

Organizers James E. Roach and Frank McCarthy were appointed to represent the Federation in this matter. They held several conferences and finally submitted their report and recommendations as follows:

We, the undersigned, to whom was referred the matter of the amalgamation of all unions of textile workers in accordance with Resolution No. 96 of the Buffalo Convention of the A. F. of L., with directions to confer with the unions concerned for the purpose, if possible, of having said unions mutually agree upon a plan of amalgamation, and failing in which to report to you with such recommendations as we may deem proper, beg leave to submit the following report:

In addition to the conference held by your direction with the representatives of the United Textile Workers, Mule Spinners and Lace Makers' International Unions on this matter, we have held three conferences with the unions named above, the conferences being at New York City, adjourning from time to time in the hope that further thought and deliberation on the matter of amalgamation would cause the unions concerned to eventually realize the necessity for the protection and promotion of their own craft interests, of finding common ground upon

which all three could stand. We regret that we have to report that we found such a solution impossible.

In the conferences held we found that while the representatives of all the unions agreed that some form of unity was advisable, the spinners and the lace makers were insistent that such unity should not be upon any line that would deprive their organizations of their craft identity or cause their loss of direct membership and representation in the A. F. of L. which, if agreed to, would mean the establishing of a condition of organization that formerly existed in the textile industry and proved a lamentable failure.

Your committee is convinced, as a result of the conferences held with the representatives of the textile unions and its inquiry into the conditions affecting the organization of the workers in the industry, that there is an utter lack of harmony in either spirit or action between the three textile unions now holding charters from the A. F. of L., which have been so clearly demonstrated in the failure of united action upon the importance of establishing the eight-hour day in the textile industry, which failure undoubtedly adversely affected the success of the eight-hour movement in the textile industry and tended to create confusion in the minds of great numbers of textile workers as to the course they should pursue, and we believe that such conditions will continue until there is brought about an organization of textile workers that will embrace within its folds all the workers employed in the manufacture of textiles, irrespective of the department of the industry in which said workers may be employed.

We find as a result of our inquiry into the conditions existing within the three textile unions now affiliated with the A. F. of L. that the Mule Spinners' International Union is an organization consisting, according to its last report, of a membership of 1,711 men and 561 boys, with upwards of 95 per cent of its membership located in New England.

We find that the Lace Makers' International Union is an organization of some 1,200 in membership, and that at the present time a great number of lace makers, other than lace weavers, are in membership in the United Textile Workers, and we find that the United Textile Workers is an organization of some 70,000 members made up of workers of all branches of the industry, and has locals in about all localities in the nation where the textile industry is being conducted.

We find further that the laws and policies of the United Textile Workers are so broad and general as to permit any of the textile crafts that may be in membership and wishing to establish for their craftsmen additional benefits to those provided for by the national organization, may do so with the assurance that the additional moneys contributed to maintain the additional benefits shall be the sole property of the craft making the contributions and to be dispensed by said craft in any manner it may wish, providing that the laws of the international union are not conflicted with.

In view of which we recommend that the Spinners' International Union, and the Lace Operatives of America be directed to instruct their local unions to make application for a charter to the United Textile Workers of America. We also recommend that the United Textile Workers of America be directed to grant upon application charters and usual supplies accompanying same, without cost to all local unions of spinners and lace makers making application in accordance with the above stated directions, and that the standing of the individual members shall be made that of their present standing in the organization in which they now hold membership.

While it is the present policy of the United Textile Workers to permit its crafts that so desire to create additional benefits for its craftsmen and to have complete control of such funds and its methods of collection and distribution, we further recommend that the United Textile Workers of America be directed to so amend its constitution as will permit the continuance of that policy and give to it constitutional assurance.

The Executive Council for the reasons named extend the time for amalgamation to September 1, 1919.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

PAINTERS—LONGSHOREMEN

In the case of the jurisdictional controversy between these two organizations, we are glad to report that the following agreement has been reached:

"In accordance with the instructions of the St. Paul Convention of the American Federation of Labor, the representatives of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America and the International Longshoremen's Association met in conference with the Secretary of the A. F. of L., and it was agreed on the part of the longshoremen that they do not claim jurisdiction over painting.

(Signed)	T. V. O'CONNOR,
<i>Representing the International Longshoremen's Association.</i>	
(Signed)	GEO. F. HEDRICK,
(Signed)	JOS. F. KELLY,
<i>Representing the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.</i>	
(Signed)	FRANK MORRISON,
<i>Representing the A. F. of L."</i>	

MACHINISTS—CARPENTERS

There is nothing which has developed in this case since our report to the St. Paul Convention so far as we are advised. The representatives of the two organizations have not conferred as to the questions at issue between them.

FLINT GLASS WORKERS—MACHINISTS

Our St. Paul Convention directed:

1. That the International Association of Machinists be immediately directed to comply with the decision of the American Federation of Labor as approved at the Buffalo Convention, which decision was arrived at under a plan which the International Association of Machinists, through its officers and delegates, proposed to the Seattle Convention and which conclusions they pledged themselves to accept and fully observe.
2. That the International Association of Machinists be directed to take immediate steps to discontinue the violations of the decision of the A. F. of L. and give obedience to its requirements.
3. That the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. be instructed and directed to do all in its power to the end that the rights of the Flint Glass Workers will be fully recognized, observed and safeguarded; that the decisions of the A. F. of L. will be enforced and to prove helpful in removing the discord and friction now existing between these two organizations at difference with one another.

In view of the explicit directions of the convention it is advisable to submit to you herewith the several letters which passed between the President of the A. F. of L. and the President of the International Association of Machinists:

ST. PAUL HOTEL, ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA, June 22, 1918.
 Mr. WILLIAM H. JOHNSTON, *President,*
International Association of Machinists,
 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: It became necessary for the E. C. of the A. F. of L. to report to the St. Paul Convention the situation regarding the failure or refusal of the International Association of Machinists to abide by the decision of the A. F. of L. upon the subject of the making of molds for molding glassware.

The report of the E. C. under the caption "Flint Glass Workers—Machinists," will be found on page 112 of the report of the E. C. to the St. Paul Convention, 1918. That report with all the documents in the case was referred to a committee

which had the subject under consideration, and the committee submitted a report to the convention as follows:

"Having considered that part of the E. C.'s report entitled 'Flint Glass Workers—Machinists,' page 140, and Resolution No. 75, in its amended form, your committee regrets exceedingly to note that the International Association of Machinists has failed to comply with the decision of the A. F. of L. as expressed at the Buffalo and previous conventions.

"We view a disregard to the decisions of the A. F. of L. as destructive to the best interests of the workers, promotive of discord and dissatisfaction and as a weakening rather than a strengthening factor to the efficiency of our movement. We deplore this disregard to self-obedience to the dictates of our movement. We believe the time is here that voluntary acquiescence in the decisions of the A. F. of L. must be the dominant motive inspiring and directing our attitude and relations to each other and to our great movement.

"Prompted by these dictates, your committee, in lieu of the resolution offered, submits for your approval and for the acceptance of the International Association of Machinists, the following:

"1. That the International Association of Machinists be immediately directed to comply with the decision of the A. F. of L. as approved at the Buffalo Convention, which decision was arrived at under a plan which the International Association of Machinists, through its officers and delegates, proposed at the Seattle Convention, and which conclusions they pledged themselves to adopt and fully observe.

"2. That the International Association of Machinists be directed to take immediate steps to discontinue the violations of the decision of the A. F. of L. and give obedience to its requirements.

"3. That the E. C. of the A. F. of L. be instructed and directed to do all in its power to the end that the rights of the Flint Glass Workers will be fully recognized, observed and safeguarded; that the decision of the A. F. of L. will be enforced and to prove helpful in removing the discord and friction now existing between these two organizations at difference with one another."

For convenience I quote to you the decision of the Buffalo Convention. It is as follows:

"That the making of all molds to be used for molding glassware is under the jurisdiction of the American Flint Glass Workers' Union and should be so recognized by all unions affiliated to the A. F. of L."

Not only in a general way, but because you were in attendance at the St. Paul Convention, you know the intense feeling which was aroused at the convention because of the failure or refusal of the International Association of Machinists to carry out the decision of the A. F. of L. You also know that the committee's report and recommendation were adopted by a practically unanimous vote. You will observe that the convention directed "That the International Association of Machinists be *immediately* directed to comply with the decision of the A. F. of L. as approved at the Buffalo Convention."

The E. C. held a meeting in this city, and among other matters considered was the subject upon which this letter is based; in turn, the E. C. directed the undersigned to immediately communicate this letter to you and to say that the E. C. and the A. F. of L. have the right to expect a prompt compliance by the International Association of Machinists with the decision of the Buffalo Convention as approved by the St. Paul Convention.

Please promptly advise me of your receipt of this letter and what steps you have taken or propose to take in compliance with the decision and direction of the A. F. of L.

Fraternally yours,

(Signed)

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President, A. F. of L.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MACHINISTS

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 5, 1918.

Mr. SAMUEL GOMPERS, *President,*
American Federation of Labor,
 Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: This is to acknowledge your favor dated June 22d, relative to the controversy between our association and the American Flint Glass Workers' Union, contents of your letter carefully noted.

In reply beg to say our newly elected General Executive Board will meet in Washington, D. C., on Monday, July 15th, at which time your letter will be a matter for consideration.

With best wishes, I remain,
 Fraternally yours,

(Signed) WM. H. JOHNSTON,
International President.

WASHINGTON, D. C., August 23, 1918.

Mr. W. H. JOHNSTON, *President,*
International Association of Machinists,
 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In your letter to me of July 5th, replying to mine of June 22d, relative to the controversy between the Machinists and the Flint Glass Workers, you inform me that my letter would be taken up for consideration by your General Executive Board at its meeting July 15th.

Hoping to receive an early reply and with kind regards, I am,
 Fraternally yours,

(Signed) SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President, American Federation of Labor.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Nov. 4th, 1918.

Mr. WILLIAM H. JOHNSTON, *President,*
International Association of Machinists,
 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: On August 23d, President Gompers wrote you as follows:

"In your letter to me of July 5th, replying to mine of June 22d, relative to the controversy between the Machinists and the Flint Glass Workers, you inform me that my letter would be taken up for consideration by your General Executive Board at its meeting July 15th. Hoping to receive an early reply and with kind regards, I am."

Under date of November 1st, I am in receipt of a letter from President Clarke of the Flint Glass Workers in which he says:

"I dislike being required to add additional burdens to your task, yet I feel duty bound to urge that at the next meeting of the E. C. further attention be given to the letter of June 22, 1918, which the council authorized President Gompers to direct to William H. Johnston, President of the International Association of Machinists, dealing with jurisdiction over the making of moulds for moulding glassware to the end that this dispute may terminate before another convention of the A. F. of L. convenes, thereby avoiding a recurrence of the unpleasant discussion over this much decided question. It is my information that President Johnston has never replied to the letter sent him by President Gompers, copy of which I enclose herewith for your convenience."

I have advised Brother Clarke that the matter will be brought to the attention of the E. C. at its meeting November 11th, in compliance with his request. I am, therefore, writing to advise you of the above so that you may have the opportunity of making such reply as you may desire, so that your reply may be placed with the other documents for the consideration of the E. C.

Fraternally yours,

(Signed) JOHN R. ALPINE,
Acting President, A. F. of L.

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MACHINISTS

WASHINGTON, D. C., November 9, 1918.

Mr. JOHN R. ALPINE,
Executive Council, A. F. of L.,
Laredo, Texas.

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: This will acknowledge your favor dated November 4th, calling my attention to a letter of July 5th, regarding the controversy between the Machinists and the Flint Glass Workers, which I acknowledged on the same date, advising that the matter would be considered by the General Executive Board of our association at its sessions during the week of July 15th. Another letter was received August 23d during my absence regarding this subject, and in some manner was filed without acknowledgment. I regret this oversight, and assure you there was no intention on our part to ignore the letter of President Gompers of August 23d.

At the meeting of our G. E. B. July 15th, this matter was given careful consideration, particularly that part of President Gompers' letter dated June 22d, wherein he stated:

"The E. C. held a meeting in this city, and among other matters considered was the subject upon which this letter is based; in turn, the E. C. directed the undersigned to immediately communicate this matter to you and to say that the E. C. and the A. F. of L. have the right to expect a prompt compliance by the I. A. of M. with the decision of the Buffalo Convention as approved by the St. Paul Convention."

In reply, I wish to say that the International Association of Machinists would like to know by what authority the A. F. of L. can say to the International Association of Machinists that we must transfer bona fide machinists to another organization, and concede to that organization jurisdiction over said machinists? We have never been advised that our charter rights have been abridged or modified, and if they have been abridged, modified or amended in any form, it has been without the knowledge and consent of the International Association of Machinists.

I note particularly that part of your letter wherein you state that the A. F. of L. has a right to expect prompt compliance by the I. A. of M. with the decision of the Buffalo Convention as approved by the St. Paul Convention. We would like to know why it is that the Machinists are thus picked out and expected to comply with decisions that are adverse to us, when, on the other hand, decisions have been repeatedly rendered in favor of the Machinists, sustaining our claims to jurisdiction over the making, erecting, assembling and installing of machinery, and yet the officers of the A. F. of L. absolutely decline to take any steps to carry out these decisions, or to see that the Machinists receive the recognition they are justly entitled to.

I refer particularly to the decision in the case of Machinists versus Carpenters, adopted by the Philadelphia Convention and reaffirmed at the San Francisco Convention, and in spite of the fact that the officers of the A. F. of L. were specifically instructed to see that this decision was put into effect and the infringement upon our jurisdiction as complained of stopped, no definite action has been taken on this matter; in fact, certain officers of the A. F. of L. have conceded on numerous occasions that, the Federation being a voluntary organization, was without authority or power to enforce decisions, but now at this late date, you say that you have a right to expect us to comply with a decision that is absolutely unsound, and which provides that we transfer to another organization bona fide machinists and thus release jurisdiction over a branch of our trade.

The Flint Glass Workers are not, in our judgment, entitled to any consideration, in view of the fact that they have joined with an employer of labor in applying for and securing an injunction against the members of our association in their laudable efforts to secure an increase in wages. This was the first time in the history of the labor movement of our country that an international union—so called—joined with an employer in securing an injunction to restrain men from exercising their lawful rights in securing improved conditions and increased wages.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

If the A. F. of L. at this time is going to assume police powers and expect their decisions to be respected, we respectfully suggest that immediate steps be taken to enforce the decisions rendered by the Philadelphia Convention, the San Francisco Convention and subsequently by other conventions wherein was reaffirmed that the I. A. of M. had jurisdiction over the making, erecting, assembling and installing of machinery in buildings or elsewhere.

We think that we have a right to expect that the decisions above referred to should be enforced before we can be expected to comply with the unsound award referred to in the case of the Flint Glass Workers.

Trusting the contents of this letter may be given the serious consideration which we believe is merited, I am,

Fraternally yours,

(Signed)

WM. H. JOHNSTON,
Int'l. Pres.

WASHINGTON, D. C., December 10, 1918.

Mr. WM. H. JOHNSTON, *President,*
International Association of Machinists,
A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: The E. C. at the meetings held at Laredo and San Antonio, Texas, last month, had under further consideration the subject of the dispute existing between the American Flint Glass Workers and the International Association of Machinists, relative to jurisdiction over the making of molds for molding glassware, and in connection therewith the instructions issued by the St. Paul Convention, which I herewith again quote for reference:

"1. That the International Association of Machinists be immediately directed to comply with the decision of the A. F. of L. as approved at the Buffalo Convention, which decision was arrived at under a plan which the International Association of Machinists, through its officers and delegates, proposed at the Seattle Convention, and which conclusions they pledged themselves to accept and fully observe.

"2. That the International Association of Machinists be directed to take immediate steps to discontinue the violations of the decision of the A. F. of L. and give obedience to its requirements.

"3. That the E. C. of the A. F. of L. be instructed and directed to do all in its power to the end that the rights of the Flint Glass Workers will be fully recognized, observed and safeguarded; that the decision of the A. F. of L. will be enforced and to prove helpful in removing the discord and friction now existing between these two organizations at difference with one another."

You are aware that this controversy has received the attention of several conventions of the A. F. of L., and that a committee was appointed, with the understanding and agreement by both organizations that they would abide by the decision rendered. The decision of the committee was in favor of the American Flint Workers and approved by the Buffalo Convention. The American Flint Glass Workers' Association protested to the succeeding convention that the International Association of Machinists had not complied with the decision in the controversy, and the convention directed that your organization should do so.

The E. C. having under consideration the entire situation as well as instructions of the convention, directed that the undersigned should communicate to you to the effect that if the International Association of Machinists does not comply with the action of the St. Paul Convention, the E. C. will recommend to the next convention of the A. F. of L. that the charter of the international association be suspended until such time as that decision is complied with.

I assure you that we would very much deplore the necessity of such recommendation, inasmuch as it will involve one of our great trade unions; not that the size or importance of an organization should have weight when the question of the proper action is concerned, but that it should be necessary to so penalize an organization of the standing and character of the International Association of

Machinists because of its disregard of a decision rendered by the A. F. of L., which is endeavoring to promote workable relations between affiliated organizations in order that progress for our movement and the particular trades in interest may be insured.

Expressing the hope that your organization will comply with the judgment of the organized labor movement, as expressed through the decision of the Buffalo and St. Paul Conventions, and that we may be gratified by the compliance of your organization with the decision, and to be advised to this effect, I remain,

Yours fraternally,

(Signed) SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President, American Federation of Labor.

It must be borne in mind that the investigation was initiated upon the direct proposal of President Johnston of the International Association of Machinists; that the committee appointed to make the investigation was approved by him; that he pledged himself in advance, as did President Clark of the American Flint Glass Workers, to abide by the award of the committee appointed.

The St. Paul Convention dealing with this subject as above stated directed the E. C. to do all in its power to the end that the rights of the Flint Glass Workers would be recognized, observed and safeguarded. The E. C. did everything within its power as directed by the convention to influence the Machinists to conform to the action of the conventions upon this subject. Correspondence was entered into with the parties in interest; conferences were held and the E. C. even went to the extent of notifying the Machinists that in the event of their failure to conform to the action of the convention, the E. C. would recommend to the Atlantic City Convention the suspension of their charter.

The subject-matter was given additional attention at our May meeting, and we urged upon President Johnston of the Machinists who attended the meeting, the necessity of the Machinists conforming to the action of the previous conventions. President Johnston stated to our council that it was not within his power to change the position that his organization had taken upon this subject, but stated that the organization was now voting upon the question of holding a special convention in July; that if that failed he would call a meeting of his Executive Board in Atlantic City at the time the convention of the A. F. of L. would be in session, and that they would then further consider this proposition.

In view of the situation and with hopes that the Machinists' Union through its executive officers and board will meet this situation and conform to the wishes of this Federation of establishing a satisfactory understanding with the Flint Glass Workers, we decided to leave this matter until the convention would convene for the purpose of giving them an opportunity, and therefore to submit this matter to this convention for such action as it may deem advisable to take.

CARPENTERS—SHEET METAL WORKERS

The last convention recommended that the contending parties have an early conference and attempt to adjust their difficulties.

It has been reported to us by President Donlin of the Building Trades Department that the subject matter is still in the hands of the presidents of the two contending organizations for further consideration and effort at adjustment.

ELECTRICAL WORKERS—ENGINEERS

The St. Paul Convention directed that a conference should be held between the officers of the two organizations within sixty days from the date of the convention. It was further provided that in the event of failure to be represented at the conference or failure to reach an agreement, the Executive Council should designate the jurisdictional rights of the contending organizations in accordance with previous decisions of the American Federation of Labor.

The resolution introduced by the delegates from the Electrical Workers to the St. Paul Convention reads:

"Resolved, That the operation and maintenance of electric generating station, sub-stations and electric cranes came properly under the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers."

The conference was held but no agreement was reached. It therefore devolved upon the E. C. to render a decision. The representatives of both organizations agreed to abide by the decision of the E. C. Thereupon the E. C. decided:

"That the 'resolved' in question be changed to read that the electric installation, electric repairs and overhauling of the general electrical apparatus in generating stations and sub-stations as well as electric cranes properly belong to the electrical workers."

"In a general way the above action deals with the subject in dispute, but as the convention directed the E. C. to 'render a decision setting forth the jurisdictional rights of the organizations in contention' it was further decided:

"That the operating of electrical driven machinery in electrical generating stations and sub-stations as well as the operating of electrical cranes properly belongs to and comes under the charter of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers."

The officers of the electrical workers then served notice of an appeal to this convention from the decision rendered. The entire matter is now before you for such action as you may determine.

LONGSHOREMEN—STEAM ENGINEERS—MARINE ENGINEERS

The St. Paul Convention directed that the representatives of the several organizations should meet in conference for the purpose of adjusting their differences, and that in the event of failure to hold a conference or failure to reach an agreement, the Executive Council should define the jurisdictional rights of the contending parties.

Conference was held. No understanding or agreement was reached. The conferees so reported to us. We thereupon decided that the application of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers for jurisdiction over the men in question on sand boats be denied.

METAL TRADES—MINE, MILL AND SMELTER WORKERS

Report was made to the St. Paul Convention (Resolution No. 27) of continued friction between the metal trades organizations and the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' Union, particularly in the state of Montana. The convention directed:

"Your committee therefore recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to call a conference of the executive officers of all organizations involved and affected within ninety days from the adjournment of this convention."

"1. For the purpose of laying plans to properly organize the men employed in the metal mining industry in Butte, Montana."

"2. To reach an understanding so that friction, contention, controversies and strikes may be avoided in the future."

"3. That the members of the other organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor going to work in and around the mines be protected from infringement on their rights."

A conference was held. It was agreed that for a period of sixty days no action would be taken which would result in lessening the production of copper, and that in the meantime an effort would be made to secure a permanent adjustment. Not being successful in that particular we thereupon at our meeting in Laredo, Texas, last November decided as follows:

"That the action taken relative to jurisdiction when the charter was issued to the organization now known under the title of 'International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' be adhered to. However, we recommend that the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers organization should cooperate with the local unions of the international unions involved at Butte, Montana, and vicinity, for the thorough organization of workers employed at Butte, Montana, and vicinity."

JEWELRY WORKERS—METAL POLISHERS—MACHINISTS

In this jurisdictional controversy the American Federation of Labor decided that:

"1. Metal polishing comes under the jurisdiction of the Metal Polishers' International Union.

"2. That where jointly employed the Metal Polishers and the Jewelry Workers shall combine their action for the purpose of securing improved conditions.

"3. That the International Association of Machinists has jurisdiction over tool and die-making.

"4. That where jointly employed the Machinists and the Jewelry Workers shall coordinate their effort for the purpose of securing improved conditions of employment."

The three organizations were duly notified of the decision of the St. Paul Convention. The convention further directed that should the members of the Jewelry Workers' Union fail to comply with the decision, the Executive Council would be required to inform the labor movement thereof, and whatever inconvenience might result would be due to their disregard of the decision and not to any desire on the part of the A. F. of L.

The officers of the metal polishers have expressed themselves as being thoroughly satisfied with the action of both the convention and the E. C.

The representatives of the jewelry workers appeared before the E. C. at their meeting May 13, 1919, and asked that the case be reopened. As they submitted no new testimony the E. C. decided that we would not be justified in reopening the case.

LITHOGRAPHERS—PHOTO-ENGRAVERS—PRESSMEN

In our report to the St. Paul Convention we submitted a plan for the amalgamation of the lithographers with the photo-engravers and printing pressmen's organizations.

The convention approved that plan and directed that the organization or organizations failing to comply therewith by September 1, 1918, should stand suspended.

The photo-engravers and printing pressmen accepted the decision and plan, but the lithographers refused to comply. When the time arrived for the enforcement of the position the photo-engravers and printing pressmen's organizations requested that the enforcement of the decision be held in abeyance pending another effort on the part of the photo-engravers and printing pressmen's organizations to conclude amalgamation of the lithographers and that failing therein the decision would then become effective. No additional report has been received to date.

JURISDICTION OVER CONSTRUCTION CONCRETE SHIPS

The last convention directed the Executive Council to decide the jurisdictional rights of the several organizations whose members are employed in the construction of concrete ships; that is, providing an understanding or agreement should not be reached through conference.

Owing to the failure of the organizations concerned to reach an agreement on this controversy and as the claims involved conflict with one another the E. C. recommend that this matter be referred to a special committee of the Atlantic City Convention.

JURISDICTION OVER SHIPYARD LABORERS

By Resolution No. 2, the attention of the St. Paul Convention was directed to the controversy existing between the several national and international unions as to jurisdiction over shipyard laborers. Several conferences were held between the representatives involved. Finally an agreement was reached between five of the contending organizations as follows:

At the conference held on Resolution No. 2, at the American Federation of Labor Headquarters today, May 8, 1919, in accordance with the instructions of the St. Paul Convention of the A. F. of L., it is agreed by the undersigned representatives of the respective organizations that, as between themselves, they agree that all rigging in shipyards, equipment and installation plants and yards in the construction and repairing of ships shall belong to the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' International Association, except such rigging necessary for the sheet metal workers and the boilermakers and iron ship builders to do in connection with the erection and handling of their work; that the helpers and apprentices come under the jurisdiction of the various trades; that the wood fasteners come under the jurisdiction of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America; and that all laborers come under the jurisdiction of the International Hodcarriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America.

(Signed) T. M. GUERIN,
United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America.
 D. D'ALESSANDRO,
International Hodcarriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America.
 JOHN J. HYNES,
Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' Intl. Alliance.
 CHAS. J. MCGOWAN,
Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America.
 P. J. MORRIN,
International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers.

The foregoing agreement reached between the representatives of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, International Hodcarriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance, Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, and the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers was approved by the E. C. of the A. F. of L. and a copy ordered sent to the signatories.

Later, we decided as follows:

Having in view the agreement reached by T. M. Guerin, for the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America; D. D'Alessandro, for the International Hodcarriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America; John J. Hynes, for the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance; Chas. J. MacGowan, for the Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, and P. J. Morrin, for the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' on May 8, 1919, to which the Executive Council gave its endorsement as between the parties participating in the conference to reach an agreement, the E. C. recognizes the same as between the parties thereto and that therefore it is not binding upon any organization not a party thereto, nor shall it be construed as taking away from any organization jurisdiction over any work properly belonging thereto, and specifically calls attention to the loading and unloading of teams or automobiles, which is sometimes miscalled rigging, jurisdiction over which belongs to the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America.

The representative of the longshoremen dissents from the above agreement stating that their organization was in favor of an international charter being issued to the fasteners, riggers and laborers; or in favor of the fasteners, riggers and

laborers being turned over in a body intact to any national or international organization that might be agreed upon.

T. V. O'CONNOR,
International Longshoremen's Association.

ENGINEERS—STEAM SHOVEL AND DREDGEMEN

Your Executive Council was directed in the event of the two organizations failing to reach an agreement, to determine the terms of amalgamation. Despite our most earnest, serious efforts, it was impossible to bring about an agreement between the two organizations.

Finding ourselves in this position, and acting under the instructions of the St. Paul Convention, we decided the terms of amalgamation as follows:

1. The amalgamated organization shall be known as the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers.
2. Amalgamation shall take place not later than March 1, 1919.
3. The International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers shall grant charters free of cost to all subordinate unions of the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen.
4. All members of the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen shall be admitted to unions of the steam and operating engineers without prejudice.
5. The members of the steam shovel and dredgemen in good standing shall as soon as amalgamation takes place be entitled to all the rights, benefits and privileges prescribed in the constitution and laws of the Steam and Operating Engineers' International Union and shall be protected and encouraged in the establishment and continuance of their working conditions.
6. The International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers shall appoint at least one member of the steam shovel and dredgemen as an organizer to look after the interests and welfare of the men engaged in that branch of the trade.
7. Either organization failing, objecting or refusing to amalgamate under these conditions, shall stand suspended from the American Federation of Labor.

The engineers notified us of their acceptance of the decision. The steam shovel and dredgemen questioned the right of the E. C. to impose the penalty of suspension for non-compliance with the decision. Therefore, the latter organization having failed to comply by the time specified, their charter stood suspended.

EXTENSION OF JURISDICTION—BREWERY WORKERS

The International Union of United Brewery and Soft Drink Workers of America found itself deeply affected by the order prohibiting the brewing of beer and near-beer through its members continuing their employment in the brewery establishments a number of which were converted into flour and cereal mills and cold storage plants, etc.

They made formal application for extension of jurisdiction to cover flour and cereal mill workers. The application was granted. The title of that organization was changed to "International Union of United Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America." The officers of the organization agreed in advance that all legitimate claims of jurisdiction on the part of existing national and international unions would be satisfactorily adjusted.

YEAR BOOK

The Year Book authorized by the Baltimore and Buffalo Conventions developed into a more elaborate work. A year book only implies the activities of the American Federation of Labor for the year just passed. As this would be the first year book it was believed it should contain a brief resumé of every important action of the thirty-eight conventions.

We believe the work will be of the deepest interest and of great benefit to all members of trade unions and to all whose interest in the progress of labor leads them to a search for

the facts of its history. There is scarcely a question relating to Labor concerning which some reference can not be found within the 520 pages of this book. We believe the volume will be of especial value to those just entering the labor movement. Reports of an educational nature on many questions are recorded. These will prove of the greatest interest to the rank and file or to those who are anxious to know what is best to be done under certain circumstances. Many brilliant reports have been made on such questions as injunctions, compulsory arbitration, education, tuberculosis, politics and the war.

It is our belief that every local union of labor should have a copy of the book. They will find it so necessary in the consideration of many questions. The price has been placed at a figure intended to merely cover the first cost. We consider no better advertisement of the principles of the A. F. of L. could be conceived and that its influence for the good of our movement will be readily appreciated.

To the end that the book can be placed in the possession of every local union we suggest that a committee of delegates from national and international unions consider what plan would be best to convince them of the necessity of securing a copy. Such a work would be of vast benefit to the general officers, as the information it contains could be used immediately by a local union on any important issue arising that needed a prompt decision. Without the publication it would be necessary to write an international official, thus consuming unnecessary time. Besides it could be loaned to the members, who would find its contents of absorbing interest. For in its pages appear the outpourings from the very souls of the men who have builded the most marvelous labor movement ever known. Their teachings will add knowledge to the rank and file and revolutionize the methods heretofore used in educating new members. It is the first work of the kind published by any labor movement, and it should be in every union man's home. It is with pleasure that we urge action that will bring about such an admirable result.

RETIREMENT OF VICE-PRESIDENTS O'CONNELL AND PERHAM, AND TREASURER LENNON

Under the instructions of the last annual convention the Executive Council caused to be suitably engrossed, framed and presented to the three retiring members of the E. C. the following resolutions (These resolutions have been duly engrossed, framed and presented):

James O'Connell

Whereas, James O'Connell has given many years of faithful, constructive service in building up the organization of workers in the trade of which he is a member; and

Whereas, Because of his loyalty and conspicuous ability he was chosen for years to act in a larger representative capacity for the workers of all trades and performed the duties of Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor diligently, faithfully and in harmonious cooperation with other representatives and colleagues; and

Whereas, Mr. O'Connell rendered additional invaluable service as a representative of labor on the Federal Commission on Industrial Relations, in which capacity his knowledge of the labor movement and his experience in representing workers in collective bargaining with employers enabled him to assist in directing the investigations of the commission and the formulation of its report so as to disclose fundamental principles of equity which should underlie relations between employers and employees, and thus to give impetus to the work of the organized labor movement in its efforts to make human justice and welfare the determining ideals in relations between men; and

Whereas, The St. Paul Convention of the A. F. of L. unanimously instructed the E. C. to prepare resolutions expressing Labor's appreciation of the services of Mr. O'Connell upon his retirement from official relationship; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the E. C., on behalf of the workers of America express to James O'Connell the grateful appreciation for his twenty-three years of faithful service as Vice-President of the A. F. of L. and to assure him that the spirit of cordial fraternity that has characterized that relation will continue and grow as the

foundations which he helped to lay become more firmly imbedded as the basis for the structure of our free Republic, free in spirit and in fact.

Henry B. Perham

Whereas, Henry B. Perham has given many years of faithful, constructive service in building up the organization of workers in the trade of which he is a member; and

Whereas, Because of his loyalty and conspicuous ability he was chosen for years to act in a larger representative capacity for the workers of all trades and performed the duties of Vice-President of the A. F. of L. diligently, faithfully and in harmonious cooperation with other representatives and colleagues; and

Whereas, Mr. Perham brought to his larger representative capacity high ideals of the purposes of the labor movement and valuable information and experience that had enabled him to advance the interests of his own trade organization, and has been unflinching in performing his duties as an official of the A. F. of L.; and

Whereas, The St. Paul Convention of the A. F. of L. unanimously instructed the E. C. to prepare resolutions expressing Labor's appreciation of the services of Mr. Perham upon his retirement from official relationship; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the E. C., on behalf of the workers of America, express to Henry B. Perham the grateful appreciation for his eight years of faithful service as Vice-President of the A. F. of L. and to assure him that the spirit of cordial fraternity that has characterized that relation will continue and grow as the foundations which he helped to lay become more firmly imbedded as the basis for the structure of our free Republic, free in spirit and in fact.

John B. Lennon

Whereas, John B. Lennon has given many years of faithful, constructive service in building up the organization of workers in the trade of which he is a member; and

Whereas, Because of his loyalty and conspicuous ability he was chosen for years to act in a larger representative capacity for the workers of all trades and performed the duties of Treasurer of the A. F. of L. diligently, faithfully and in harmonious cooperation with other representatives and colleagues; and

Whereas, Mr. Lennon rendered additional invaluable service as a representative of labor on the Federal Commission on Industrial Relations, in which capacity his knowledge of the labor movement and his experience in representing workers in collective bargaining with employers enabled him to assist in directing the investigations of the commission and the formulation of its report so as to disclose fundamental principles of equity which should underlie relations between employers and employes, and thus to give impetus to the work of the organized labor movement in its efforts to make human justice and welfare the determining ideals in relations between men; and

Whereas, The St. Paul Convention of the A. F. of L. unanimously instructed the E. C. to prepare resolutions expressing Labor's appreciation of the services of Mr. Lennon upon his retirement from official relationship; therefore be it

Resolved, That the E. C., on behalf of the workers of America, express to John B. Lennon the grateful appreciation for his twenty-eight years of faithful service as Treasurer of the A. F. of L. and to assure him that the spirit of cordial fraternity that has characterized that relation will continue and grow as the foundations which he helped to lay become more firmly imbedded as the basis for the structure of our free Republic, free in spirit and in fact.¶

VOLUNTARY FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE

From time to time it has come to our knowledge, and we have no doubt to the knowledge of other officers in the labor movement, that appeals for financial assistance have been sent out from various sources to the organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. That the labor unions are recognized for their generosity of response to such

appeals is praiseworthy and desirable, but there is another point to be considered and that is that often we have reason to believe that funds thus collected and moneys thus contributed by the men and women of labor are used for purposes other than those set forth in the appeals; used for the advancement of ideas which are in opposition to the underlying principles of the organized labor movement. While we have no desire or intention to suggest that appeals for worthy causes should not be as generously responded to as circumstances may permit, yet we do feel it our duty to recommend that care be exercised to see to it that the funds thus contributed are properly used for the purpose for which the appeal is made.

CANADIAN TRADES AND LABOR CONGRESS

The American Federation of Labor has for years, in accordance with instruction of convention, contributed from its general fund the sum of \$500 to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, so that the Canadian labor movement could carry on its legislative work in the interests of its workpeople. Conferences were held between the officers of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress and the officers of the A. F. of L. and the understanding was reached that a better method might be employed to accomplish the same purpose. In substance it is the following, which the Executive Council recommends for the adoption of this convention:

- (1) That the A. F. of L. pay to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress for legislative purposes a per capita tax upon the membership of our directly affiliated local unions.
- (2) That the annual appropriation of \$500 from the funds of the A. F. of L. to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress be discontinued.

THE MOONEY CASE

The St. Paul Convention directed that the resolutions adopted by that convention urging the President of the United States to exercise the power vested in him to prevent the execution of Thomas J. Mooney be forwarded to the President and also to the Governor of California. We desire to report that the instructions of the convention have been carried out. President Gompers transmitted the resolutions to the President and to the Governor shortly after the adjournment of the St. Paul Convention, at the same time urging clemency and the opportunity for a new trial. All of the correspondence in this case will be at the disposal of the committee of this convention to which this subject will be referred.

ATLANTIC CITY CENTRAL BODIES' CHARTERS REVOKED

December 2 Secretary Morrison notified Harry H. Freed, Secretary of the Central Labor Union of Atlantic City, that the American Federation of Labor prohibited central bodies from issuing so-called convention programs or souvenir publications, the proceeds of which were presumed to be used for entertaining the delegates to the A. F. of L. convention. A reply was received advising that they would comply. Later, information was received that the Central Body and Building Trades' Council had entered into a contract with Messrs. J. W. Ginnaty and Burton A. Walters authorizing them to solicit donations, alleging that the donations would be used to entertain the delegates to the Atlantic City Convention of the A. F. of L.

Messrs. Ginnaty and Walters were notified and advised by Secretary Morrison in a letter dated February 7 that no authority had been vested in anybody or any organization to use such a privilege. He further stated: "We will immediately prosecute any person or organization which uses the name of the A. F. of L. or its officers for the purpose of soliciting funds of any character either for the entertainment of delegates or its officers." Notwithstanding this notice, circular letters were issued broadcast throughout the country to the business men, using the name of the A. F. of L. in large type and an imitation of the seal of the A. F. of L. A reduced photographic copy of the circular appears on the next page.

Upon receiving a copy of that circular a communication was directed to Harry H. Freed under date of February 20, 1919, instructing that immediate action be taken and if necessary to call a special meeting of the Central Body so that this attempt to secure money under false pretenses could be stopped and the money returned to the senders, and the good name of the A. F. of L. protected and the guilty parties proceeded against.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

NATIONAL CONVENTION

JUNE, 1919

SUSPENSES CENTRAL LABOR UNION ATLANTIC COUNTY

ROOM 441
GUARANTIE TRUST BLDG.
ATLANTIC CITY, N. J.



FINANCE COMMITTEE
B. A. HALTER
A. WIL. CHASE

ATLANTIC CITY, N. J. March 7, 1919.

Mr. Charles G. Dawes, President Central Trust Co.,
Chicago, Ill.

My dear Sir:

During the four weeks of June, the thirty-ninth annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor will be held in Atlantic City, N.J. It will mark the most momentous period in the history of the relationship between capital and labor, which have been drawn infinitely closer together through the forceful action of Samuel Gompers and the executive council of the American Federation of Labor in stamping out Bolshevism and other radical movements in America and the leading Countries of Europe, demonstrating clearly that the organized labor movement in America will not countenance the disruption of business and financial enterprises created through individual initiative.

May we ask you to contribute \$100 to the expenses of this Convention? No publicity will be given to those who subscribe except through the labor press, by means of which the delegates and their friends may be appraised of those who are friendly to their interests.

The laws of the American Federation of Labor provide funds for certain fixed expenses in connection with the Convention. No provision is made for the entertainment of delegates, of which there will be a thousand or more present in Atlantic City. The tremendous expense which will be incurred this year is many times greater than the Committee is able to provide out of its ordinary funds, and it is compelled to ask its friends to assist financially in making a Convention of the magnitude and character of this one a success.

Very respectfully yours,

B. A. Halter
.....
FINANCE COMMITTEE

MAKE CHECKS PAYABLE TO CENTRAL LABOR UNION ATLANTIC COUNTY

The Central Body held a special meeting and revoked its contract with Messrs. Ginnaty and Walters and requested the A. F. of L. to appoint a receiver to arrange for return of the funds collected. In compliance with the action of the Central Body, Mayor Bacharach of Atlantic City was appointed to act as the representative of the A. F. of L. to arrange for the return of the money and to receive all mail containing checks so that they could be returned to the subscribers.

Within a short time another meeting of the Central Body was held and the former action was rescinded and the contract again placed in full force and effect.

The Executive Council immediately revoked the charter of the Central Body and requested Secretary-Treasurer Spencer, of the Building Trades Department, to revoke the charter of the Building Trades Council, which was equally guilty. He complied with request.

The Post Office Department at Washington was asked to assist in preventing this fraud upon the public and to deliver all mail intended for Messrs. Ginnaty and Walters and others to Mayor Bacharach. The Post Office held up the mail and refused to deliver it to the parties issuing circulars.

Mr. J. A. Nash, Assistant Solicitor of the Post Office Department, furnished the A. F. of L. with the following memorandum as to the status of the case at the present time:

"After the facts had been presented to the Post Office Department a rule to show cause why a fraud order should not be issued was sent out by the solicitor's office to these parties.

"Subsequently they appeared before the solicitor and after a full hearing he held that the letters at that time held in the post office at Atlantic City as 'in dispute' had been sent there under misapprehension, induced by false and fraudulent misrepresentations.

"After this decision the counsel for these parties proposed that the mail held at Atlantic City be delivered to some individual and returned to the senders by him. This was accepted by the department and it is now endeavoring to select a recipient for this mail who will be acceptable to all parties interested and will return the remittances with a satisfactory communication."

Mr. Nash consulted with Secretary Morrison with reference to the form of the letter and the individual who should receive the mail. Mr. Morrison requested that Mayor Bacharach, the present representative, be continued for the purpose of returning the funds.

After notification by the E. C. that their charter would be revoked if they would not annul the contract and return the money to the senders the officers of the Central Body entered into a contract with Messrs. Ginnaty and Walters to issue circulars for contributions upon the payment to them of \$4,000. This course on the part of the officers of the Central Body was so flagrant in character that we deem it necessary to report to this convention the fact leading to the revocation of the charters of these two bodies.

OFFICIAL TRADE UNION JOURNALS AND AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR PUBLICATIONS

Gaining in strength from month to month the official trade union publications of the United States are a constantly growing power and influence for human advancement. The service of the official trade union journals to the nation during the war was inestimable. There was no more consistent and right-minded agency of support for our government and our cause in the war than the labor press. With a true understanding of the issues involved, the trade and labor papers gave the cause of democracy unwavering support; at the same time giving the staunchest support to every right of human freedom in the field of industry at home.

The labor papers of America form a great chain of sentinels on guard for the cause of mankind throughout the country. Their struggle for existence is frequently a hard one and their path at no time is a rosy one. Every possible support should be given to the labor press in order that it may be strengthened for the still greater work that lies ahead.

It is with a sense of pride that we note the marked and constant improvement in the labor papers of the country together with their constantly increasing influence upon the thought and judgment of the nation.

The labor press is unified and bound together by the *American Federationist* and the A. F. of L. News Letter. The *American Federationist* provides the labor press with the best thought of the labor movement and the great issues that are constantly facing the workers. Through the News Letter the labor papers are given a weekly service of live news concerning developments and progress in the organized labor field. These two agencies give to the labor press material which is invaluable in strengthening the labor papers and which has done much to help them reach their present high standard.

During the war the official publication of the A. F. of L. and the labor press in general were compelled to undergo many unusual hardships. One of the chief of these was the abnormal cost of print paper. Added to this was the limitation placed on the quantity of print paper any one publication might use. The dislocation of business and its consequent influence on advertising revenue was another source of considerable inconvenience to the labor papers. These obstacles, however, were overcome.

There has not yet been a return to normal conditions, neither is such a return likely for some time to come.

In order that the labor papers may be best equipped to give the largest measure of service to the labor movement under these abnormal conditions, it is doubly the duty of every member of organized labor to give the most hearty support to the labor press of the country and to the publications of the A. F. of L. The great guiding purpose of the whole labor press is one of unselfish service to the labor movement. Everything that adds to the strength and circulation of the labor press adds to the strength and power of the labor movement in its efforts to advance the interests of all working people.

We heartily commend the splendid service rendered by the labor press in the past and confidently look for a greater and more distinguished service in the future.

ORGANIZERS

During the year just closed the 2091 organizers of the American Federation of Labor have rendered a service to the cause that is beyond estimate. The great growth of the Federation is in great part due to the loyal and unremitting efforts of these men and women, many of whom give their time after their day's work is done, with no remuneration beyond that which comes of a sense of service given to a great cause. The great work done by the organizers, as chronicled monthly in the *American Federationist* has been, we feel sure, a source of gratification and inspiration to the entire labor movement.

We desire to express our deep appreciation of this splendid service and of the devotion which prompted it.

CONCLUSION

No question of great national policy or of great national interest is decided today without a contribution of thought and viewpoint by the labor movement. The war brought to the nation and to the labor movement questions more vital and more involved than we had known prior to the war. The coming of peace in nowise lessens the magnitude of the issues that must be dealt with.

The American Federation of Labor, however, may face the future and its problems with a confidence born of severe trial and with an increased membership and unity of purpose. The labor movement, representing the great productive forces of society, is an indispensable part not only of society's productive processes, but of society's intellectual political and sociological processes. It is essential that in order to take fullest advantage of the opportunities that lie just ahead and to assume our full share of responsibility, every possible energy should be bent toward increasing the strength of the labor movement through organization.

Satisfying as has been the progress made in the year just closed, a vast amount of work in this direction remains to be done. The greater our strength, the better will our movement be equipped to accomplish the great work that is at hand for the coming year. Now, more than ever, the thought of the world is directed toward the achievement of progress and the establishment of higher ideals.

The inspiration for this trend of events has been the product of the labor movement and the labor movement must continue to lead in this direction.

Fraternally yours,

SAMUEL GOMPERS
President

JAMES DUNCAN
First Vice-President

JOSEPH F. VALENTINE
Second Vice-President

JOHN R. ALPINE
Third Vice-President

FRANK DUFFY
Fourth Vice-President

WILLIAM GREEN
Fifth Vice-President

WILLIAM D. MAHON
Sixth Vice-President

THOMAS A. RICKERT
Seventh Vice-President

JACOB FISCHER
Eighth Vice-President

DANIEL J. TOBIN
Treasurer

FRANK MORRISON
Secretary

*Executive Council
American Federation of Labor.*

APPENDIX.

BUILDING TRADES DEPARTMENT

William J. Spencer, Secretary-Treasurer of the Building Trades Department, submitted the following review of the work of the Building Trades Department during the past year:

There is at present no substantial evidence to show that the normal building activities of the country which have been delayed during the war are to be immediately resumed, though an occasional report is indicative that there are prospects of a building program which while not extensive will nevertheless prove to be very gratifying. Building operations so far as the federal government is concerned are being brought to a complete close, hence thousands of the workers of the building industry are in idleness at this time, so that the only relief from a distressing situation will be the early resumption of building operations as they apply to private enterprises.

There seems to be some evidence of an organized campaign for the purpose of reducing wages in the building industry as a means of inducing the resumption of building operations, while at the same time the manufacturers declare their belief that a reduction in the cost of building material is improbable. How workmen in the building industry can be expected to stand for a reduction in wages in view of the inflated cost of the necessities of life is difficult of comprehension; the more so indeed when account is taken of the fact that it is an utter impossibility for the building tradesmen to work at best more than broken time. It is generally known that climatic and other conditions prevent steady employment, which naturally means a reduced earning capacity. This, coupled with the excessive cost of living not only demands the maintenance of the present wage rate but furnishes ample justification for an increase from time to time as conditions would seem to warrant.

With the cessation of building operations immediately following the signing of the armistice, the Executive Council of the Department embraced the opportunity to devise a plan for the creation of a National Board for Jurisdictional Awards in the building industry. Such an agency is necessary in order to stabilize the building industry, to encourage the resumption of building operations, to conserve needful energy, to eliminate waste through the reduction or abolition of jurisdictional strife and to create complete harmony among the several units entering into building construction. To this end conferences have been held with representatives of the American Institute of Architects, Engineering Council, Associated General Contractors of America, National Association of Builders' Exchanges, Building Trades Employers' Associations, representative general contractors and accredited delegates from the Building Trades Department. These conferences were held in Boston, New York, Cleveland and Indianapolis. As a result a plan proposed by John B. Lennon, representing the Department of Labor, has been tentatively agreed upon and is now before the respective organizations for endorsement. The subject-matter will be reported in greater detail by the E. C. to the Atlantic City Convention.

The following summary represents our membership:

International unions affiliated with Department.....	18
Local councils affiliated with Department.....	286
State councils affiliated with Department.....	6

Total number of organizations in good standing with Department,
March 31, 1919..... 310

The numerical strength of the Building Trades Department, March 31, 1919, shows a total of 686,554, an increase over the preceding year of 51,174 members.

METAL TRADES DEPARTMENT

A. J. Berres, Secretary-Treasurer of the Metal Trades Department, submitted the following synopsis of the work performed by that department during the past year:

I herewith submit a report covering some of the activities and achievements of the department during the past year. The Metal Trades Department has had a year of marked development and achievement, due largely to the existence of the war and the active organizing work of the various affiliated internationals.

While the increase in the membership represents all metal trades industries, those contributing the larger number of increased membership were shipbuilding and railroads. This department has for a number of years endeavored to bring about organization in the shipbuilding industry with only little success. At the present time, however, it is safe to say that the industry is at least 80 per cent organized.

The metal trades generally have continued to grow, even since the signing of the armistice. In fact, the growth in some instances has been larger and more rapid in some organizations than it was prior to the signing of the armistice.

Shipbuilding Labor Adjustment Board

On the suggestion of the officers of the Emergency Fleet Corporation, the Shipbuilding Labor Adjustment Board ceased its work on March 31, 1919. The emergency fleet officers believed that the industry would become stable and normal sooner if put back in the hands of the shipyard owners. This suggestion was agreed to by the officers of this department. The work of this board was greatly responsible for the increase in the membership of the metal trades and other trades and callings engaged in the shipbuilding industry, and aided in getting for organized labor proper recognition.

Prior to the board going out of business the question of a substitute for it was discussed and several conferences held by various groups and interests. After conferences with various representatives of the shipyard owners, the Emergency Fleet Corporation and others desirous of having the relationship established between the shipyard owners and the employees continue, the provisions of an agreement were drawn up, which later was elaborated upon and the following agreement signed on January 7, 1919, with the Bethlehem Shipbuilding Corporation:

Agreement made this seventh day of January, 1919, between the Bethlehem Shipbuilding Corporation, Ltd., a Delaware corporation (hereinafter called the Company), and the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor (hereinafter called the Department).

Witnesseth: That whereas, the Department is an organization composed of national and international unions (hereinafter called the Unions) affiliated with the A. F. of L., many of the members of the said Unions being in the employ of the Company and its various plants; and

Whereas, the Company recognizes the said Unions collectively as a suitable agency to represent its employees in questions arising as to wages, hours of labor and general working conditions; and

Whereas, the Department is authorized by the express consent of each union which is a member of the Department to enter into an agreement with the Company providing for the relations of the Unions with the Company.

Now, therefore, it is agreed as follows:

(1) The Unions shall select a committee of five members (hereinafter called the Internationals' Committee) which shall represent the Unions in questions arising between the Unions and the Company.

(2) The members of the Internationals' Committee shall be selected in such manner, for such terms, and with such provisions for alternates as the Unions may from time to time determine.

(3) The Internationals' Committee may appoint agents, delegates or officers who shall have such authority in dealing with the separate managements of the plants of the Company, or with employees' committees in such plants, or on behalf

of such employes' committees as shall be expressly conferred by the Internationals' Committee.

(4) The Internationals' Committee, or any member thereof, or any person expressly authorized by said committee shall have access to any plant of the Company on the business of the Internationals' Committee, in accordance with rules and regulations agreed to by the Internationals' Committee and the Company's committee.

(5) The relations of the Unions with the Company and with the separate managements of its plants (including in the term Unions all departments, councils, federations, central, local or other organizations affiliated with the A. F. of L., and all agents or officers thereof) in matters affecting wages, hours of labor or working conditions, are to be carried on exclusively through the Internationals' Committee, or in accordance with the rules of said committee from time to time established, and not otherwise.

(6) It is understood that the employes will select local or plant committees that will function in the same manner as provided for in the Shipbuilding Labor Adjustment Board awards, subject to such changes or modifications as may from time to time be agreed upon by the Internationals' Committee and the Company's committee.

(7) The Company shall appoint a committee of five members (hereinafter called the Company's Committee) to meet with the Internationals' Committee at regular intervals and otherwise subject to the joint call of the chairmen. The members of the Company's Committee shall be appointed in such manner, for such term, and with such provisions for alternates as the Company may from time to time determine.

(8) The Internationals' Committee and the Company's Committee shall jointly hear or consider all grievances or other questions affecting wages, hours of labor or working conditions which have failed of adjustment, and any other matters as to which such joint consideration will tend to avoid misunderstandings, or will improve the condition of the industry and of its employes. Any officer representing a union shall have the right to be present at a hearing in the subject of which the interests of his organization are specially concerned, or to confer with the committees, sitting jointly, on any question which, in his judgment, requires consideration or adjustment.

(9) The Internationals' Committee shall pay the compensation and expenses of its own officers, agents or delegates, but the Company will pay the reasonable compensation and expenses of its employes for time actually spent in service on craft or other committees in accordance with provisions and rules from time to time made and agreed upon by the Internationals' Committee and the Company's Committee.

(10) A national or international union, any of the members of which are employes of the Company, and which is not a member of the Department, may become a party to this agreement by notice to the Department and to the Company of its intention to conform to the provisions thereof. Any such union may withdraw from the agreement upon notice to the Department and the Company. Either the Department or the Company may terminate this agreement at any time by giving thirty days' notice in writing.

In witness whereof, Bethlehem Shipbuilding Corporation, Ltd., has caused these presents to be signed and its corporate seal to be hereto affixed by Eugene G. Grace, its President, and Joseph W. Powell, a Vice-President, and the Metal Trades Department of the A. F. of L. has caused these presents to be signed by James O'Connell, its President, and A. J. Berres, its Secretary, all on the day and year first above written.

BETHLEHEM SHIPBUILDING CORPORATION, LTD.,

By E. G. GRACE, *President.*

J. W. POWELL, *Vice-President.*

METAL TRADES DEPARTMENT,

By JAS. O'CONNELL, *President.*

A. J. BERRES, *Secretary-Treasurer.*

This agreement covers six shipyards and several auxiliary plants employing 75,000 employees and is one of the first agreements of its kind ever entered into between an employer and international officers of labor organizations in this country, and while at the writing of this report all the machinery has not begun to operate the agreement has had a tendency to bring harmony in the yards of the Bethlehem Shipbuilding Corporation and will undoubtedly be the means of creating a relationship and cooperation that will bring benefit to both parties to the agreement.

We also have signed an agreement not unlike the Bethlehem agreement with the American Shipbuilding Company of the Great Lakes, covering eight yards representing about 22,000 employees. In addition to the American Shipbuilding agreement, we have signed a similar agreement with the Globe Shipbuilding Company of Superior, Wis., and other shipyards in all sections of the country are considering agreements of a similar nature.

Seattle Strike

A general strike occurred in the shipyards and contract shops of Seattle on January 22, 1919, which continued for a period of about six weeks. Numerous attempts were made to bring about an adjustment of this strike, but inasmuch as the Shipbuilding Labor Adjustment Board was still operating, the position was taken by the Emergency Fleet Corporation that no adjustment would be attempted unless the men returned to work, which they finally decided to do by referendum vote. As a result of the strike and the general conditions on the Pacific Coast it was decided after a conference with the officers of the Emergency Fleet Corporation that a conference be called in the city of Washington, and that the shipyard owners, the shipyard workers, and the international officers of the Metal Trades Department of the A. F. of L. take part. The conference was held on March 17, 1919.

Many conferences were held and several drafts of agreements presented during a period of two weeks, but no joint agreement was signed. The shipbuilders finally submitted what they termed their ultimatum, in the shape of an agreement which was discussed by the representatives of the employees from the Pacific Coast for almost one entire day. The final decision of this conference of the representatives of labor from the Pacific Coast was that the agreement as presented by the shipyard owners would be submitted to a referendum of the membership of the Metal Trades Councils of the Pacific Coast without recommendation. The vote resulted in the defeat of the proposition of the shipbuilders.

Atlantic Coast Shipbuilders' Agreement

We are at present negotiating an agreement with the Atlantic Coast Shipbuilders' Association, which association comprises the great majority of the shipyard owners on the Atlantic Coast. At this writing it is expected that an agreement will be reached within the next week.

We have also been negotiating with other large industries with the idea of signing up agreements similar to those signed with the shipyard owners.

Panama Canal

The St. Paul Convention adopted the following resolution (No. 23):

Whereas, the various contentions and grievances now existing between the Panama Metal Trades Council and the Administration of the Panama Canal is in most cases due to a lack of labor representation in the formulating of working rules, and the total lack of any such working agreements as exist at other government establishments of a similar nature; and

Whereas, for the good of organized labor and the nation at large, such conditions should not exist at this time, and in an effort to establish better harmony and to eliminate as far as possible further contention between the Administration of the Panama Canal and the various crafts comprising the Panama Metal Trades Council; be it therefore

Resolved, that the national convention of the Metal Trades Department of

the A. F. of L. assembled at St. Paul, Minn., June 6, 1918, be requested to approve our efforts to obtain proper working agreements and better representation, and to sanction the assistance of the Metal Trades Department in securing the same.

Because of the long distance from the seat of government and the many controversies that continually arise on the Panama Canal, after conferring with a committee from the Metal Trades Council of the Panama Canal to meet with the Governor of the Canal Zone who was in the city of Washington, D. C., at the time, we deemed it advisable that a board be appointed to adjust wages and disputes on the Panama Canal Zone. After some hours of conference the Governor agreed to have a board of two—one to be selected by himself as the representative of the government, and the other to be selected by organized labor on the Canal Zone. This board has only begun to function and no reports have been received at this time relative to any of its activities. We are, however, of the opinion that it will be a great benefit to the Canal Zone.

Navy Yard Wage Scale

During the life of the Shipbuilding Labor Adjustment Board, the Navy Department put into effect in the navy yards the wage rates handed down by the Shipbuilding Labor Adjustment Board, thus doing away with the local wage boards. The Secretary of the Navy, in view of the decision of the Emergency Fleet Corporation that the last award of the Shipbuilding Labor Adjustment Board would continue in effect until October 1, 1919, has granted our request that the present wage rates and conditions continue in effect until October 1st, at which time the boards created under the several agreements will convene to adjust wages. The Navy Department will put the awards handed down by these boards in the navy yards.

International Affiliations

The following international organizations made application for affiliation with this department and were accepted:

International Federation of Draftsmen's Union.
International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen and Oilers.

The department now has fourteen international organizations affiliated with it and the A. F. of L. representing its federal unions, the membership of which is employed in the shipyards, navy yards and arsenals.

Local Charters

During the past year we have issued twenty-six charters to Local Metal Trades Councils, making a total of ninety-one councils.

Finances

At the Buffalo Convention the amount of per capita tax was changed from one-quarter of a cent per member per month to one-third of a cent, which, with the increased membership of the organizations, has placed our department on a better financial basis than ever before.

There is uniformly greater interest being taken in the work of the councils and agreements are continually being presented to the employers by the councils, and in a number of instances very good agreements have been signed.

Cancellation of Contracts for Ship Tonnage and the President's Order Against Permitting Shipyard Owners in this Country Accepting Contracts from Foreign Governments

This is one of the most serious situations confronting us at this time. If cancellations for the amount of tonnage are made such as spoken of recently in the press it will result in the unemployment of at least three hundred thousand men engaged either directly or indirectly in the shipbuilding industry, and it is to be hoped that the Federation and its affiliated internationals will use every influence at their command in order that this whole-

sale cancellation shall not take effect, and that the President of the United States be urged to permit the shipyard owners to accept contracts for ships from foreign countries.

Uniform Rates of Dues and Per Capita Tax

We are glad to report again that the affiliated internationals are making great strides in the direction of uniform dues and per capita tax and benefits. This is one of the campaigns that the department has launched which is bringing results. Generally speaking, there is a greater tendency towards the internationals working in harmony and concert than there ever was before. It is most gratifying to note the interest taken in each other's welfare on all occasions when conferences are being held.

Our relationship with the other departments of the A. F. of L. has been excellent, as have our relations with the several departments of the government.

UNION LABEL TRADES DEPARTMENT

John J. Manning, Secretary-Treasurer of the Union Label Trades Department, has this to say of the work of that department for the past year:

Despite the abnormal conditions which have existed in the industrial field because of the world war and the sudden cessation of hostilities, it is the belief of the officers of the Union Label Trades Department that material progress has been made in this field of endeavor.

This condition is indicated in three distinct ways: First, the greatly increased number of requests for information as to where union-made goods can be procured; second, the number of new Union Label Leagues which have been formed; third, the increase in the membership of the national and international unions in affiliation to the department.

There are now 62 local leagues chartered by the department, all of which are live, active bodies, the largest number of leagues which has ever been in existence, 18 charters having been issued during the past year.

The paid-up membership reported on at the St. Paul Convention was 499,722, in 37 national and international unions, while the present membership is 571,422, in 38 unions, a net gain of 71,300.

While it is gratifying to know that some progress is being made, it is not entirely satisfactory, and until such time as all national and international unions eligible to membership in the department assume this obligation, we can not reasonably hope to bring our full strength into the work of exploiting union labels, shop cards and working buttons. However, the officers of the department are hopeful that during the coming year the unions now unaffiliated will realize the necessity for cooperation and become a part of the department.

Organizers of the American Federation of Labor and representatives of national and international unions have given more attention to the union label, shop card and working button during the past year than has usually been the case, and commendation is herewith expressed for this cooperation, and the hope expressed that this feature of the work of labor representatives will be still more widely extended in the future.

RAILWAY EMPLOYEES' DEPARTMENT

John Scott, Secretary-Treasurer of the Railway Employees' Department, submitted the following report of the year's work of the Railway Employees' Department:

During the past year the Railway Employees' Department and all of the affiliated organizations have shared bountifully in the unprecedented growth in membership, and in consequence the work of the department has been more than trebled, the added income from per capita tax enabling us to more fully carry out its functions and take up the work in new fields.

At the time of our report to the thirty-eighth convention of the American Federation of Labor, following closely on the eve of the issuance of General Order No. 27, being the

first order issued governing the wage increases to the shop trades and approved by Mr. McAdoo under date of May 25, 1918, much dissatisfaction prevailed with the shop crafts on all railroads, not only because of the small measure of awards granted, but also due to the fact that it re-established the differentials in rates, many of which had been eliminated through organized effort during the years 1916 and 1917. It created less favorable conditions in many respects, while much discontent prevailed, and many of the employes were enticed into other industries offering better inducements; as a whole their confidence was unshaken in the promise of the Director-General to carry out his policy of a "square deal" to every one. True to their pledge the shop men remained at work and rendered their united efforts and support in making for the successful operation of the railroads, a condition that would have been impossible to attain under the old regime of private control, which denied these men their God-given rights as free American citizens and measured out justice only in proportion to our ability to enforce it.

The sympathetic attitude of the Director-General was soon made manifest by the creation of a new board known as the Board of Railroad Wages and Working Conditions and delegated with the following duties:

To hear and investigate matters presented by railroad employes or their representatives affecting—

- (1) Inequalities as to wages and working conditions, whether as individual employes or classes of employes.
- (2) Conditions arising from competition with employes in other industries.
- (3) Rules and working conditions for the several classes of employes, either for the country as a whole or for different parts of the country.

The board shall also hear and investigate other matters affecting wages and working conditions of employment referred to it by the Director-General.

The issuance of Supplement No. 4 to General Order No. 27 on July 25, 1918, in a large measure allayed the great unrest that prevailed, inasmuch as it created a standard minimum wage rate much more acceptable, although short of the demands presented and the prevailing rates in other industries. Addenda and supplements to the original awards have been issued from time to time setting aright many of the apparent discriminations and inequalities called to the board's attention.

In line with the liberal policy of the railroad administration, Boards of Adjustment Nos. 1, 2 and 3 were created as tribunals for the adjustment of all grievances arising out of misapplication of wage awards or violations of existing agreements. Several hundred cases have been handled and decisions rendered by these boards, and in all cases unanimous decisions have been secured without the aid of an umpire. The boards are composed of an equal number of representatives of employers and employes, all being practical men, having a thorough knowledge of the many controversies that may arise and the practices in effect on the various systems. They have grown up in the railroad industry, serving in various capacities and becoming fully familiar with every detail, thus insuring an equitable adjustment of all disputes and the elimination of the necessity for strikes and lockouts that previously obtained following any attempt on the part of the employes to seek redress of their wrongs.

Not the least important measure secured as a result of government administration of the railroads is the basic eight-hour day on all roads under federal control, with overtime allowance at time and a half. Less than fifty railroads had granted the eight-hour day prior to government control. This had been secured only after long years of bitter struggle on the part of the organized crafts on each separate system, entailing in each case bitter strikes and the consequent hardships with little or no possibility of many of the larger trunk lines even recognizing the right of their employes to organize much less bargain collectively as federated trades. Is it to be wondered at that the railroad employes have voted unanimously for government control?

During the past year the Railway Department has issued 20 charters to System Federations, increasing the list to 116. These include some of the largest railroads which, we also may add, have been in times past the most antagonistic to organized labor. Hence

the reason these men have been prevented from affiliating with the organization of their trade. Chief among these additions are the following:

Pennsylvania
Grand Trunk
Louisville & Nashville
Chicago, Burlington & Quincy
Lehigh Valley
Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe
Illinois Central
Erie
Great Northern
New York Central
Union Pacific
Southern Pacific
Western Pacific

Not only have these new system federations been organized and placed on a thorough workable basis with the necessary machinery to handle the business of all trades, but the older established federations have been fully perfected in all crafts and closer cooperative spirit engendered as a result of the changed conditions under which they are employed.

It would be impossible at this time to even enumerate in a brief way the many benefits resulting to the railroad employees during the period the roads have been under government control. The abolition of piecework stands out as one of the greatest achievements. The almost unanimous vote of the members to discontinue this accursed practice, when given the opportunity to express their wishes in the matter, is conclusive evidence that even the inducement offered in increased earnings could not offset the repugnance to the piecework practice. By vote of the members on the respective railroads piecework has been entirely eliminated during government control and can only be re-established in the same manner. It is unnecessary to state that the railroad managements who held piecework as a hobby have neglected no opportunity to attempt to restore it, and we may anticipate still further efforts in the event the roads return to private management.

Pursuant to the fourth biennial convention of the Railway Employees' Department and in line with the fixed purpose of the organizations to bring about a standardization of wages and working conditions on all railroads, a National Agreement Committee was elected, consisting of five representatives of each of the six shop trades from Divisions 1, 2 and 3 to draft a proposed national agreement and have same presented to the Director-General.

After the committee had completed their arduous task and had presented the proposed agreement to Director-General McAdoo, we were confronted with the fact that he, having tendered his resignation, could not consistently enter into negotiations on such an important question. He preferred to leave such matters to his successor in office.

Immediately following the appointment of Mr. Walker D. Hines as Director-General, negotiations were entered into to arrange for joint conferences with the seven regional directors, or their representatives, and an equal number of representatives from the shop trades. The first meeting took place January 19, 1919, and many others were held, there being several postponed dates intervening by requests of the Managers' Committee. The negotiations have been concluded and the proposed uniform rules have been presented to the Board of Wages and Working Conditions. While a number of the rules have not yet been agreed to, it is hoped that the Board of Wages and Working Conditions will be in a position to draft propositions acceptable to both parties.

In connection with the proposed national agreement, a new wage scale also has been presented to the Wage Board covering all classifications under the jurisdiction of the shop trades. These hearings were presented before the Wage Board March 12, 13 and 14, 1919.

In view of the understanding agreed to between the Board of Wages and Working Conditions and the respective members of the committees we have been prevented from giving out information as to the progress of these negotiations in order to avoid the premature publication of conclusions, which may not represent the final decisions. We hope, however, soon to be able to give out definite information on this important matter, which means so

much to the members of the shop trades on all railroads, and sincerely trust that patience will be amply awarded.

The Railway Employees' Department is cooperating with the transportation brotherhood organizations, the United Maintenance of Way Employees and the Order of Railroad Telegraphers' organization in their indorsement of the plan presented by Mr. Glenn E. Plumb for extension of tenure of government control of the railroads. Each of our affiliated organizations has agreed to meet their proportionate share of expense in conducting a vigorous campaign to retain the roads under government control, and the enactment of legislation in accordance with the principles embodied in the plan presented. Mr. Plumb has opened permanent offices in Washington, D. C., and nothing will be left undone to carry the campaign to a successful conclusion.

MINING DEPARTMENT

James Lord, President of the Mining Department, gives this as the report of the year's work:

In compliance with established custom, I hereby submit a brief report of the activities of the Mining Department since the St. Paul Convention.

The affiliated unions have given whole-hearted support to the program and policies of the American Federation of Labor, enunciated at the conference of March 12, 1917, and our government in the great crusade for democracy. In doing so, they have not found it necessary to surrender one iota of the principles on which the structure of American labor rests. They have carried on the work of improving working and living conditions for the organized and unorganized workers everywhere, and continued the campaign of organizing the unorganized. In doing this they have bent every effort to secure the maximum of production, and it is to their everlasting credit that no serious strike or stoppage of production occurred during the entire period of hostilities.

The status and achievements of the affiliated unions are as follows:

The United Mine Workers of America have made a gain of 447 new local unions. The average paid-up membership is 406,089. One new district has been organized, known as District 26. Twelve months ago the United Mine Workers of America was in debt \$315,978. During the year these debts have all been paid and it now has in its treasury and invested in Liberty Bonds a balance of \$1,382,799.75. During the last year \$58,000 were paid in strike relief. The organization has been extended into fields hitherto considered impregnable, local unions having been established in the Fairmont field of West Virginia, the Georges Creek field of Maryland, Eastern Kentucky, Nova Scotia and Utah.

The International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers has made good progress, considering the slackness of work caused by the embargo on steel for buildings and bridges. In the fabricating or shop division of the trade it has made considerable gains, the membership as a whole having increased by over 4,000. Wages have been increased approximately 35 per cent.

The International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers has made good progress, and in some places gained advances in wages over and above the long-established sliding scale in operation in the copper fields. It has extended its organizations in new fields in Arkansas, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Alabama and Florida. There is at the present time a strike in progress in the phosphate mining fields of Florida, owing to the companies refusing to abide by a decision rendered by the War Labor Board. This organization has made a substantial increase in membership.

The International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredge Men is now in the best condition financially it has ever been. It has organized and installed seven new local unions in the past year, one of these, having been granted entire jurisdiction in the state of California, has secured a membership of 800 in a few months. The eight-hour day with an increase in wages has been negotiated between their local and the dredge owners of California. In many cases these men had been working twelve hours previous to being organized. The eight-hour day has been established in most cases with the railroad contractors. The membership has been increased over 50 per cent during the past year, and the seven districts maintain fifteen paid organizers, in addition to the paid representatives of the local unions.

The International Association of Machinists has more than doubled its membership

during the past year. At the close of December, 1917, the membership was 150,000. At the close of December, 1918, it was 305,680, making a net gain of 155,680 members. This organization has put itself into splendid financial condition. At the close of the year its assets over the liabilities were \$1,047,007.64. The machinists have commenced the construction of a new, modern seven-story office building, which they expect to have completed by October, 1919.

The Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers has gained 8,000 members in the past year. It has issued seventy-nine new charters. It has shortened the hours of labor two and in some instances four a day. It has renewed the yearly agreements in general conference, and has suffered no reduction in wages, except as through the automatic operation of sliding scales. It has expended in strikes \$14,000; for death benefits, \$39,950; for death benefits members' wives, \$8,500; for total disability, \$950, and donated to other unions \$1,000.

I divided my time, from July 15, 1918, to March 15, 1919, between the Mining Department and the Mining Division of the United States Employment Service, on account of the critical shortage of mine labor generally existing. Attended the Pan-American Federation of Labor Convention at Laredo, Texas, as one of the Provisional Committee, and put forth my best efforts generally throughout the jurisdiction to the purpose of maximum production of supplies and the maintenance of standards of labor.

I have given what time and assistance I could to the child labor question and to being generally helpful with other resident officials in solving the multitudinous questions that manifested themselves in Washington during the war period from any division of labor.

The American labor movement can justly feel proud of its record and achievements, at home and abroad, in the cause of Labor and Democracy. By its efforts and deeds it has proven itself to the world as the Great Interpreter of Freedom and Democracy.

PORTO RICO

Santiago Iglesias, President of the Porto Rican Federation of Labor, submitted the following:

I have the pleasure to submit the following report on Porto Rico's labor activities and other important matters covering the year ending on this date.

Education

In 1914 the enrollment of children in the public schools reached a total of 207,040 out of 400,000 eligible children. There was a daily average attendance of 155,830.

In 1919 the enrollment thus far has reached 142,846 with an average daily attendance of 106,441. The total number of children of school age is 400,000. A recapitulation from the official reports of the Commissioner of Education shows a loss in educational opportunities on the part of 49,389 children.

Out of 400,000 children of school age on the Island, 155,830 attended school in 1914. The export and import trade of the Island for the same year amounted to \$79,509,549. In the year 1918, 106,441 children attended the public schools, there being a decrease of 49,389 children who failed to attend school for lack of seats and teachers.

The import and export trade of the Island in the same year amounted to \$137,683,304. This shows that while the trade of the Island appears to have increased in the four years by \$58,173,755 yet during the same period 49,389 children lost the opportunity to attend school.

Violation of the Organic Law

The Organic Law of Porto Rico provides:

"No corporation shall be authorized to conduct the business of buying and selling real estate or be permitted to hold or own real estate except such as may be reasonably necessary to enable it to carry out the purposes for which it was created, and every corporation hereafter authorized to engage in agriculture shall by its charter be restricted to the ownership and control of *not to exceed five hundred acres of land*; and this provision shall be held to prevent any member of the corporation engaged in agriculture from being in anywise interested in any other corporation engaged in agriculture."

The Organic Acts of the country have been and are being violated by corporations and individuals and financial combinations of absentees and residents to the serious prejudice of the life of the people and to the progress of the country.

It has been proven by a legal document forwarded to the Senate by the President of the United States on January 18, 1918, that 477 corporations and individuals, American, Spanish and French, possess and monopolize 766,396 acres of land valued at \$57,832,437 and that they possess \$26,708,123 worth of other property, making a total of \$84,540,860, all in violation of the Organic Act of the Island.

Absentee Monopolies vs. Labor

The working people of Porto Rico are convinced that absentee monopolies and financial combinations exercise an entirely disproportionate and reactionary influence over the social, political, financial and governmental conditions on the Island. Abuses developed by these influences have placed the greater part of the small proprietors and the agricultural and industrial producing masses at the mercy of arbitrary conditions, which impose upon the former high prices for products and upon the latter the lowest and most miserable wages for their labor resulting in pauperism.

The receipts of the insular treasury of Porto Rico have not increased in accordance with the wealth produced by the producing masses of the Island because corporations and individuals financially powerful have succeeded in avoiding equitable assessments of their property and wealth. It is estimated that 70 per cent of the wealth produced on the Island is taken away in the form of income and profits for investment elsewhere, while 400,000 men and women laborers of our agricultural fields are kept at average wages of 65 cents per day of ten working hours.

In the banks of Porto Rico almost the same money borrowed by the government at 4 per cent is loaned to wealthy individuals at 9 per cent in cases where loans are for a short period only. To people in fair circumstances this money is loaned at 12 per cent and at 50 per cent to the poor.

Commercialism in the Island

Governor Yager in his official report of 1918 to the President stated that the people of Porto Rico paid an excess of \$10,000,000 over the regular prices of foodstuffs imported from the United States in 1918 under the supervision of the Food Commission.

Oppressing the Workers

During the past five years 21 working men, women and boys have been killed by police in industrial disputes and a very considerable number seriously injured. More than 400 men and women have been sent to jail. Police officials and some of the magistrates of Porto Rico acted as if they were the servants of the masters in oppressing the workers. The right of free speech and assembly in many instances has been practically abolished.

Charges Against Governor Yager

Early in 1918 it became necessary for President Gompers to file with President Wilson formal charges against Governor Yager in an effort to secure relief from the insufferable industrial conditions of the island. Report on the finding of these charges was made by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to the 1918 convention of the A. F. of L. at St. Paul.

In compliance with the suggestion from President Wilson, a conference took place about July 15, 1918, in the office of the Secretary of War, Mr. Baker with President Gompers, Secretary Baker, General MacIntyre (in charge of the Bureau of Insular Affairs) and Santiago Iglesias participating. In that conference President Gompers for more than an hour recited the story of conditions in Porto Rico. It was agreed that Secretary Baker would take up with the President the question of having a general investigation of labor conditions in Porto Rico made by persons whose views and recommendations would command the respect of all in Porto Rico and that such a commission should visit Porto Rico about September, 1918. On July 11 President Gompers suggested to Secretary Baker that the inves-

tigation should "include that which goes to make up the work and the life of Porto Rican workers" and should be "conducted under the direction of the National War Labor Board."

President Gompers suggested that the commission should be appointed by the President of the United States and should be made up of four or six persons "representing (a) employers, (b) employees, both to be appointed by the President, and (c) that each group select a man to act in the capacity of adviser and to preside alternately at meetings and that each group consist of two or three persons."

The commission so organized was prepared to sail from New York on November 5, 1918, but was, just prior to the date of sailing, instructed not to go owing to the fact that the War Labor Board had been advised by President Wilson of plans of the War Department for a detailed investigation, the President desiring that the War Labor Board wait until effective cooperation could be secured with the War Department. No investigating commission has yet come to Porto Rico.

Considering that the Secretary of War has always depended upon the advice, consultation and recommendations of General MacIntyre of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, to settle Porto Rican affairs, it may be said that if the commission, practically recommended by the President, was not appointed to come to Porto Rico and make the investigation requested, it has been owing to the hostility of General MacIntyre and to his ingenious and diplomatic efforts extending over a period of years, to prevent the thorough investigation of conditions on the island.

General MacIntyre, in a memorandum prepared for the Secretary of War, made the following recommendation: "I believe it would be extremely unwise to act upon Mr. Gompers' suggestion and send a commission of inquiry to Porto Rico to go into all of the matters brought up by Mr. Iglesias' letter of complaint."

The convention of the A. F. of L. should recommend to President Wilson the immediate transfer of the governmental business of the Island of Porto Rico from the Military Bureau of Insular Affairs to a civil department in accordance with Resolution No. 50 submitted by Samuel Gompers and unanimously approved by the convention of the A. F. of L. at St. Paul.

It is the earnest wish of the Free Federation of Workmen of Porto Rico that such a commission as President Gompers suggested to the Secretary of War visit our island to make a thorough investigation and that the commission may be composed of men who will go to the heart of things.

Porto Rico's Political Fate

The Congress of the United States should decide what the United States intends to do with the people of Porto Rico. The people of the Island ought to know what our position is. Recent decisions of the Supreme Court show that the high tribunal considers the position of Porto Rico at present as it was under the Foraker Act, that no change has been operated in our status with the granting of the American citizenship to the citizens of Porto Rico, and that therefore we are yet an unincorporated territory. So, after 20 years of American domination, we have not been able to know what the Congress of the United States intends to do with us. According to the Supreme Court, we are an organized territory, but not incorporated into the United States. The high tribunal has established a distinction between organization and incorporation. Our status, therefore, is extremely peculiar. Are we foreigners? No; because we are American citizens, and no citizen of the United States can be a foreigner within the boundaries of the nation, but *the constitution of the United States is not applicable to Porto Rico and therefore while we are citizens of the United States we are not under the constitution.*

Progress of Labor Organization

The forces of reaction and greed have shown great aggressiveness during the last year. All that could be done to destroy existing labor organizations and to prevent the organization of new ones in the Island has been done.

The efforts of the A. F. of L. are being antagonized by those who have interests in keeping this Island as a large factory worked by slaves.

In spite of that, during the year past the toilers have advanced along the road of progress toward the achievement of a better social, economical and political independence by means of a methodical and persistent labor fight, both collectively and individually.

The Free Federation of Workingmen of Porto Rico is a state branch of the A. F. of L., has over 18,000 members with 143 organizations as follows:

Number of Bodies

Cigarmakers' Unions.....	16
Female Cigarmakers' Unions.....	1
Carpenters' Unions.....	16
Typographical Union.....	1
Painters' Unions.....	3
Women's Protective Unions.....	3
Barbers' Unions.....	2
Tobacco Strippers' Unions.....	14
Wrapper Selectors' Unions.....	3
Federated Labor Unions.....	6
Retail Clerks' Union.....	1
Longshore Workers' Unions.....	7
Bakers' Unions.....	3
Agricultural Workers' Unions.....	25
Shoemakers' Unions.....	7
Bricklayers' and Masons' Unions.....	2
Hodcarriers' Unions.....	2
Hat Weavers' Union.....	1
Cigarmakers' Helpers' Unions.....	2
Hotel and Restaurant Employes' Union.....	1
Meat Cutters' and Butchers' Union.....	1
Tobacco Box Decorators' Unions.....	3
Boxmakers' Union.....	1
Mechanics' Unions.....	5
Laborers' Protective Union.....	1
Tobacco Workers.....	1
Electrical Workers' Union.....	1
Women Cigar Banders' Union.....	1
Total Local Unions.....	132
Central Labor Unions.....	4
Joint Advisory Board of the Cigarmakers' Unions of Porto Rico.....	1
Local Trade Councils.....	4
Cooperative Institutions: Free Federation Press.....	1
Barber Shop of the Free Federation.....	1
General Total.....	143

Strikes

During the period which we refer to, and in spite of the information given by Governor Yager that there were no visible strikes in the Island in 1918, the Porto Rican Bureau of Labor, which at this time is unfriendly to organized labor, reports in its bulletin of 1918 the occurrence of strikes in about 40 cities and towns of the Island, especially in the sugar-cane fields as well as in many other industries. In fact, the Free Federation of Labor of Porto Rico had to help more than 46,000 workers altogether in their demands for better conditions and their right to strike in the sugar, tobacco, railroad, longshoremen, street-cars, building trades and other industries.

In many instances and after the strikes were instituted the representatives of the companies, with the cooperation of the insular police have done everything possible to break up peaceful demonstrations and gatherings of strikers; free speech and right of assembly abridged; picketing prohibited; workers threatened that if found along country roads at night would be arrested and sent to jail; employers' agents cooperating with police and

carrying arms; policemen threatened workers with clubs and shooting if they left work; Fajardo Sugar Company forcibly importing strike-breakers, who did not know of strike and when they wanted to quit after they had discovered strike existed they were told they would have to work until they got money enough to return; Governor issues instructions not to transmit certain wires from Iglesias that would induce workers to strike.

According to Commissioner Roberts of the Porto Rican Bureau of Labor the following situation existed: Employers deny their workers fair profits, discrediting the movement toward equitable settlement; refused overtures for conference; arbitrary transferral of labor from place to place; attempt to import labor from Virgin Islands; all sugar men in Sugar Growers' Association banded to prevent investigation; 100 per cent to 150 per cent dividend paid on capital stock; profit per ton of sugar in 1915, 64 per cent compared to profit in 1916 of 104.73 per cent; laborers paid only few cents more than in 1916 and that only part of the year; cost of food staples of that country has risen over 110 per cent; sugar industry lasts only 240 days in the year, so that for six months 5,000 of the 8,000 workers are out of work; 25,443 laborers receive less than 70 cents per day.

The Porto Rican American Tobacco Company since December 31, 1918, has declared a lockout which involved 15,000 workers, men and women, that are resisting the conditions that the tobacco trust wants to impose upon them. The lockout comprises 17 cities and towns of the Island and almost the entire tobacco industry. This is the first industrial dispute in the Island that lasted so long a time and the men and women are ready and in a disposition to win, no matter the kind of privations they have to endure.

Workers Deported from Cuba

Ramon Barrios and Alfredo Negrin were sent to Havana to represent the Tobacco Workers' Unions of Porto Rico affiliated to the A. F. of L. and in behalf of the 15,000 tobacco workers locked out by the Porto Rican American Tobacco Company. These men bearing letters of presentation from the Free Federation of Workingmen of Porto Rico addressed to the representatives of the labor movement of Havana and also the bulletins of the tobacco workers were arrested at the harbor of Havana and imprisoned incommunicado and later deported from Cuba back to San Juan, Porto Rico. Messrs. Barrios and Negrin applied for and were granted proper passports here at San Juan as American citizens, to travel to Cuba and other places for the purpose of studying working conditions of their fellows in the sister Island and in behalf of the tobacco workers' union of Porto Rico. The manner in which they were treated is described in the following statement by them:

"We left for Havana on February 12, and on the voyage another passenger named Jose de Armas told us that we would probably be detained in Havana and not allowed to disembark.

"We arrived at Havana on February 17 at 9 A. M. Sergeant Corrales and another policeman immediately came on board and called for Barrios and Negrin. Their manner was very rough. They began shouting, 'Where are the two tobacco workers from Porto Rico?' violently forcing their way through the passengers. Sergeant Corrales searched us in a very impolite manner. Afterwards we were taken before one of the district officials, who asked us the purpose of our visit. We told him our mission consisted in investigating working conditions in Cuba, etc. The official then told Sergeant Corrales to take charge of us and he took us to the office of the secret service police of the city.

"There we were again searched and all our papers, letters of introduction and other documents, were confiscated.

"From the office of the secret service we were taken to the "Vivac" where we were put in the political prison No. 9. We got clean beds. So as not to be obliged to eat prison fare we bought our meals at a cost of \$3 a day. We were locked up and were not permitted to communicate with anyone, not even the American authorities and we were refused an interview with a lawyer.

"When we finally asked if our letters we had written to Francisco Navas, Gervasio Sierra, Jose Bravo and the American Minister at Havana, had been delivered we were informed that such procedure was useless as no letters would leave the hands of the authorities.

"We were informed by Police Sergeant Leopoldo Torres that 'for some days we have had this place ready for you.'

"In the 'Vivac' jail we were held without communication with any one for six days.

"On the 19th of February we were presented with deportation papers which we were requested to sign. We refused to sign the paper as it called for admissions on our part which were not true, and we protested that we had been given no opportunity to be heard by the United States authorities in our capacity as American citizens, nor with labor representatives, or any court of justice. Even a lawyer had been refused us.

"We then refused to sign the deportation paper, at which the official seemed perturbed and called in two detectives and ordered them to sign for us.

"After considerable effort we were permitted as a great favor to bathe ourselves once during the six days we were imprisoned.

"The cell No. 9 where we were prisoners was dark and unhealthy. There was neither air nor sunlight.

"The other prisoners in the building were brutally treated if they attempted to speak with us. We were permitted to buy newspapers.

"On the 22nd of February we were taken in an automobile to the dock and put aboard the 'Santiago de Cuba' to be deported to San Juan.

"On the steamer we were in custody of three policemen with revolvers and carbines.

"When we arrived at Santiago de Cuba we were taken ashore in custody of the guards, although we were permitted to ride in an automobile sent for us by the organized workers of Santiago de Cuba. We were again taken to jail, and locked in a gallery where there were 25 other prisoners, all of whom slept on a single, dirty platform. The gallery was a small room, filthy and indecent, without air or light and fit for animals only. There we had to eat and sleep for one day. Then we were put in another room as bad as the first, where we had to stay three days more.

"On the first of March we were again taken on board the 'Santiago de Cuba' under guard.

"When the steamer reached Santo Domingo we were locked in a stateroom during the two hours the vessel was in port. There was no other occurrence of note until we arrived at San Juan where we were enthusiastically received by over 3,000 of our fellow workers.

"We can not close this statement without expressing our gratitude to the workers of Cuba for their efforts in our behalf."

Although appeals were made to Washington, by cable, following unanimous action by both houses of the legislature that the American authorities at Havana be instructed to look after the interests of Barrios and Negrin as American citizens, the authorities here have been advised that the cable was delayed until after the two men were sent from Havana to Porto Rico. An investigation by the United States government is being asked.

Labor Legislation

Many labor laws of Porto Rico are inadequate and those which can serve the purpose to protect the labor masses are not properly enforced. We have a Department of Agriculture and Labor with a Bureau of Labor in it. When the present Organic Law of the Island was enacted by Congress we had the hopes that such a Labor Department would become a great instrumentality to advance the interests of the wage earners and to perform a practical work for the welfare of the labor population of the Island through adequate laws to be enforced fairly. But unfortunately we see that such laws supposed to protect the labor of women and children and others are generally violated. Representing the Free Federation of Workingmen in the Senate of Porto Rico I have been successful in having passed a more radical compensation law, woman and child minimum

wage and some others of less importance. We have at this time before the Senate the following bills pending:

Favoring the establishment of the League of Nations to maintain peace and to guarantee liberty to promote progress and the orderly development of the world.

To protect workmen in the exercise of their right to vote.

Providing pensions for insolvent widowed mothers in charge of children under sixteen years of age; appropriating the sum of \$70,380 for the purpose; creating children's welfare boards, and for other purposes.

To abolish the auction system in connection with all works, purchases of material, supplies, equipment, etc., for the use of any of the dependencies of the people of Porto Rico and for other purposes.

Providing for the registration in the office of the executive secretary of Porto Rico of any insignia, flag, distinctive sign, seal or emblem, of any labor party, association, union or club.

To give preference to all materials of domestic construction and manufacture, and to order all the departments to supply themselves with materials made, or that may be made, in Porto Rico.

To compel employers to fulfill certain duties and to protect laborers in their homes.

Creating a general employment agency and labor exchange for the people of Porto Rico to be under the direction of the Department of Agriculture and Labor, and for other purposes.

That employers shall not impose, directly or indirectly in person or through their agents, and as an express or implied condition for the employment of a laborer, any stipulation relative to the place where or the manner in which the laborer shall spend his wages or any part thereof, nor any stipulation compelling him to live on the employers' property.

To amend section 1, and to repeal section 6, as amended August 19, 1913, of "An act regulating the work of women and children and protecting them against dangerous occupations."

To convert the boys' and girls' charity schools into vocational, industrial, commercial and agricultural schools for girls and boys; to provide the form of admission thereto, and to amend sections 8 and 28 of an act to create juvenile courts, approved March 11, 1915, and April 6, 1916, respectively.

To amend act No. 9 of November 12, 1917, entitled "An act to protect and extend school lunch rooms to all public schools," and for other purposes.

Amending section 45 of the Code of Criminal Procedure to protect the workers.

To provide prompt and summary trial in civil cases for the recovery of money on account of wages or salary due to laborers, artisans, clerks, servants or any other employe working for a salary, wages or compensation, and for other purposes.

Authorizing the Commissioner of the Interior to extend the insular public telephone system to all towns, barrios and settlements in the Island, and for other purposes.

To create the printing office of the government of the people of Porto Rico and the office of Public Printer, segregating the present printery from the Bureau of Supplies, Printing and Transportation of the people of Porto Rico and for other purposes.

Conclusion

During the past eighteen months there have been 23 trade unions organized and 4 re-organized.

I need not point out the great value of the labor unions as an Americanizing influence in the Island of Porto Rico.

No other agency can compare with them in instilling into the people of Porto Rico the spirit of America and developing in them the capacity for self-government. No other American institution so embodies the soul of America, the spirit of democracy.

Nor is it necessary to point out the un-American and dangerous subserviency, amounting to serfdom, that exists in agricultural-industrial populations employed by the great corporations that deny their employees the right to organize. As an Americanizing agency the Free Federation of Workingmen of Porto Rico, of course, agrees that no amount of welfare work, by which favors are handed down from above, can remove the menace to American institutions that lies in agricultural-industrial populations that are economically subservient and that must depend for their well-being upon the generous exercise of arbitrary power by a superior class.

And, even at the present moment it is quite clear that the social and economic position of the Porto Rican agricultural worker is very poor, that he is held in small esteem by employers and government officials, that there is a contempt for his work (a contempt not even disguised by conventional phases) and finally that the economic power and influence of the workingman is extremely small.

The Island should be utilized no longer merely or primarily as a means of providing opportunities for investment and commercial exploitation by Americans, Spaniards, Porto Ricans and other citizens, residents and absentees; the policy of educating the people should not be held up further on account of its expense and alleged uselessness; and the standard of living of the people and the conditions of Porto Rican agricultural laboring class must be improved.

The program which the American people must carry out in order to live up to the theory under which the Island was acquired and to improve the conditions of the laboring and other population of the Island, is necessarily an extensive one.

CANADA

P. M. Draper, Secretary, Dominion Trades and Labor Congress, made the following report for the past year:

Another period of Labor history, replete with earnest endeavor and achievement, has been incorporated into the records of Canada's eventful year, and viewing the situation from both the industrial and political aspects the organized labor movement has every reason to be proud of the progress made since the last convention of the American Federation of Labor.

The marked increase in Canadian trade union membership recorded in 1917 was surpassed in 1918, and indicates a rapidity of growth, probably without precedent in the history of organized labor of the Dominion. At the end of 1913 trade union members in Canada numbered 175,799. The two following years showed a decline of 32,456, reducing the membership to 143,343. In 1916, although there was a loss of 41 local branches, the membership figures showed a gain of 17,064, increasing the total to 160,407. The year 1917 showed the substantial increase of 44,223 members, bringing the total to 204,630, comprised in 1,974 local branches, a gain in branches for the year of 132. At the close of 1918, the membership for all classes of trade unions in Canada, was 248,887, comprised in 2,274 branch unions, a total increase for the year of 44,257 in membership and 300 in local branches. There are 96 international organizations having one or more local branches in Canada, and between them they comprise 1,897 of the branch unions in the Dominion, an increase of 195 over the number recorded in 1917. The total international membership at the close of the year 1918 was 201,432, a gain of 36,536. The local unions of the international organizations are distributed throughout the nine provinces as follows: Ontario, 820; Quebec, 277; British Columbia, 224; Alberta, 181; Manitoba, 127; Saskatchewan, 112; New Brunswick, 78; Nova Scotia, 75; and Prince Edward Island, 3. In addition to the international organizations having branches in the Dominion there are thirteen bodies classed as non-internationals, who have between them 332 local branches, with a combined membership of 37,928, an increase for 1918 of 88 branches and 5,585 members. The local branches of the non-international organizations are located as follows: Ontario, 103; Quebec, 58; Nova Scotia, 52; Alberta, 27; Manitoba, 24; British Columbia, 23; Saskatchewan, 19; New Brunswick, 10; and Prince Edward Island, 3. Apart from unions having either international or non-international affiliations there are 45 independent units in the Dominion, 27 of which have reported a membership of 9,527, a gain of 2,136 as compared with the reported membership from 28 independent units which were in existence in 1917. The majority of these independent units are located in the provinces

of Quebec, and some of them are of a semi-religious character, the membership being confined to adherents of the Roman Catholic faith. Of the 45 independent bodies in the Dominion, 31 are located in Quebec, which province shows an increase of 12 in this class of organization. In September, 1918, a convention of "national" unions of the province of Quebec was held, 27 unions being represented. Officers were elected, and it was decided to hold another convention in the city of Three Rivers in 1919, when the question of forming a federation of "national" unions would be considered. The remainder of the 45 independent unions were located as follows: British Columbia, 5; Ontario, 3; New Brunswick and Manitoba, 2 each; Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, one each.

The large increase in membership has given added virility to the movement and enabled the different organizations to make a more effective stand for increased wages to meet the increased cost of living.

In the political field considerable progress has been made, both in the recognition of the organized labor movement by the government and in the organization of the Independent Labor party in the different provinces of the Dominion. With the entry of the union government into power there was an immediate change in policy and representatives of organized labor were invited to Ottawa to confer with members of the cabinet on questions vital to the interest of the workers of the nation. It was accepted as a part of government policy that labor should be represented on all the important commissions and committees appointed by the government and today representatives of labor are acting on several government committees and commissions.

The past two years have also demonstrated the possibility of organizing the women workers and in the machine and textile industries important progress has been made in bringing women into the ranks of the organized workers. The enfranchisement of women by the dominion parliament and in the majority of the provinces of Canada has made it all the more necessary that the women should be organized industrially as well as politically. With their knowledge of industrial conditions and the need for improvement in these conditions it is being made easier to convince the women workers of the need of organization, and special efforts will have to be made to enlist the services of capable women organizers to bring more of the women toilers into the ranks of organized labor.

A commission has been appointed to investigate the adaptability of industrial councils for Canada. Its duties will be to secure data as to similar British councils founded on the Whitley Industrial Commission report and data also on industrial councils formed in the United States largely on the Rockefeller plan, to obtain information as to how Canadian industries could be grouped for such councils and to issue a report for the guidance of the government in order that they may declare how far and what manner of industrial councils can be established for the promotion of joint management, by labor, of Canadian industries. Mr. Tom Moore, President, Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, and Mr. John W. Bruce, Toronto, general organizer of the United Association of Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada, were unanimously chosen by the Executive Council to represent Labor affiliated with the congress on this commission and accepted by the government.

Legislation

In accordance with the demands placed before the Canadian government at the annual interview last November, the following legislation is being considered by the Canadian parliament, now in session:

A bill making provision for compensation to federal employes by the federal government depositing funds with provincial compensation boards, thus avoiding delay in payment to the injured workers, has been passed this session.

A bill creating a federal health department which will take into account the many resolutions passed at our congress relative to insurance, old age pensions, hospital control and many other matters, has passed the House of Commons and is now before the Senate and is closely carrying out the demands of organized labor.

Protection, through registration of the union labels and shop cards, is to be secured, by a bill which the government has promised to bring down, but has not yet introduced.

A bill restricting immigration is now before the House and receiving our attention. In accordance with the endorsement of a large number of trades councils throughout

the Dominion amendments making stringent provisions for the protection of life and property, through fire insurance legislation, have been passed and are now law.

Eight-Hour Day

The platform of the congress provides for a six-hour day. In view of existing conditions, however, and the demands of many important organizations and trades councils for the adoption of an eight-hour day the request for the enactment of legislation providing for a workday not to exceed eight hours has been presented on several occasions to the government by your executive. Up to the present, no action has been taken by the government in compliance with our request.

The "One Big Union Movement" in Western Canada

On March 13-15, 1919, at Calgary, Alta., a meeting was held under the title of the Western Interprovincial Labor Conference, David Rees, vice-president, Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, acting as temporary chairman. The conference elected R. J. Tallon, president, Calgary Trades and Labor Council, chairman, and V. R. Midgley, secretary, Vancouver Trades and Labor Council, secretary. The credential committee recommended the seating of 237 delegates, from the four western provinces: British Columbia, 85; Alberta, 89; Saskatchewan, 17; Manitoba, 46. The resolution committee submitted the following resolution which was adopted unanimously:

"Realizing that the aims and objects of the labor movement should be the improving of the social and economic conditions of society, and the working class in particular, and

WHEREAS, The present system of production for profit and the institutions resulting therefrom prevent this being achieved; be it therefore

Resolved, That the aims of labor as represented by this convention are the abolition of the present system of production for profit, and the substitution therefor of production for use, and that a system of propaganda to this end be carried out."

The resolution committee recommended the adoption of the undermentioned resolution as a substitute for the many resolutions presented on industrial unionism:

"*Resolved*, That this convention recommend to organized labor in this Dominion the severance of the present affiliation with the international organizations, and that steps be taken to form an industrial organization of all workers, and that a circular letter outlining the proposed plan of organization be sent out to the various organizations, and that a referendum on the question be taken at the same time, the votes east of Port Arthur to be compiled separately from those of the west."

The policy committee made a report embodying the wishes of the conference, viz:

"1. We recommend the name of the proposed organization to be 'The One Big Union.'

"2. We recommend the conference elect a committee of five irrespective of geographical location for the purpose of carrying out the necessary propaganda to make the referendum a success.

"3. We further recommend that delegates from each province meet and elect a committee of five to work in conjunction with the central committee in carrying on the necessary propaganda to accomplish the wishes of the convention.

"4. We recommend the drafting and issuing of the referendum be left to the 'Central Committee' also receiving and publishing returns of the vote.

"5. In the opinion of the committee it will be necessary in establishing an industrial form of organization to work through the existing trades council and district boards and no definite plan of organization be submitted until after the referendum has been taken.

"6. The committee further recommend that after the return of the vote is received the 'central committee' call a conference of representatives of trades

councils and district boards to perfect the plans of organization basis of referendum of affiliated membership of 5,000 or less to be one delegate, over 5,000, 2 delegates, over 10,000, 3 delegates.

"7. We recommend that an appeal be made to the trades councils and district boards for the payment of two cents per member affiliated to finance the educational campaign for the inauguration of 'The One Big Union.'"

After considerable discussion the report was declared adopted.

The Executive Council of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, in Bulletin No. 3, dated April 19th, last said:

"One Big Union.—During the past month an attempt at disruption of our movement has taken place by the launching of a campaign for the secession from international trade unions and the formation of 'one big union.' This can not in any measure be considered as reform or progress, but purely a secession movement which will result, if given support, in division of our ranks. The international trade union movement has been making rapid strides during the past year, over three hundred new local unions and several thousand members being added in Canada in that period. The present is the time when the full force of the organized labor movement should be exercised, and any action which will weaken our forces and delay our opportunities to achieve results should be discountenanced. We do not intend to allow either outside or inside influences to work unopposed for the destruction of the organizations we represent and federal labor unions chartered by the congress, trades councils, and provincial federations of labor are advised and warned to take no action in support of this 'one big union' propaganda which would in any way conflict with the obligations they have taken, and the constitution of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada. This matter will be dealt with more fully in a further statement.

"Organisation.—In conclusion we would advise that organization work be vigorously proceeded with. Where workers are eligible for membership in an international trade union of their craft or calling, direct application should be made that body. Where workers are not so eligible federal labor union charters should be applied for to the A. F. of L. When workers are not eligible to established international trade unions, but are employed by civic, provincial or federal governments, where their working conditions are controlled by legislative bodies, the congress will be pleased to issue federal union charters to them."

SECOND DAY--Tuesday Morning Session

Atlantic City, June 10, 1919.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 a. m., President Gompers in the chair:

Absentees—Boyer, McNulty, Schlesinger, Mitchell, Hayes, Hannah, Clark, Burke, Funderburk, Thomas, Curtis, Ely, Harlin, Yarow, Willis, Priestly, Metz, Thomas, Young, Hannon, Wilkinson, Simpson, Enright, Cooper, Harts, Burk, Patterson, Berger, Elliott, Thompson, Clarke.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Edwards, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Your Committee on Credentials recommends the seating of the following delegates:

United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America—Wm. Hemmell and O. E. Woodbury.

International Jewelry Workers Union—A. Greenstein, S. S. Beardley, 51 votes.

Danbury, Conn., Central Labor Union—John J. Garrick, 1 vote.

Meriden, Conn., Central Labor Union—Frank P. Ganey, 1 vote.

Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants Union, No. 11773, Washington, D. C.—C. E. Scott, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 16398, Cleveland, Ohio, M Goldsmith, 1 vote.

National Women's Trade Union League of America, Mrs. Maud Swartz, 1 vote.

Peter J. Brady will act in place of Theodore Griefzeu, as delegate from the International Photo-Engravers Union of N. A.

Peter Rooney will act as a delegate from the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees in place of W. D. Mahon.

Alice Kissam will act as delegate from Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants Union No. 12646, (New York and Vicinity), instead of James P. Boyle.

Central Trades and Labor Assembly, Springfield, Mo.,—R. T. Wood, 1 vote.

Domestic Workers Union No. 16108, New Orleans, La.—Mrs. Eleanor Peete, 1 vote.

Respectfully submitted,
CHAS. F. SCOTT, Chairman,
WALTER V. PRICE,
E. W. EDWARDS, Secretary.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Delegate Healy, Stationery Firemen, asked the unanimous consent of the convention for the introduction of and immediate action by the convention upon a resolution bearing on the proposed repeal of the daylight saving law. Consent was granted, and Delegate Healy introduced the following:

Resolution No. 45:—By delegates of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen and Oilers.

WHEREAS, daylight saving has proved beneficial to the country as a whole and to working men in particular, and especially to those employed at indoor occupations; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, that this convention of the American Federation of Labor protest against the repeal of the Daylight Saving Law and that the Secretary be instructed to notify the President pro-tem of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the affirmation by this convention of Daylight Saving.

It was moved and seconded that the resolution be adopted.

Delegate McCullough, Omaha, opposed the resolution on the grounds that the daylight saving law worked an injustice to the men employed in agricultural pursuits.

Delegate Healy, in supporting the resolution, pointed out the advantages that had resulted to the men and women of labor in the large industrial centers, where he believed the law had been of great benefit to them in every way.

Vice-President Duncan also supported the resolution, as well as Secretary Morrison and Delegate D'Alessandro, each of the speakers referring in particular to the recreational advantages of the extra hour of daylight.

Those who opposed the resolution, including Delegates McCullough, of Omaha, Brown, Machinists, Burton, Strickland, of Portland, Ore., Darr, of Canton, Ohio, Sexton, Tracy, Max Hays, and John H. Lewis, United Mine Workers, did so on the grounds that it worked a grave injustice to those workers who were compelled to rise early in order to reach their places of employment. They also took the position that the law really deprived these workers of an hour of sleep at the time when it is most beneficial.

On motion by Delegate Connors, Switchmen, debate was closed.

The chair being in doubt as to the result of the aye and nay vote, a vote by show of hands was taken, resulting as follows: 154 in favor of the adoption of the resolution, 180 against.

President Gompers: The resolution is not adopted.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS

Delegate Andrew C. Hughes, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

We, your Committee on Rules, recommend the adoption of the following rules to govern the convention:

Rule 1. The convention shall be called to order at 9:30 a. m. and remain in session until 12:30. Convene at 2:30 p. m. and remain in session until 5:30 p. m., except Saturday on which day the session shall be from 9:30 to 12:30 p. m.

Rule 2. If a delegate while speaking, be called to order, he shall, at the request of the Chair, take his seat until the question of order is decided.

Rule 3. Should two or more delegates rise to speak at the same time, the Chair shall decide who is entitled to the floor.

Rule 4. No delegate shall interrupt another in his remarks, except it be to call to a point of order.

Rule 5. A delegate shall not speak more than twice upon a question until all who wish to speak have an opportunity to do so.

Rule 6. A delegate shall not speak more than twice on the same question without permission from the Convention.

Rule 7. Speeches shall be limited to ten minutes, but the time of speaking may be extended by vote of the convention. The Committee recommends that this rule be strictly observed.

Rule 8. A motion shall not be open for discussion until it has been seconded and stated from the Chair.

Rule 9. At the request of five members the mover of a motion shall be required to reduce it to writing.

Rule 10. When a question is pending before the Convention, no motion shall be in order except to adjourn, to refer, for the previous question, to postpone indefinitely, to postpone for a certain time, to divide or amend which motions shall have precedence in the order named.

Rule 11. Motions to lay on the table shall not be debatable, except as limited by Roberts Rules of Order.

Rule 12. A motion to reconsider shall not be entertained unless by a delegate who voted in the majority, and shall receive a majority vote.

Rule 13. That the reports of committees shall be subject to amendments and substitutes from the floor of the Convention the same as other motions and resolutions.

Rule 14. Any delegate failing to present his card within thirty minutes after the convention is called to order shall be marked absent, but in the event of unavoidable absence he may so report to the Secretary and be marked present.

Rule 15. It shall require at least thirty delegates to move the previous question.

Rule 16. All resolutions shall bear the signature of the introducer and the title of the organization he represents and shall be submitted in duplicate.

Rule 17. No motion or resolution shall be voted upon until the mover or introducer has had a chance if he or she so desires.

Rule 18. When a roll-call has been taken, and all delegations present have had the opportunity to record their votes, the ballot shall be declared closed.

Rule 19. When a roll-call ballot has been ordered, no adjournment shall take place until the result has been announced.

Rule 20. Roberts Rules shall be the guide on all matters not herein provided.

Rule 21. The main body of the hall shall be reserved for delegates.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

1. Reading minutes of previous session, which will be dispensed with unless called for.
2. Report of Committee on Credentials.
3. Report of Officers.
4. Report of regular committees.
5. Report of special committees.
6. Unfinished business.
7. New business.
8. Election of officers.
9. Selection of next meeting place.
10. Good of the Federation.
11. Adjournment.

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN SULLIVAN, Chairman.
WILLIAM F. KRAEMER
THEODORE THOMPSON
JOS. D. CANNON
EDW. J. EVANS
EDW. MENGE
WALTER N. REDDICK
R. C. SCHNEIDER
P. J. MORRIN
KRANK KASTEN
JAS. H. HATCH
J. T. CAREY
J. V. MORESOHI
J. J. CONNELLY
ANDREW C. HUGHES, Secretary.

It was moved and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

Delegate McAndrew, Tobacco Workers, moved that Rule 1 be amended to provide for the convening of the afternoon sessions at 2:30 o'clock instead of 2 o'clock. The amendment was seconded and carried.

Delegate Sullivan moved to amend Rule 6 by substituting the word "once" for the word "twice." (Amendment seconded.)

Delegate Evans, Edw. J., spoke in opposition to the amendment, after which the amendment was put to vote and lost.

The report of the committee as amended was adopted.

REPORT OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR MISSION TO ITALY

Members of the Mission

James Wilson, President Pattern Makers' League of North America, Chairman.
F. J. McNulty, President International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers of America.
Michael Green, President United Hatters of North America.
John Golden, President United Textile Workers of America, Secretary.
Peter Josephine, Member Granite Cutters' International Association of America.

The Journey to Italy

With only a few days to make preparations we boarded the Italian Steamship *Giuseppe Verdi* on August 18th, 1918, and sailed from New York Harbor on the morning of August 19th and crossed the Atlantic Ocean without convoy, arriving in Gibraltar August 29th. We were held up there until September 2nd on account of a strike of the coal passers. We left Gibraltar on the evening of September 2nd and sailed through the Mediterranean Sea for the port of Genoa in Northern Italy, arriving there on September

5th. The voyage after leaving New York, across the Atlantic Ocean and through the Mediterranean Sea, was an uneventful one. We were able to view the fortifications on the Rock of Gibraltar and visit a few of the small Spanish towns in the vicinity of Gibraltar. We also had the opportunity to entertain on board the steamship a number of our American sailor boys, who were located at the American Naval Station at Gibraltar. However, when within sight of the port of Genoa and within two hours of landing, about eleven o'clock in the forenoon, the periscope of a German submarine was suddenly sighted not more than 200 yards ahead; the captain of the *Giuseppe Verdi*, who had a record of having sunk three submarines, made a dash toward the visible periscope, which quickly submerged. He then signalled to the four submarine destroyers that had come to convoy us through the Mediterranean, which at that particular time was known as the scene of German activity in submarine warfare. They swiftly swooped down on the spot where the submarine had submerged and, after dropping between thirty and forty depth bombs around this particular spot, the tell-tale oil and pieces of wreckage came floating to the surface, which meant that another German submarine had been sent to the bottom, never to rise again. It is needless to say that every member of the mission felt greatly relieved when we docked at Genoa and set foot for the first time in our lives on Italian soil. Immediately after the ship docked, a delegation came on board to greet the members of our mission representing the Italian government, the American Consul at Genoa, the municipal officials, and the representatives of the labor movement of Genoa. After a conference with these joint representatives, your mission immediately issued the following public statement for the sole purpose of making clear to all classes of people in Italy the objects and purpose of our mission.

Statement of the A. F. of L. Mission to Italy

"We have come among the workers and the people of Italy, as duly accredited representatives of the American Federation of Labor, to bring fraternal greetings and a message of hope and encouragement in the splendid fight the Italian people are making side by side with the people of all the allied countries in this great world's war for democracy and the complete extermination of militarism for all time, to the end that the people of every country the world over, whether great or small, shall be at liberty to work out their own destiny in their own way without interference from any other country.

"Fighting as we are for these ideals of human liberty, it is proper that we should intermingle with each other during the struggle so we may thoroughly understand each other, and have a full conception of what the workers in all the allied countries are doing to win this war for the liberties of all the people of all the world.

"We have not come to tell the workers of Italy what they should or should not do. We have not come to you to criticise or find fault with whatever policy you have adopted in the past or you may now have in mind. We have come officially, representing the millions of workers of America, to tell you that these workers are united in their loyalty to America and the democratic ideals upon which our great Republic is founded; that they are loyal to our President, Woodrow Wilson, and the

principles for which he stands, and which he has so clearly presented to the whole world, and should anyone come among you claiming to represent the workers of America and tell you anything to the contrary, he is not giving you a true statement of facts.

"We have come to tell you that all the vast resources of our country are being utilized with but one single object in mind—the winning of the war, and the defeat of militarism. In this great work the millions of workers, for whom we have a right to speak are doing their full share, loyally and willingly.

"There has been some talk here and there by pacifists and defeatists in some of the allied countries of a Peace Conference with the enemy countries. We have to assure you that the American Federation of Labor is squarely on record against participating in any Peace Conference with the representatives from Germany and Austria until the existing military despotism that today controls those countries is crushed and wiped out for all time, and then not until they have given full assurance to the rest of the world that never again will they give their support to any militarist government that deliberately violates treaties or seeks to dominate the rest of the world. American workers have pledged themselves to this principle, and if our liberties as a free people and our institutions are to be maintained, there can be and will be no departing from this principle."

Visiting Industrial Plants

The next day we started in to visit the large industrial establishments in Genoa of which there are many, including the Ansaldo Works, which employs 15,000 people in Genoa alone, building ships and manufacturing guns and munitions. From September 6th to October 18th, we visited the following places, being royally received by the chief officials of the city, and the representatives of the labor movement, and were also conducted through the various industrial establishments in the respective cities: Genoa, Alessandria, Canelli, Asti, Turin, Gressoney (foot of St. Martin), Ivrea, Biella, Santhia, Milano (visited Perilli Co., visited Breda Co.), Monzo (Caproni Works) Serrona, Gallarate, Legnano, Brescia, Milano, Ravenna, Bologna, Florence, Pisa, Spezia, Massa, Carrara, Rome, Naples, Pompei and Bagnolia, Rome, Prato.

Visited the Battle Front on Piave, Mount Colletti Alti Front, Venice, Modan Frontier.

Italy's Industries

Every member of our mission was thoroughly surprised and deeply impressed with what he saw in the various industrial establishments visited, which were many and varied, beginning with the great Ansaldo Works, previously mentioned, which has branches in a number of cities and employs over 100,000 workers in its various shops—the great Fiat Automobile Works, which is another of the largest industrial establishments in Italy—the great marble quarries of Carrara where thousands of tons of pure marble are quarried each year—the hat manufacturing center of Alessandria—the Aeroplane Works, of Givane, Farina, and the Caproni Brothers—the large rubber works of Perilli and Company which previous to the war employed 3,000 people and had increased its force to 5,000 during the period of the war, as had many oth-

er large industrial plants in other lines of industry.

To attempt to give a detailed report of all the industrial establishments visited and the many and varied industries investigated would consume too much space in this report. Suffice it to say that whether in the building of locomotives or big guns, or in the manufacture of the delicate work of an aeroplane, or the artistic work in manufacturing the finest porcelain and chinaware, we satisfied ourselves that Italy took second place to no other country in the world in the efficiency of its workers and the modern, up-to-date methods of its manufacturing system. That there is a great future for Italy as an industrial country, is beyond question if it can only get the proper support and co-operation from other countries in supplying it with those materials of which Italy as a country is barren.

It must be remembered that Italy is essentially an agricultural country and has practically no coal mines nor mineral deposits of any value, and is therefore severely handicapped in its factories and industries, especially so in the manufacture of metals, particularly necessary during the war, together with the lack of lubricating oils and other fuels to keep alive its industries, let alone the absolute necessity of coaling and oiling its ships, merchant and naval, running its railroads, and the military necessities of transportation of troops and munitions to conduct modern warfare.

We found factories and railroads burning wood and lignite, both commodities bringing exorbitant prices. As a result the home life of Italy went without heat, and this condition continued until the United States entered the war and began to partially supply Italy's industrial needs by sending coal, oil, minerals, etc. It is admitted frankly by Italy's foremost statesmen that the lack of these essentials caused grave and heart-breaking periods of depression and anxiety among the Italian people through the several years of warfare.

However, at the time your mission visited the various industrial cities, it found the wheels of industry busily humming to the tune of clanging metal and pounding forge hammers, as the workers of Italy, united in the great effort, turned out thousands of modern guns, shells, motors, airplanes, etc., each worker seeming to feel that he was an integral part of the nation's life during the crisis. In her shipyards we found the same bustling activity, the workers seeming to understand that their individual work was part of a great race between Democracy and Autocracy, and that it depended upon their efforts to turn the tide.

Your mission can not speak too highly of the spirit and morale exhibited by the Italian workers we found in the factories and shipyards. We found all the workers, male and female, inspired with the spirit of hope and optimism toward winning the war. They were cheerful at their tasks and in the skilled industries we found the workers and the mechanics equal to any skilled labor in the world.

Cooperative Societies

Your committee visited scores of working-men's cooperative societies, and, in fact, it might be said that the industrial life of Italy seems to depend largely upon cooperative organizations. While these cooperatives played an important part in helping the nation to win the war, they were by no means a product of the war itself, inasmuch as the greater part of

the cooperatives were in existence many years before the war.

Workingmen and their leaders informed us that the war had given the cooperative movement added initiative and strength, as the Italian government lent its cooperation by giving or loaning vast sums of money to the cooperative societies, which, of course, encouraged larger effort and stimulated greater enterprise among the workingmen's societies.

In Genoa everything seemed cooperative—the coaling of the ships, the loading and unloading of vessels, and in one immense cooperative shipyard, all the rebuilding and ship repairing of all kinds; in other words, ships that come limping into port, battered and sinking through submarine attacks, were again made seaworthy through cooperative workmen.

The building operations of the Italian cooperatives were conducted on such an enormous and amazing scale that one might properly term it "big business." The contracts for buildings of all descriptions, from the largest hospital in the world now being built in the Province of Liguria, to the smallest dwelling in the city, are taken by the cooperative building societies. Of course they are taken on a competitive basis, given to the lowest bidder in price and terms, and the cooperatives usually get the lion's share because they can afford to eliminate excess profits, which would ordinarily find its way into the coffers of the middlemen, investors, and development companies. Aside from the actual building operations, all the material used in the construction work is secured on a cooperative basis; stone from cooperative quarries; iron from cooperative foundries and factories; in short, everything used being purchased from cooperative organizations, and in this manner whatever profits were made accrued solely to the worker.

Where private or individual ownership controls the factory or industry the workers have their cooperative stores and restaurants connected with the factory where each worker may purchase at cost needed family supplies. In this movement the factory employers contribute to the cooperative establishments.

The workers also have their agricultural cooperatives. Your mission visited one in particular at Ravenna. This agricultural cooperative had a membership of 28,000, and in the course of five years it had reclaimed some 4,000 acres of swamp land and had converted useless lands into a wonderful agricultural country, raising tons of produce and thousands of head of sheep and cattle. During the war period they proved that they had given to the government three-quarters of their cattle, reserving only the other portion for breeding purposes.

Aside from the producing cooperatives and the consuming cooperatives we found in several industrial centers cooperative savings banks, wonderful institutions operated and owned solely by the workers. One of these banks is capitalized at six billion lira. It is one of the powerful financial institutions of the city, and usually supplies the capital whenever a cooperative society, whether a producing or a consuming cooperative, contemplates some big contract.

The Humanitarian Society

The Humanitarian Society is one of the great educational institutions of Italy. We had the pleasure of visiting one of its industrial educational institutes in Milan. They have accommodation for 720 students. We found boys from 14 years of age up to men of all ages.

many of the latter being returned wounded soldiers, fitting themselves for many kinds of trades and callings. The Italian government works hand in hand with this society; for instance, for the work performed by any of these returned soldiers while learning a trade, the society pays the government three francs per day per man, and in return the government provides the men's clothes, food and lodging and the balance of any pay the men may earn goes to themselves.

Among the wounded soldiers who were learning a trade in this institute, was one soldier who had been wounded ten times and another four times, with both of whom we shook hands. The Humanitarian Society is performing a wonderful work along industrial educational lines, and especially among the returned soldiers, many of whom have been wounded in such a manner that it is impossible for them to follow their former trade and are therefore compelled to learn a new one. The Humanitarian Society sees to it that this is accomplished along proper and efficient lines.

The Italian Labor Movement

The organized labor movement in Italy contains many peculiar angles. In the first place it is so mixed in with the cooperative movement and in some respects with the political movement, which really means the socialist movement, that they are inseparable. For instance, there is the General Confederation of Labor, whose platform is cooperative first, political second, defensive third, which really means the economic movement comes last and is subordinate to the other two.

Then there is the Italian Labor Union, which, while it espouses the cause of the cooperative movement, is not nearly so pronounced in its political or socialist policy as the former organization. Then comes the Catholic Workmen's Society which is absolutely anti-socialistic; it is a very strong organization, both numerically and financially, allows no politics inside its organization, bitterly fights socialism at every point, and while its title is the Catholic Workmen's Society, its doors are open to non-Catholics, which comprise a good portion of its membership.

Between the time we arrived in Genoa and the day we left Italy, we had the opportunity of meeting and talking to hundreds of thousands of Italian working men and women. Sometimes in the large halls or theatres of the cities we visited and more often inside the large industrial establishments employers for an hour or two hours called all their employees together and closed down the establishments to give us an opportunity to address them, which we did, through interpreters. We found them very enthusiastic and always ready to lend a willing ear to what the Americans, as they called us, had to say.

One peculiar feature which we encountered was that in some of these industrial centers the government officials and sometimes the municipal officials would say to us, "Go slow with these people, don't talk too strong with them, there is some anti-war feeling among these workers." We quickly learned, however, that this was only a delusion. Some pacifists had been at work among them but had evidently made little headway in either winning the workers over to pacifism or creating an anti-war feeling among them. This was made very evident by the manner in which they received from us the information as to what was being done by the workers in America to win the

war, and their loud and manifest declarations generally ended in raising their right hand above their head and saying, "We Italians do just like Americans!" "We win the war!"

We tried in several places, especially in the larger cities, to meet some of those leading officials of the labor movement in Italy who were classed as being anti-war or pacifists. We invited them to come on the platforms at the mass meetings we held and discuss their attitude in the open, but we could never succeed in getting them to consent. In one or two instances, they were apparently willing to discuss their anti-war attitude behind closed doors, which, of course, we decidedly objected to; but in some places it would evidently have been impossible to get them to even do this, although we never tested them along this line. It is only fair, however, to say in every place we visited we met some splendid labor men, all of whom earnestly expressed the hope that a bond of closer relationship would endure between the American Federation of Labor and the organized labor movement of Italy when the war was over. Some of the principal leaders in the labor movement went so far as to propose that the American Federation of Labor place one of its representatives in Italy for the sole purpose of educating the workers, both organized and unorganized, to band themselves together in an organization constructed on the lines of the American Federation of Labor, and for the further purpose of propagating this doctrine among the organizations already existing in Italy, and that the Italian organizations would be willing to defray all expenses of such a movement.

Italian Immigration

When we arrived in Genoa among those who greeted us and with whom we were invited to confer in that city was the Royal Commissioner of Emigration and several of his principal officers. They expressed the desire that instead of talking too strongly on the war situation, that we devote some of our time speaking on the subject of immigration, as it applied to the Italian immigrant and the conditions surrounding his immigration to America. The members of our Mission were a unit in their refusal to comply with this request, making it very clear that such was not the purpose or object of our mission to Italy. This subject was then allowed to drop, and we heard no more of it until we arrived in Rome and met the other Labor Mission, headed by President Gompers. The Royal Commissioner of Emigration had arranged another conference inviting both missions to be present to discuss immigration matters. We had not had any opportunity to acquaint President Gompers and the rest of the members of the mission of the previous conference in Genoa, but it was very gratifying to all the members of our mission to discover that President Gompers, with his usual keen foresight fully sensed the situation, as did the rest of his colleagues, and took the identical position our mission had taken on this subject of immigration on our arrival in Genoa.

Statement and Resolutions Submitted at Conference With Board of Emigration

"The members of the Board of Emigration, representing the Confederazione Generale del Lavoro, la Lega nazionale delle Co-operative e i Segretariati laici di assistenza agli emigranti, welcome in the Dele-

gates of the American Federation of Labor the working class of the United States of America, hoping that the present visit may be a prelude to more organized relations between the working classes and the social laws of every Continent.

"With regard more especially to the state services and work of trades unions in matters of emigration and immigration, it is their wish that the American Federation of Labor may have a great influence in public life on the state laws and in each corporation or union in order to get the largest numbers of supporters of the main points of the resolutions approved in the International Socialist Congress of Stuttgart, 1907, and in the International Convention of the Labor Unions of Christians on the immigration policy, resolutions based on the following principles:

"A. That exceptional measures of any kind, economical or political, being inefficient and essentially reactionary in their character, or any restriction in free circulation, or the exclusion of individuals belonging to foreign nationalities or races, are not means to eliminate eventual danger by which the emigration and immigration are often a menace to the working classes, while on the contrary it is the duty of the organized working classes to bring the strongest opposition to bear on the frequent depression of their standard of life as consequence of the importation of masses of non-unionist workmen and prevent the importation or exportation of unorganized labor.

"B. That the difficulties caused in many cases to the working classes by the immigration in masses of unorganized labor, accustomed to a lower standard of life, are not imaginary nor of little consequence, and the inconveniences created by certain kinds of emigration are not to be overlooked; but from the standpoint of the labor solidarity and association, the exclusion of individuals of certain nationalities or races is to be considered an unacceptable measure.

"C. That in countries of immigration the following measures are to be observed: No importation of men under contract labor; legal protection by introducing a normal and common standard of a day's work; minimum of wages; abolition of the sweating system; regulation of work at home; care of sanitary conditions; suppression of the restrictions forbidding to certain nationalities and races the sojourn in country and the advantages of its social, political and economical rights; naturalization made easier; admission of the immigrants in the unions and more especially admission of all the members of the corresponding unions of other countries, if presenting certificates of the union from which they come. In the absence of union regulations, the admission fee of the union of the new country shall be put on the account of the union from which they came—acquisition of rights of help and other benefits in proportion to the fees paid.

"D. In countries of emigration active union propaganda, largely advertised information on the real conditions of labor in countries of immigration; permanent agreement between the unions of countries of immigration and countries of emigration; accurate inspection of steamers carrying emigrants—on railroads and in private emigration bureaus (or agencies of employment) and in the factories and industrial establishments.

"With regard to the above principles and with special reference to the relations between the United States of America and Italy, it is their wish, first, that the principles underlying the Italian social legislation—the equal treatment of laborers, national as well as foreign, by legal protection, by social insurance and so forth, may be accepted in the social legislation of the United States of America and more especially the one referring to the accidents among working men.

"They also declare that the proposal (1905) of the President of the United States, included in the Act of 1907, for an international congress in matters of emigration (proposal enthusiastically approved by the Commissariato di Emigrazione in Rome, in its Report to Parliament, 1907) has been unanimously accepted by the Italian labor organizations and the Societies for the Assistance to Emigrants.

"Rome, 9 October, 1918.

"CABRINI ANGIOLO,
"Deputato al Parlamento e rapp. Segretariati Laici di emigrazione.

"CELLA VITTORIO,
"rapp. Lega Nazionale delle Cooperative.

"QUAGLINO FELICE,
"Deputato Parlamento e rapp. Confederazione Generale del Lavoro."

Translation into English of the motions discussed at the meeting held at the office of the Commissioner General of Emigration on October 9, 1918, between the American Labor Delegation and Samuel Gompers, the Board of Emigration and the Board of Labor.

"1. Be it resolved that the American Federation of Labor be recommended to give its support to the request made by the Italian people in the United States that the Italians who have left the United States to join the Italian military forces be freely readmitted in the United States after the war, except those who are to be excluded for physical or sanitary reasons.

"2. Be it resolved that the American Federation of Labor be recommended to give its support to the request which will be made to the United States government that the contract laborers be admitted in the United States, provided that they arrive with a contract which has been previously approved by the proper American authorities and that these laborers which arrive with such contracts be not considered undesirable citizens.

"3. Be it resolved that the American Federation of Labor be recommended to establish through the proper American authorities special agreements with the office of the Commissioner General of Emigration with the purpose of organizing a regular service of information on the labor conditions and on the industries which do not need Italian labor and on all other subjects which may be useful to direct, control and employ the Italian emigrants."

After a lengthy conference and all the points both in the statement and in the resolutions had been thoroughly discussed, President Gompers replied on behalf of our Labor Mission, clearly stating that we could not see our way to endorse the resolution submitted, but that we would agree to receive the resolutions for a future discussion but would not commit ourselves to any of them.

Conclusion

During our stay in Italy, we met and talked with King Victor Emmanuel, General Dias, Commander-in-Chief of the Italian Army, both of them well informed on affairs throughout the world, our own country included. We met her high church dignitaries, her leading statesmen, her merchant princes, and her leading labor union officials. We mixed and talked with her peasantry and with her soldiers, and from her King to the humblest peasant and soldier, we found the same warm-hearted and cordial greeting to what they were pleased to call, "The Americans." We climbed Italy's Alpine mountains and viewed the magnificent work performed by her peasantry and soldiers in building roads up to the peak of the mountains, which made it possible for men and guns to be carried up there in large numbers, to drive the Hun backward over the Austrian border. We marched over the battlefields of Caporatto and down the banks of the Piave river, where history tells how the Italian army on June 24th, 1917, suffered its greatest defeat at the hands of the Austrian army; where they lost over 200,000 men through the treachery of the foe, who, aided by German propagandists, had circulated through the Italian army the story that when Italian and Austrian met on the battlefield both would throw up their hands and shout "Kamerad" and the battle would be over. The Italian soldiers acted in accordance with this propaganda with the result that when their hands went up, they were either shot down like dogs, or taken prisoner by the Hun. Our Italian military escort then recited with pride how King Victor Emmanuel reorganized the Italian army, placed General Dias at its head, went out every day himself into the front line trenches, and on June 24th, 1918, twelve months later to a day, attacked the Austrian army at Caporatto, drove it across the Piave river, and killed, wounded or captured over 220,000, wiping out the defeat and the treachery of twelve months previous.

During the intervals between the work of our mission we had opportunities to visit the many places famous in ancient history with which sunny Italy abounds, her beautiful churches, magnificent art galleries, rich and famous in painting and sculpture, made famous by the old masters. The most vivid imagination could never portray the beauties of Italy. They must be seen to be appreciated, and whether it be in the ancient city of Genoa, where its adventurous pioneers of the early centuries sailed the ocean in quest of new worlds to conquer, whether it be in ancient Rome, among the ruins of Pompeii or on the pure white marble mountains of Carrarra, whether it be in the sunny and beautiful Bay of Naples, or gliding through the waters of beautiful Venice, you can not fail to be impressed with the fact that you are in one of God's gardens and among a race of people famed the world over for centuries and centuries as masters in the arts and sciences—a people that are passionately warm-hearted and overwhelmingly generous. Your mission arrived at this conclusion: That the same success and the same fame that the people in Italy have earned in the past in the fields of art and sculpture can be duplicated on the field of industry, notwithstanding her many

handicaps in the lack of essential mineral resources.

Respectfully and fraternally submitted.

JAMES WILSON, Chairman,
F. J. McNULTY,
MICHAEL GREEN,
PETER JOSEPHINE,
JOHN GOLDEN, Secretary.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR
MISSION TO ITALY.

Secretary Morrison read the following communications from representatives of the movement in South America, the latter document being a copy of the inscription appearing on the diploma sent to President Gompers by the Chilean Federation of Labor:

Schenectady, June 8, 1919.

Mr. Samuel Gompers,
Alamac Hotel,
Atlantic City.

My dear Mr. Gompers:

I am sending by this mail to you a special diploma sent by the Chilean Federation of Labor to the American Federation of Labor, and I would like to receive some special thought from you, Mr. Gompers, toward the Chilean organized labor because I expect to leave this country within two or three months.

In the name of the Chilean Federation of Labor I may say that not only the government of the nation have the right to increase their relationships, not only the industrial men or business men need to work in order to get a better understanding between them and through the international trade, but also the people of the nations must work in order to increase its friendships and to cultivate a true sympathy to each other.

I think the people of modern democracy are in special conditions for working together by the betterment of the human being.

I hope, Mr. Gompers, that not will be so far the day when the American Federation of Labor following its policy of international character through the world, send to South America some special commission and I assure you that the Chilean organized labor should receive the American labor mission with all kinds of attentions and greetings of sympathy and welcome.

I think the diplomacy of the government does not represent truly the sentiment of the peoples so we must work for our own interest and for the welfare of the working classes.

I would like to receive a letter from you, Mr. Gompers, with your opinion about this matter.

Fraternally yours,
(Signed) CARDENIO GONZALEZ,
Delegate of Chili.

703 Union Street.
EMBASSADOR DEL PERU
WASHINGTON, D. C.

May 17th, 1919.

Samuel Gompers, Esq.,
President, American Federation of Labour,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Sir:—

On leaving Lima recently, I was commissioned by Peruvian workmen to hand you the enclosed letter and this testimonial, bearing

their signatures, as an expression of their admiration for your efforts in the cause of labour, both of which I have kept by me awaiting your return to Washington.

I wish to take advantage of this opportunity to express the concern I felt on hearing of your accident, and to assure you of my gratification on learning that you have not suffered any ill effects therefrom.

Allow me, in conclusion, to assure you of the pleasure I feel in carrying out the wishes of these Lima workmen and also to tender my congratulations on the important achievements you have effected in Europe, connected with universal labour legislation.

I am,

My dear Sir,

Very truly yours,

(Signed)

F. FIRDELAS.

PAN AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOUR

Lima, Peru, November 12, 1918.

Mr. Samuel Compers:

I respectfully salute you and at the same time wish to inform you that in sending you this pamphlet through our Ambassador Dr. Francisco Tudela y Varela, I was prompted to do so because I am convinced of the sincere affection you feel for Peru.

I take this opportunity to state that our Honorable Ambassador is a convinced patriot dearly loved by the workers. To extend to him all the courtesies and to esteem him is to be attentive to Peru.

Accept my esteem and the assurance of the sincere friendship of the Peruvian workers.

JUSTO A. CASARETTO.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN
FEDERATION OF LABOR MR. SAMUEL
GOMPERS

HOMAGE OF THE WORKERS OF PERU IN
REMEMBRANCE OF THE FEAST OFFERED
IN HONOR OF THE WORKMEN OF THE
NATIONS OF THE ALLIES.

LIMA, 5th of DECEMBER, 1918

The communications were received and made part of the record.

Resolution No. 1.—By Delegates A. McAndrew and E. Lewis Evans of the Tobacco Workers' International Union.

WHEREAS, During the war period the Label Trades were all interested in the promotion of freedom and democracy, and set aside for the time being our propaganda and agitation for the Union Label; and

WHEREAS, The war has ceased and the days of reconstruction are with us, we may now turn our attention to our own interests as Trades Unionists. The subject that commands our attention now is that of reconstructing the demand for the Union Label, which we neglected during the anxiety and suspense of the world; and

WHEREAS, The Tobacco Workers' Union Label is still on the market, with the Label on popular brands of smoking and chewing tobacco, cigarettes and snuff, we therefore ask your continued co-operation to make its reconstruction complete and fitting for the Trades Unionists in days to come; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates to

the American Federation of Labor, assembled in convention, in Atlantite City, June 10, 1919, declare it to be our purpose to use our purchasing power to the fullest extent when buying tobacco, cigarettes and snuff, insisting that the Blue Label of the Tobacco Workers' International Union shall be affixed to all tobacco, cigarettes and snuff we buy.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

Resolution No. 2.—By Delegate Anthony J. Oliver, of the International Federation of Draftsmen's Union:

WHEREAS, Many hundred of Technical Engineers and Architects have applied for admission to membership in the International Federation of Draftsmen's Unions; and

WHEREAS, Almost all Technical Engineers and Architects are essentially draftsmen and the majority of draftsmen are trained and educated along the same technical lines; and

WHEREAS, The line of demarkation between Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen in most cases cannot be defined; and

WHEREAS, Ten per cent of the membership in this International Federation is made up of Technical Engineers and Architects; and

WHEREAS, The logical branch of the American Federation of Labor to organise these Technical Engineers and Architects is the International Federation of Draftsmen's Union; and

WHEREAS, The name of our International will be changed to meet the broadened jurisdiction; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the jurisdiction of the International Federation of Draftsmen's Unions be and hereby is extended to include all of the Technical Engineers and Architectural Workers in field and office.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 3.—By Delegate Wm. D. Clark, of the International Steel and Copper Plate Printers' Union of North America.

WHEREAS, There is in the United States at the present time more paper money in circulation than at any previous time in her history; and

WHEREAS, A large percentage of the paper money in circulation in the sections of the United States far removed or remote from the Treasury or sub-Treasuries, especially in the South, Southwest and West, is so soiled, dirty and worn that for sanitary reasons it is a menace to the health of thousands of citizens who daily use or handle it; and

WHEREAS, The banks have to defray the express charges for the exchange of this soiled, dirty and worn paper money for new money, and this is a burden that should not be borne by the banks but by the United States Government, because it is the duty of the Government to supply and provide its citizens with sufficient new and clean money to transact their business; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the Thirty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in

Atlantic City, N. J., petition the Congress of the United States to enact such legislation as may be necessary to permit the banks of this country to transport for exchange soiled, dirty and worn paper money without any cost or expense to the banks whatever; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the thirty-ninth annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Atlantic City, N. J., petitioned the Congress of the United States to enact such legislation as may be necessary to permit the banks of this country to transport for exchange soiled, dirty and worn paper money without any cost or expense to the banks, whatever; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of these resolutions be spread upon the minutes of this Convention and that copies be sent to the President of the United States, the Vice-President, the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 4—By Delegates William S. Brown and Robert L. Goelet, of the National Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association.

WHEREAS, Since the application of steam machinery to marine propulsion there has ever been a constantly growing extension of the same, conducive to the many phases of various and complex systems and types of machinery now in use; with a future field prospective of unlimited continued progressive advancement as will be the result of necessity and engineering skill; and

WHEREAS, The modern marine engineer, being a product of his environment, has of necessity advanced in knowledge of technical and practical engineering commensurate to such requirements and responsibilities as caretaker of present-day marine inventions and installations; and

WHEREAS, This condition, together with the ever-increasing size of ships, units of power and diversity of machinery, has so increased the labors of the marine engineer that it often devolves upon him to perform work on ship while in port which is the rightful heritage of workers of other trades, and which he feels disposed to be relieved and have done by such workers under his supervision, and as he may be willing to become responsible for; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, at this, its Thirty-ninth Annual Convention, appoint a suitable and qualified committee to whom shall be assigned the duty of determining and tabulating the work aboard ships which should be performed by machinists and other craftsmen while ships are in dock or port.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 5—By Brewery Workers' Delegation:

WHEREAS, The President of the United States has, by Executive Order, given instructions to stop all brewing of beer, as well as near beer, on December 1st, 1918; and

WHEREAS, The War Emergency Prohibition Bill, as passed by Congress, both houses

agreeing, and signed by the President on November 21st, 1918, provides that the manufacture of beer, as well as its sale, must be discontinued July 1st, 1919, and until the demobilization of troops has taken place; and

WHEREAS, The National Constitutional Prohibition Amendment, passed by Congress, both houses agreeing, has been ratified by the necessary number of States to make National Prohibition a part of the organic laws of the United States; and

WHEREAS, All the foregoing is principally intended to deprive the workers of America of the means to secure legally a glass of beer after their day's labor; and

WHEREAS, All this restrictive and sumptuary legislation has the effect of destroying part of the American Labor Movement and is seriously crippling many international organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled in Atlantic City, expresses its disapproval of war-time prohibition and that a strong protest from the delegates to this convention be forwarded to the government at Washington, setting forth in a most emphatic manner the opinion of the delegates to this convention that the present mild beers of 2% per cent alcohol by weight should be exempted from the provisions of the eighteenth amendment to the Constitution and also from the provision of the War Prohibition Measure; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be and is hereby instructed to convey these expressions through a Committee to the President of the United States and to the Congress, and to do everything in its power to preserve to the people of the United States their freedom, liberty and democracy.

Michael F. Greene, President, United Hatters of North America.

Martin Lawlor, Secretary-Treasurer, United Hatters of North America.

Sara A. Conboy, Secretary-Treasurer, United Textile Workers of America.

B. A. Larger, Secretary, United Garment Workers of America.

Wm. L. Hutcheson, President, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America.

Frank Feeney, President, International Union of Elevator Constructors.

Thos. J. Curtis, Tunnel and Subway Constructors.

Edw. I. Hannah, International Union of Pavers, Rammermen, Flag Layers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters.

Jas. H. Hatch, President, Upholsterers and Trimmers' International Union of North America.

Milton Snellings, General President of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers.

Benj. Schlesinger, President, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

Wm. McCarthy, International Secretary, International Alliance of Bill Posters and Billers of America.

Wm. J. McSorley, General President, Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers' International Union.

Dominick D'Alessandro, President, International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America.

John J. Hynes, General President, Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance.

M. F. Garrett, General Organizer, United Association of Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada.

Wm. J. Spencer, Secretary-Treasurer, Building Trades Department, A. F. of L.

C. L. Shamp, International Secretary-Treasurer, International Brotherhood of Stationery Firemen and Oilers.

John H. Donlin, President, Building Trades Department, A. F. of L., Chicago, Illinois.

Geo. F. Hedrick, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

Ed. J. McGiven, President of Operative Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada.

Chas. A. Collins, Third Vice President, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

John A. Voll, President, Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada.

Jacob Fischer, Secretary-Treasurer, Journeymen Barbers' International Union.

Daniel J. Tobin, General President, Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America.

Jas. G. Hannahan, Chicago, Illinois.

T. A. Rickert, General President, United Garment Workers of America.

W. E. Bryan, General President, United Leather Workers' International Union.

James Lord, President, Mining Department, A. F. of L.

Louis Weyand, Boilermakers and Iron Ship Builders of America.

Jas. O'Connell, President, Metal Trades Department.

John Scott, Secretary-Treasurer, Railway Employees' Department, A. F. of L.

Chas. J. MacGowan, International Brotherhood of Boilermakers and Iron Ship Builders of America.

J. V. Ryan, Coppersmiths' International Union.

Wm. H. Johnston, President, International Association of Machinists.

Wm. A. Smith, Secretary-Treasurer, International Asso. of Fire Fighters.

A. A. Myrup, International Treasurer, Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America.

John Coefield, Acting General President, Association Plumbers and Steamfitters.

E. W. Leonard, General Organizer, United Association of Plumbers and Steam Fitters.

Chas. Dold, President, Piano and Organ Workers' Union of America.

E. N. Nockels, Secretary, Chicago Federation of Labor.

Dennis Lane, Secretary-Treasurer, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America.

W. D. Mahon, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America.

John J. Manning, Secretary-Treasurer, Union Label Trades Department.

J. B. Etchison, International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers.

A. O. Wharton, International Association of Machinists.

John J. Connolly, International Association of Machinists.

Martin F. Ryan, Brotherhood Railway Car-men of America.

Walter Green, Secretary-Treasurer, United Mine Workers of America.

Thomas L. Hughes, General Secretary, International Brotherhood of Teamsters of America.

James C. Shanessy, General Organizer, Journeymen Barbers' International Union of America.

Frank J. Hayes, President, United Mine Worker of America.

P. J. Morrin, President, International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers.

Harry Jones, Secretary-Treasurer, International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers.

Sam Griggs, President, Journeymen Stone Cutters, Association of North America.

John Golden, President, United Textile Workers of America.

James Duncan, Quincy, Mass., General President, Granite Cutters' Association and Vice President, American Federation of Labor.

John Frey, Editor, International Molders' Journal.

James Wilson, President, Pattern Makers.

H. J. Conway, Secretary-Treasurer, Retail Clerks' International Protective Association.

Frank Duffy, General Secretary, Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners.

H. W. Brown, International Association of Machinists.

H. M. Comerford, International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers.

E. L. Edgerton, International Union Steam and Operating Engineers.

Albert Peterson, International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers.

Robert C. Schneider, Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union.

Peter Beisel, Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union.

James J. Doyle, Coopers' International Union.

Andrew C. Hughes, President Coopers' International Union.

H. B. Perham, Past President, Order of Railroad Telegraphers.

Matthew Woll, President, International Photo Engravers' Union.

C. L. Baine, General Secretary-Treasurer, Boot and Shoe Workers.

Jos. W. Morton, Vice President, International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen and Oilers.

Joseph V. Moreschi, International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Executive Council, of Chicago and vicinity.

W. F. Dwyer, of San Francisco, International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers of America.

J. M. Gaviak, Cleveland, Ohio, General Secretary-Treasurer, International Slate and Tile Roofers' Union of America.

Alex W. Russell, Granite Cutters' International Association of America.

Walter N. Reddick, President, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders.

Geo. L. Berry, President, International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America.

H. C. Diehl, Metal Polishers' International Union.

Chas. C. Shay, International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees.

Thomas S. Farrell, Emanuel Koveleski, Edward Flore, Jere L. Sullivan, John J. McDevitt, representing the H. & R. E. I. & B. I. L. of A.

John M. Gillespie, International Brotherhood of Teamsters.

Albert Adamaki, United Garment Workers of America.

C. F. Foley, J. B. I. U. of A.

John Sullivan, International Union United Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America.

John Rader, International Union of United Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America.

Joseph Obergfell, Joseph Proebstle, A. J. Kugler, representing the International Union of United Brewery, Flour, Cereal, Soft Drink Workers of America.

J. L. Wines, Central Labor Council, St. Joseph, Mo.

R. G. Knutson, Central Labor Council, La Crosse, Wis.

John T. Smith, Central Labor Council, Kansas City, Mo.

E. G. Hall, President, Minnesota State Federation of Labor.

John A. Banz, Baltimore Federation of Labor, Baltimore, Md.

Henry Ott, Ohio State Federation of Labor.

Grant Fink, Dayton, Ohio, Central Labor Union.

John B. Colpoys, Washington Central Labor Union.

John Hoehn, Pittsburgh, Pa., Central Labor Union.

Peter Bollenbacher, Pennsylvania Federation of Labor.

P. W. Flynn, Trades and Labor Assembly, St. Paul.

E. H. Metz, O. L. U., South Bend, Ind.

Jean E. Spielman, Central Labor Union, New Ulm, Minn.

Wm. E. Neu, Central Labor Union, Indianapolis, Ind.

Chas. Fox, President, Indiana State Federation of Labor.

J. W. Wagner, C. L. U., Lake County, Indiana.

James P. Holland, President, New York State Federation of Labor.

Frank Hoffman, Trades and Labor Assembly, Minneapolis, Minn.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 6—By Delegates William S. Brown and Robert L. Goelet, of the National Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association.

WHEREAS, In the development of mechanically propelled vessels there has come into existence a type of ship known as "mother ships" propelled by internal combustion engines, and

WHEREAS, This type of vessel has, as a requirement of commerce, reached such dimensions that necessitated them being placed under the rules and inspection provisions of the United States Steamboat Inspection Service, and to be operated by engineers examined and licensed by such service; and

WHEREAS, The licensed marine engineers of this type of vessel are now governed by regulations working rules and wage-scales of the Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association, and are in no way governed by any other labor organization and can by no possible argument be properly subject to their jurisdiction, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federa-

tion of Labor, at this, its Thirty-ninth Annual Convention, rule that all Marine Engineers operating under authority of licenses issued by the United States Steamboat Inspection Service, should do so under the card, rules, and membership of the Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association of the United States of America.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 7—By Delegate George A. Tracy, of the California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, It has become the practice of manufacturers, producers and others to accumulate and hoard large quantities of commodities, foods, products, dairy products, goods, wearing apparel and articles entering the manufacture of wearing apparel; and

WHEREAS, Such practice leads to artificial conditions of distribution, panics, speculation, price fixing, industrial unrest, impure and deteriorated goods, foods and food products, wearing apparel and articles entering into their manufacture, being disposed of in ways and by methods other than by natural distribution methods; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this body call upon the Congress of the United States and the Legislatures of the various States to enact laws compelling each and every box, barrel, bottle, can, carton or container of such foods, or food products, and each and every article of wearing apparel or article entering the manufacture of wearing apparel, to bear an imprint of the date of its growth, origin, production or manufacture, and if any of such foods, food products, dairy products, wearing apparel or article entering the manufacture thereof, be stored, the date of such storage to be imprinted thereon; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this body call upon the Congress of the United States and the Legislatures of the various States to provide in the aforesaid laws a time limit within which any of aforesaid stamped foods, food products, wearing apparel, etc., shall be offered for sale to the consumer, on penalty of confiscation, or fine, or both.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 8—By Delegate Peter Bollenbacher, of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Paper Mill Workers of Tyrone, Pennsylvania, were forced to go on a strike against the West Virginia Pulp and Paper Company, twenty (20) weeks ago, for the right to organize; and

WHEREAS, The National War Labor Board has urged employers not to interfere with their employees' right to organize; and

WHEREAS, The West Virginia Pulp and Paper Company has ignored the request of the War Labor Board, and on the imminence of a strike has refused all efforts of conciliation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that we endorse the strike of the workers against the West Virginia Pulp and Paper Company; and, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to this convention do urge upon their various locals that they give all the moral and financial

support possible to assist in winning this strike; and therefore, be it further

RESOLVED, That we ask the American Federation of Labor to endorse the efforts of the Paper Mill Workers to secure the fundamental right of collective bargaining.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 9—By Delegate Peter Bollenbacher, of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, It is alleged that, due to a blockade of Russian ports, starvation is rampant in Russia, causing thousands of deaths and much suffering; and

WHEREAS, As laboring people we believe that democracy calls for alleviation of suffering and that food should not be denied to any people or nation not at war with this country; and

WHEREAS, We hold further that, as a democracy, it is our duty to do nothing to interfere in the form of government desired by any people; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor that we recommend to the Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that it take such steps as are necessary to lift the alleged blockade of Russian ports and to do all in their power to permit food, clothing, etc., to be forwarded to the Russian people.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 10—By Delegate J. Deutalbaum, of the Detroit Federation of Labor.

BY INSTRUCTIONS:—

Resolved, That this, the Thirty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, go on record to change Labor Day from the first Monday in September to May first, and that the incoming Executive Council be and is hereby instructed to carry out the intent and purposes of this resolution during their term of office.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 11—By Delegate John B. Colpoys, of the Washington Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, After many years of effort on the part of the American Federation of Labor through its President, Executive Council and the International Unions, there was created by act of Congress, a department of the government, known as the Department of Labor, the organic act creating it stating as its fundamental duties to be, "To foster and promote the interests of the working people;" and

WHEREAS, This Department has been presided over by Hon. William B. Wilson, under whose guidance yeoman service has been rendered to the cause of humanity, through improvements which have been brought about in the conditions of the working people by the aid and assistance given them by agencies of this department; and

WHEREAS, During the period of the war several new divisions were created which have proved to be of invaluable assistance to the working people of this coun-

try and the continuance of which will materially aid their conditions if they are allowed to be made permanent adjuncts to this department; and

WHEREAS, The potency of the Department of Labor can be raised or lowered in accordance with the sympathy towards the just aspiration of the toilers, in so far as its official head may know these needs, together with appropriations which Congress may pass for the maintenance of this department; and

WHEREAS, The Department of Agriculture and Commerce, two departments of our government which have been created to render assistance to the farmers and business interests, respectively, have been dealt with liberally in the matter of appropriations by which they have been of material assistance to the classes they represent; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates to the Thirty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, commend the Hon. William B. Wilson for the able manner in which he has directed the work of the Department of Labor and that we pledge ourselves to lend every assistance in having Congress appropriate funds that this department may grow in efficiency in its efforts to further the conditions of the toilers; and further

RESOLVED, That the Legislative Committee be instructed to render every assistance possible toward having Congress appropriate money for the expansions which will aid the toilers and that the delegates from the State Federations and City Central Labor Unions have their Secretaries write to the Senators from their States and the members of the House of Representatives urging upon them to aid in having the Department of Labor adequately provided for in the matter of appropriations; and further

RESOLVED, That the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor send a copy of this resolution, to each city and State body affiliated, and to the President of the United States, Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Resolution No. 12—By Delegate J. C. Putnam, of the Panama Canal Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, At the present time there are approximately 3850 American citizens employed by The Panama Canal and Panama Railroad Company on the Canal Zone; and

WHEREAS, About 80 per cent of this force are members of organized labor, and

WHEREAS, The rules and regulations under which they work and live are established by Presidential Executive Orders and Official Circulars, promulgated by the Administration of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad Company, and

WHEREAS, In the drafting, preparation, consideration and adoption of such rules and regulations, these employees have neither representation nor voice as organizations or the right of franchise as American citizens; and

WHEREAS, The result of such policy of administration determination of all new laws,

rules and regulations affecting large numbers of American citizens, who have no voice or vote, is detrimental to the general welfare of organized labor on the Canal Zone; and

WHEREAS, The issuance of such new rules and regulations from time to time, directly affecting every day living conditions of employees on the Canal Zone without any reference to them, has caused much discontent; and

WHEREAS, The application of such administrative rule is contrary to American standards and general practice and directly opposed to the tenets and principles of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The interests of organized labor demand that they be given at least the privilege of review before such rules and regulations become effective; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Panama Canal Federation of Labor (Central Labor Union) call on the officers of the American Federation of Labor to use all means in their power to secure equitable adjustment of these existing conditions, and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this Resolution be presented to the convention of the American Federation of Labor to be held in Atlantic City, New Jersey, on June 9, 1919, by the delegate from this Central Labor Union with the view of having same incorporated in the proceedings of the Convention.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Resolution No. 13.—By Delegate Peter Bollenbacher of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The railroad managers are consistently interfering with the efforts of the Government to make Government Ownership of Railroads a financial success, by piling up needless expenses and by placing all manner of obstacles in the way of efficient administration; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor make an investigation of these conditions in this State, and that we call upon the American Federation of Labor Convention to make similar investigations in other parts of the country.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Resolution No. 14.—By Delegate John B. Colpoys, of the Washington Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, The residents of the District of Columbia numbering more than 450,000 are the only ones in this country who do not enjoy the privilege of exercising the franchise, who are taxed without representation, and who have no voice in electing representatives of Congress and the Electoral College; and

WHEREAS, To secure this privilege, which should be a right, it is necessary to have a constitutional amendment adopted which requires a two-thirds vote of Congress and a ratification of three-fourths of the States; and

WHEREAS, There is now before Congress a joint resolution, H. J. Res. 32, which provides by constitutional amendment for rep-

resentation in both houses of Congress and electors for President and Vice President; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates to the Thirty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor favor the passage of H. J. Res. 32 and will render every assistance possible to the Washington Central Labor Union in their efforts to secure universal suffrage for the residents of the District of Columbia.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 15.—By Delegate J. C. Putnam of the Panama Canal Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, The organizations on the Canal Zone affiliated with the American Federation of Labor have for years past used their best efforts to protect American workmen on the Canal Zone against constant infringement upon their positions by cheap Alien labor, and

WHEREAS, Resolution No. 2, passed by the Metal Trades Convention at St. Paul, Minn., June 6, 1918, was submitted by this Council for this specific purpose, and

WHEREAS, The general conditions complained of in said Resolution remain the same, but are now being aggravated by two organizers, Messrs. Severs and Allen, representing the United Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees and Railroad Shop Laborers, who are on the Canal Zone for the purpose of organizing these aliens into their international as tradesmen of the various crafts in which they are employed, thus encroaching upon the rights of other internationals represented upon the Canal Zone, and

WHEREAS, Several cables have been sent, both to the President of the United Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees and Railroad Shop Laborers and the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, and letters have also been written to both the organizations aforesaid asking for the recall of the two Organizers referred to and the suspension of efforts to organize the aliens on the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the Panama Canal Central Labor Union is opposed to the organization of these aliens into the trades, or positions of skill, on the Canal Zone by the United Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees and Railroad Shop Laborers, that we demand the recall of the organizers of the above international from the Canal Zone, and that all future organization of aliens in this field be left entirely to the nationals or internationals under whose jurisdiction these aliens properly belong; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled take immediate action which will give the Canal Zone employees relief from the conditions complained of in these resolutions, that the demands outlined herein be complied with, that Resolution No. 2 referred to above be indorsed and that such action be taken by this convention which will remove the aliens in the employ of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad from all positions above the grade of common labor.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 16—By Delegate Peter Bollenbacher of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, It is apparent that some concrete official and intelligent policy is necessary, on the part of the American Labor Movement, to assist in the fight to secure a new trial or freedom for Tom Mooney; and

WHEREAS, All those who understand the American Labor Movement know that the official action of the American Federation of Labor on questions of this nature mean much to the accomplishment of the desired attainments; and

WHEREAS, We of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor believe that all the power at our command should be utilized to secure justice for Mooney; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that we reiterate our belief in the innocence of Mooney and our firm purpose to do all in our power to secure for him a new trial or unconditional freedom; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we call upon the regular convention of the American Federation of Labor, meeting next month, to clearly define and map out plans and policies and put them into operation, to the end that a new trial be granted to Mooney, or that he be given his unconditional freedom; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That our delegate to the next American Federation of Labor Convention be instructed to present this resolution to the Convention for definite action.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 17—By Delegate T. F. Burns of Tacoma, Wash., Central Labor Council.

WHEREAS, The committees selected by the A. F. of L. Convention are not representative since they are composed exclusively of the officers of national and international unions, while the delegates who represent the central bodies have no voice in determining the character of committees' reports, thus creating an official cast in the labor movement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the Tacoma Central Labor Council in regular meeting assembled, insist that the delegates who are in close touch with the labor movement should have proportionate representation on all committees.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 18—By Delegate T. F. Burns, of Tacoma, Wash., Central Labor Council.

WHEREAS, There is a spirit of unrest permeating the labor movement of the world, including the organized workers of these United States; the working class is seeking the means whereby to give expression to its aspirations for greater democracy in the labor movement; and

WHEREAS, The system of voting now in vogue in the A. F. of L. convention, whereby sixty-five delegates by combining on roll call vote, may determine the policy for the whole labor movement of the United States; and

WHEREAS, Such power in the hands of a small number of men is very dangerous, and necessarily brings abuses that can only be corrected by restoring the power to the rank and file; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Tacoma Central Labor Council, in regular meeting assembled, we urge the A. F. of L. to adopt a more democratic and equitable system of voting than that now in operation.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 19—By La Crosse, W's., Trades and Labor Council:

WHEREAS, On July 10th, 1918, the La Crosse Plow Company, of La Crosse, Wis., discharged one of their employees—one Albert Reichgeld, member of Blacksmith's Union No. 468—and gave as their reason for so doing in the presence of U. S. Conciliator G. Y. Harry, that he, Albert Reichgeld, had joined the Blacksmiths' Union, and was active in soliciting others to do the same; and

WHEREAS, Harry Hirschheimer, vice president of the La Crosse Plow Co., admitted to the discharged employee in the presence of a witness, also to our local organizer, R. G. Knutson, and Mr. G. Y. Harry, Commissioner of Conciliation of the Department of Labor, that the discharged employee, Mr. Reichgeld, in his union activities was not using the time of his employer, or the time of the other employees of the plant, and

WHEREAS, It is a clearly established fact that the discharged employee was not using the time of his employer or his fellow employees in his activities and it would therefore be considered a "legitimate trade union activities," according to the principles and policies promulgated by President Wilson's proclamation and established by the National War Labor Board, which clause reads, to wit: "Employers should not discharge their employees for membership in trades unions nor for legitimate trade union activities," and

WHEREAS, After all honorable means at our command locally had been used we appealed to the U. S. Department of Labor for the services of a Commissioner of Conciliation who arrived about September 26, 1918, and after several conferences with Mr. Hirschheimer failed to secure a settlement through conciliatory methods, this being our last resort to secure a settlement, the matter was then submitted to the National War Labor Board; and

WHEREAS, On March 5, 1919, the National War Labor Board handed down a recommendation as follows: "We recommend that Albert Reichgeld in this case who was discharged on July 10th, be offered employment with the La Crosse Plow Co., without demotion, and that he be paid for the time lost since his dismissal, minus any other earnings received by him for services rendered in other employment. We recommend this action because the evidence shows that his work was satisfactory and that his dismissal was due to his union affiliation and activity," and

WHEREAS, Upon receipt of this recommendation from the National War Labor Board our local representative waited upon Mr. Hirschheimer and requested that he comply with the recommendations of the war Labor Board, which he absolutely refused to do, and

WHEREAS, We feel that we have exerted all means within our power to secure a peaceable settlement of this case, and have failed in our attempts, now therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we the La Crosse Trades and Labor Council request of the American Federation of Labor, that the products of the La Crosse Plow Co., who are manufacturers of farm implements be placed on the unfair list of the American Federation of Labor, and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be sent by the American Federation of Labor to all farm papers, magazines and Farmers' Societies of Equity throughout the country for publication.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 20—By Delegates William Quesse, of Chicago Flat Janitors Union, Local 14382; Timothy Healy, Joseph W. Morton, William J. Schultz, Janitors, No. 15876; J. E. Holm, Superintendent Janitors and Assistants, 15928; P. J. Reardon, Local 14936, Janitors.

WHEREAS, The increased cost of living and the resultant necessity for an increased wage is a fact beyond a possibility of dispute; and

WHEREAS, Practically all of the International Organizations, affiliated with the A. F. of L., have recognized that fact by granting an increased compensation and hotel expenses paid to organizers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be, and they are hereby instructed by this Convention of the American Federation of Labor to increase the compensation paid to Organizers employed by the A. F. of L. to \$10.00 per day and that the hotel allowance shall be increased to \$6.00 per day.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 21—By Delegate E. H. Metz, South Bend Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The Central Labor Body of South Bend, Indiana, has struggled to organize the workers of various crafts into organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The labor movement in its struggle has not made any progress along the line intended; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor at this convention recommend to the Executive Council the necessity of placing an organizer in the South Bend District, with a view of organizing the unorganized workers at the earliest opportunity.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 22—By Delegates D'Alessandro, W. F. Dwyer, John Carley, J. V. Moreschi and J. B. Etchison of the International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America.

WHEREAS, The National Committee formed at the St. Paul Convention of the American Federation of Labor in accordance with Resolution No. 29 for the purpose of organizing the workers in the steel indus-

try has organized thousands of common laborers both inside and outside the mills, including bricklayers' helpers, plasterers' helpers, men building sewers and streets and other laborers who come under the jurisdiction of the International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America; and

WHEREAS, Members of the International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America have been compelled to pay initiation fees to the National Committee, which has refused to transfer these laborers to the International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, but has distributed them to various National and International Unions, especially the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in Atlantic City, N. J., instruct the National Committee and the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers to transfer all the laborers mentioned in this resolution to the International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 23—By Central Labor Union, Marion, Ohio:

WHEREAS, There are ever recurring controversies between employers and employees over the division of the wealth created by the employees by the use of the machinery of production owned by the employers, and

WHEREAS, At present, when the workers of one branch of an industry go on strike they often lose the battle because other workers of a different branch of the same industry, in the same town or even same establishment, or workers of the same branch of industry in a different locality, or workers of a different industry upon which the industry of the strikers is dependent, being bound by contracts that expire at different times from those who are on strike, remain at work, thus virtually scabbing on their fellow workers and helping to defeat them; and

WHEREAS, If the employees are to win they must recognize the fact that all workers are brothers; that an injury to one is an injury to all, that in solidarity there is power, that by a united demand often concessions could be gained without a strike, and that in order to win they must put themselves in a position so that when necessary they can make common cause with their fellow workers and all act in concert; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor goes on record as being in favor of all unions in the United States—except those industries in which the state of trade makes it more advantageous to make contracts at a different time—having their contracts with their employers made for only one year, and all to bear date of May 1. May 1 of each year to be observed by union labor as a holiday; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That it is the sense of this convention that all delegates hereto should use their best endeavors to have the principles embodied in this resolution adopted by their various state federations of labor, their

central bodies, their national and international and local unions.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 24—By Delegate Seymour Hastings, of the Motion Picture Players' Union, No. 16877.

WHEREAS, The Motion Picture Producers Association does not recognize the Motion Picture Players' Union, and

WHEREAS, The Association's secretary is the Secretary of the Motion Picture Producers' Service Bureau, which charges a commission fee of seven per cent (7%) per diem to all players who work through the said Service Bureau, and

WHEREAS, The majority of the players are practically compelled to work through the said Service Bureau, and

WHEREAS, There are hundreds of players whose earnings average only fifteen dollars per week and the purchasing price of the dollar in California has fallen to sixty-two cents, and

WHEREAS, Private employment agencies are detrimental to the interests of organized labor; be it

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that it is in favor of strong persuasive measures being adopted to induce all motion picture producers and their managers to recognize the Motion Picture Players' Union, which charges no commission, and to employ its members through its union.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 25—By Delegate Seymour Hastings, Motion Picture Players' Union, No. 16877.

WHEREAS, The first motion picture to be made by union labor exclusively is now being produced by the members of the Motion Picture Players' Union in Los Angeles, California, under the direction of the Clancy-Super-Play Corporation, and

WHEREAS, This photoplay, called "The Smoldering Volcano," is to bear the label of the Motion Picture Players' Union; and

WHEREAS, The aims and objects of this photoplay are to bring about mutual understanding and better relations between employer and employee, and to combat the spread of the influence of Bolshevism throughout the world, and

WHEREAS, The story to be produced has been read and endorsed by the Central Labor Council of Los Angeles; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, delegates to the National convention of the American Federation of Labor do hereby endorse the first "union-made" photoplay, and ask for it the hearty co-operation and support of all members of organized labor, and of the general public as well.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 26—By Delegate Seymour Hastings, of the Motion Picture Players' Union, No. 16877.

WHEREAS, The Motion Picture Produc-

ers' Association does not recognize the Motion Picture Players' Union, be it

RESOLVED, That the producer or producers who do not recognize the Motion Picture Players' Union's right to collective bargaining be considered unfair to organized labor and all trades-unionists be requested to withdraw their patronage from any of the 18,200 houses that run their pictures.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 27—By Delegate George Sauter, of Wilmington, Del., Central Labor Union.

RESOLVED, That the Central Labor Union of Wilmington, Delaware, and vicinity place the matter of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen seeking to force members of various crafts in shops throughout the country into their union. Some of these men have been in organized craft bodies for a number of years, and do not feel that they should take a card again in the Carmen's Union.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 28—By Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union, No. 16405, of Omaha, Nebraska.

WHEREAS, W. A. Fraser, Sovereign Commander, of the Woodmen of the World, has carried on a campaign of discrimination, intimidation and victimization against members of Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 16405 since the union was organized in January, 1919, until eighteen union members have been discharged, including all union officers, and

WHEREAS, Members of the Stenographers' Union organized to get relief from the low salaries paid and the excessively long working day prevailing at Woodmen headquarters, and have used every honorable means to adjust conditions and get fair treatment, and

WHEREAS, Attempts by committees from the Stenographers' Union and Omaha Central Labor Union to effect a peaceable adjustment and reinstatement of discharged employes has met with flat refusal, and

WHEREAS, Said W. A. Fraser has made the statement that he would spend fifty thousand dollars to crush the union among his office employes, and that none of those discharged would be reinstated, "Regardless of what any damn Union on Christ's earth has to say in the matter," and

WHEREAS, A challenge has been issued to organized labor by W. A. Fraser in these words: "I, with my one million members of the W. O. W. and the Sovereign Visitor will fight organized labor and its three million members, and all the union papers to a finish. I have issued a challenge and thrown down the gauntlet. If you fellows want to fight, hop to it," and

WHEREAS, Through the aid of local unions and the Omaha Central Labor Union, the Stenographers' Union has been enabled to carry on a wide publicity campaign among the rank and file of Woodmen members, informing them of conditions and the attitude of their Sovereign Commander, W. A. Fraser; and

WHEREAS, The Omaha Central Labor Union, on April 4, 1919, placed W. A. Fraser,

Sovereign Commander of the Woodmen of the World, on the unfair list when all efforts had failed to adjust the controversy; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That Stenographers' Union No. 16406 and the Omaha Central Labor Union do jointly request the American Federation of Labor Convention to place the said W. A. Fraser on their unfair list and give the widest publicity possible to the arbitrary attitude assumed by W. A. Fraser in dealing with his employees and organized labor; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a special effort be made through the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor to interest all National, State, Central and Local Unions in the controversy between the Sovereign Commander of the Woodmen of the World and the union of his employees, with the purpose of making the protest as wide as the membership of the Woodmen Order.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 29—By Central Labor Union Balboa, Canal Zone:

WHEREAS, The Panama Canal Federation of Labor (Central Labor Union) has in the past used its best efforts to protect American workmen on the Canal Zone against constant infringement upon their positions by cheap alien labor; and

WHEREAS, Resolution No. 2, passed at the Metal Trades Convention at St. Paul, Minn., June 6, 1918, was submitted by the Panama Metal Trades Council for this specific purpose, and

WHEREAS, The general conditions complained of in said Resolution remain the same, but are now being aggravated by two Organizers, Messrs. Severs and Allen, representing the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way and Railway Shop Employees, who are on the Canal Zone for the purpose of organizing these alien negroes into their International, jurisdiction being claimed by them in the skilled and semi-skilled positions, and

WHEREAS, We believe that by craft organization of these aliens their employment here will become a permanent institution, that they will be secured in the skilled and semi-skilled positions and the situation thus created will be beyond our control and will ultimately reduce the personnel of the Panama Canal to a West Indian basis, and the American citizen will be eliminated from employment and we will be outnumbered by these aliens about ten to one, there being about 27,000 on the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad, and

WHEREAS, Several cables have been sent both to the President of the United Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way and Railway Shop Employees and the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, and letters have also been written to both the organizations aforesaid, asking for the recall of the two organizers referred to and the suspension of efforts to organize the aliens on the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad, so far no results have obtained, be it, therefore

RESOLVED, That the Panama Canal Federation of Labor (Central Labor Union) is opposed to the organization of these alien negroes into any of the trades or positions of skill, or semi-skill, by any International

affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, that we demand the immediate recall of all organizers from the Canal Zone and that all future organization of aliens in this field be done by and at the discretion and supervision of the Panama Canal Federation of Labor (Central Labor Union) and the Panama Metal Trades Council; and be it further

RESOLVED, That these Resolutions be spread upon the minutes of the American Federation of Labor Convention, that a copy be forwarded to the American Federation of Labor, which is to meet at Atlantic City, N. J., on June 9, 1919, to be read into the records of said convention, and that request be made that some action be taken by the said convention which will consummate the demand outlined in these Resolutions.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 30—By Central Labor Union of Balboa, Canal Zone:

WHEREAS, At the present time there are approximately 3350 American citizens employed by the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad Company on the Canal Zone, and

WHEREAS, About 80 per cent of this force are members of organized labor, and

WHEREAS, The rules and regulations under which they work and live are established by Presidential Executive Orders and Official Circulars, promulgated by the Administration of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad Company, and

WHEREAS, In the drafting preparation, consideration and adoption of such rules and regulations, these employees have neither representation nor voice as organizations or the right of franchise as American citizens, and

WHEREAS, The result of such policy of Administrative determination of all new laws, rules and regulations affecting large numbers of American citizens, who have no voice or vote, is detrimental to the general welfare of organized labor on the Canal Zone, and

WHEREAS, The issuance of such new rules and regulations from time to time, directly affecting every-day living conditions of employees on the Canal Zone without any reference to them, has caused much discontent, and

WHEREAS, The application of such administrative rule is contrary to American standards and general practice and directly opposed to the tenets and principles of the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, The interests of Organized Labor demand that they be given at least the privilege of review before such rules and regulations become effective; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Panama Canal Federation of Labor (Central Labor Union) call on the officers of the American Federation of Labor to use all means in their power to secure equitable adjustment of these existing conditions; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That these resolutions be presented to the Convention of the American Federation of Labor to be held in Atlantic City, New Jersey, on June 9, 1919, by the delegate from this Central Union with the view of having same incorporated in the proceedings of the Convention.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Resolution No. 81—By Delegation International Seamen's Union:

WHEREAS, The Seamen's Act, in its Section 13, provides that no vessel shall be permitted to leave an American port unless she has a crew seventy-five per cent of which in each department thereof can understand all of the orders given by the officers of such vessel; and

WHEREAS, The Secretary of Commerce has given to this section of the law such a construction that on American as well as on foreign vessels the shipowners are permitted to continue the same dangerous practice that existed prior to the passage of the Act and for the abolition of which practice it was designed and enacted; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries of the House of Representatives be requested to use the power with which it is now clothed to make an investigation into this and other failures to properly enforce this Act by the Department of Commerce and to take such steps as will compel the proper enforcement of the law.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 82—By Delegation International Seamen's Union:

WHEREAS, The purpose of the Seamen's Act, as stated by its promoters, was to equalize the wage cost of operating American and foreign vessels and to bring the American to sea; and

WHEREAS, The wages of foreign vessels leaving ports of the United States have since August 1st, 1916, when the act became effective, followed the wages paid on American vessels from the same ports like a cart follows a horse to whom it is hitched; and

WHEREAS, The wages paid in English ports is the same as paid in the port of New York and the wages paid at Scandinavian ports in the overseas trade is within three dollars (\$3.00) of wages paid at the port of New York; and

WHEREAS, The wage paid from Italy has already risen to within ten dollars (\$10.00) of that paid seamen in American ports; and

WHEREAS, The native American sailing on American vessels, from the Pacific Coast ports has risen from zero to about twenty-four per cent, and on the Atlantic Coast from less than ten per cent to about thirty per cent since the Seamen's Act has become operative; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we denounce the bills introduced by Senator Calder and Congressman Gould to repeal the important clauses of the Seamen's Act as hostile to the national interests of the United States, as hostile to the development of American sea power and as serving the interests of European and Asiatic ship owners who under this act are gradually being compelled to meet the American shipowner in a fair competition on the high seas; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this resolution be submitted to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, to the Committee on Commerce of the Senate, to the Shipping Board, the Department of Commerce and if necessary to the President of the United States.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 83—By Delegates Peter J. Brady and Matthew Woll, International Photo Engravers' Union of North America:

WHEREAS, Great wars of the past have been followed by an inflation of currency and a depreciation in the purchasing power of the monetary unit; and

WHEREAS, One of the influences affecting the present high cost of living is the depreciated value of the dollar; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be and is hereby instructed to make a study of the problem of establishing a dollar of stabilized purchasing power as it may be presented through legislative effort, or otherwise during the year, and to submit a report upon the subject at the 1920 convention.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 84—By Library Employees' Union No. 15,590, New York City:

WHEREAS, we believe that public libraries are public utilities and should be owned, controlled and administered directly by the State or City financing such libraries; and

WHEREAS, We believe the present low and inadequate salaries and intolerable working conditions in our public libraries are due to the fact that most of the libraries are under the control of private corporations who are not responsible to the community at large, although they are spending the public's money; and

WHEREAS, That since the right of workers to organize in trade unions and to bargain collectively is recognized and affirmed by the United States government that this right shall not be denied, abridged or interfered with by the employers of the library; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled at Atlantic City on June 9, 1919, that in the interests of the people and in order to secure good conditions for the workers, we declare ourselves in favor of Civil Service for librarians; and, be it further

RESOLVED; that a member of a Library Union, to be elected by the Union, be placed upon all Committees having in charge Library activities, in which Union Labor is asked to co-operate, such as the War Service Committee of the American Library Association; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a member of Union Labor be represented on all Boards of Trustees for Libraries; and be it finally

RESOLVED, That we earnestly urge all locals to give all assistance possible towards the organization of these workers.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 85—By Delegate George Sauter, of the Central Labor Union, Wilmington, Del., against "One Big Union" and other untried and unsound doctrines that are being advocated to destroy the American Federation of Labor:

The Central Labor Union, as the representative of the craft organizations affiliated with International Organizations, which are in turn affiliated with the American Federa-

tion of Labor, believes that the growth of the trades union movement can be attributed to the policy of progress that has been inaugurated and carried out by the American Federation of Labor, President Samuel Gompers and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. We realize that this progress has been steady and resultful in bringing about desired improvements in working conditions, the increasing of wages and the shortening of hours. We do not believe in the untried and unsound doctrines that are being preached in propaganda tracts and on soap boxes against Mr. Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, and the A. F. of L., under his leadership. We recognize in Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, the greatest labor leader in the world living today, and we realize that he and the American Federation of Labor, backed up and supported by the rank and file of the American labor movement, were the present factor in American men and American principles winning finally the great world war. We believe in the League of Nations, and support President Gompers in his stand for the League, and are in hearty accord with the manifesto of the International Labor Conference. The Central Labor Union does not believe that "one big union" principles should be adopted by the American Federation of Labor. We realize that the remarkable progress made by the American labor movement was made through constant education of the membership of the craft unions and progression gradually with each further step in the education of the rank and file of the members of the craft unions.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 36—Withdrawn.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 37—By Delegate Meyer Abramson, of the United Umbrella Handle and Stick Makers' Union No. 14,581:

WHEREAS, United Umbrella Handle and Stick Makers' Union No. 14,581, American Federation of Labor, of New York City, have through their trade union activities succeeded in establishing a high standard of conditions for their members; and

WHEREAS, The standards established by United Umbrella Handle and Stick Makers' Union No. 14,581 are higher than the rates paid to workers in this trade in any other part of the country because of the thorough organization and the persistent activities on the part of its members for the protection of their interests; and

WHEREAS, Because of the laxity of proper regulations affecting the importation of umbrella handles and canes into this country from Japan, the interests of the workers in this trade are seriously affected because of the menace of the low wage paid to the Japanese worker, whose product is imported and sold in this country in competition with the high paid workers in this trade; and

WHEREAS, this dangerous competition caused by the importation of Japanese-made umbrella handles and canes is gradually breaking down the standards of our union and causing the unemployment of many of

our members who are forced to seek employment in other lines of industry not as remunerative; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, by the Thirty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, that we go on record in favor of the establishment of a protective regulation against the importation into this country of umbrella handles and canes by Japanese manufacturers that threaten to break down the standards of American workmen; and, be it further

RESOLVED, that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor stand instructed to give this matter very careful attention and to make such immediate action as may be necessary to stop this unfair competition in the interest and protection of the workers engaged in the umbrella handle and stick making industry.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 38—By Delegate George Sauter, of the Central Labor Union, Wilmington, Del. Continuation of the United States Employment Service of the U. S. Department of Labor:

RESOLVED, That the Wilmington Central Labor Union goes on record as favoring the continuation of the United States Employment Service of the Department of Labor, on lines as comprehensive as the Service was conducted during the period of war was on; this organization realizing fully that the public employment office system is a necessity to bring in closer contact the jobless man and the manless job.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Resolution No. 39—By Delegate George Sauter, Central Labor Union, Wilmington, Delaware:

Against cancellation of shipbuilding contracts:

RESOLVED, That the Central Labor Union goes on record as opposing the scuttling of the Government's shipbuilding program because of the effect it would have on industrial conditions, and because of the fact that the Government promised steady employment to the thousands of workers who dropped their other activities and took up the shipbuilding trades. We believe that the present existing contracts should be carried out, and that the American Merchant Marine should be provided for by the present Congress in order that the American flag shall predominate on the high seas, making America not only the greatest nation on the face of the globe, but the greatest shipbuilding and shipping nation as well.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 40—Withdrawn.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Resolution No. 41—By Delegate Wm. F. Gildas, of the Lima, O., Trades and Labor Council:

An amendment to the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor: To amend Article 5 section 1, by striking out all or

Section 1, after the words "to be elected by" and substituting the following—a secret ballot of the members in good standing of all unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. and these officers shall be the Executive Council. The nominations for the above named officers, shall be made by the delegates to the annual convention; and a printed ballot of the names shall be prepared and sent to all affiliated unions in good standing, to be voted upon and all ballots, those marked and all not used shall be returned with the tally sheet as report of said election, giving the number of votes cast for each candidate; and the candidate having the largest number of votes shall be elected; and a full detailed report of said election shall be published in the next issue of the official publication.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 42—By Delegate Sauter, of the Central Labor Union, Wilmington, Del. Removal of Postmaster-General Burleson:

The present Postmaster General has on so many numerous occasions proven that his sympathies are not with the working people of the country, that he stands against co-operation with the other Governmental departments, that the press is practically unanimous in believing him inefficient and incapable of occupying his office, that the Central Labor Union voices its sentiments in this resolution:

RESOLVED, That the Wilmington Central Labor Union goes on record as favoring the removal of Postmaster-General Burleson from his post as head of the Post Office Department, because he has proven his inefficiency on numerous occasions, and because he believes in making slaves and serfs of the employees in his department.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 43—By Delegate George Sauter, of the Central Labor Union, Wilmington, Del.:

RESOLVED, That the Wilmington Central Labor Union goes on record as favoring the continuation of the Government system of supervision of the railroads because of the fact that never before in the history of the United States did the railroads extend to their employees the fair treatment that was the employees' just due; and furthermore because the Government supervision during the war was conducted during a period when it would have been utterly impossible to have the railroads make money. If the railroads are returned to private control, we believe the different railroads should pay in full for the repairs made during the period of Government supervision, as well as additional trackage, equipment, etc.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Resolution No. 44—By Delegate George Sauter, of the Central Labor Union, Wilmington, Del. Favoring Secretary Lane's Americanization and land for Soldiers' Program:

RESOLVED, That the Central Labor Union goes on record as favoring the propositions that are being advocated by Secretary of the Interior Lane for Americanization, and for the bringing back to the soil of our returning soldiers, sailors and marines, who desire to take up farming through the Government's providing them with suitable farms on which to pursue the science of agriculture.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

At 12:30 p. m. the convention was adjourned to 2:30 p. m. of the same day.

SECOND DAY—Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:30 o'clock p. m., June 10th, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Boyer, McNulty, Schlesinger, Mitchell, Hayes, Hannah, Clark, Burke, Funderburk, Thomas, Curtis, Ely, Harlin, Yarrow, Willis, Priestly, Mets, Thomas, Young, Hannon, Wilkinson, Simpson, Enright, Cooper, Harte, Burk, Patterson, Berger, Ellicott, Thompson, Clarke.

Delegate Edwards, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Supplemental Report of Committee on Credentials

Your Committee on Credentials recommends the seating of the following delegates:

Central Labor Council, Bend, Oregon—C. P. Howard, 1 vote.

Central Labor Union, Scranton, Pa.—C. J. Boyle, 1 vote.

Central Labor Union, Norfolk, Va.—J. J. Gills, 1 vote.

Elevator Starters and Operators Union No. 16429, New York, N. Y.—Thomas J. McGill, 1 vote.

Train Porters Union No. 16526, Kansas City, Mo.—Geo. M. Brown, 1 vote.

Flint, Mich., Federation of Labor—C. F. McClintic, 1 vote.

Your committee has to report that a hearing was held upon the protest of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen and Oilers against the seating of the delegates of the United Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees and Railway Shop Laborers, at which the representatives of both organizations agreed to hold a conference. The delegates of both organizations have reported to your Committee that they have come to an agreement which is set forth in the following signed statement:

"Atlantic City, N. J., June 10, 1919.

"Mr. Timothy Healy,
President Stationary Firemen's Organization.

"Dear sir and Brother:

"If you will now withdraw your protest against our organization being seated we will turn over to your organization all shop and round house employees now holding membership in the United Brotherhood and will discontinue our or-

ganizing campaign so far as the employees in question are concerned.

(Signed) "A. E. BARKER,
Gr. Prest. U. B. M. W. E. & R. S. L."

Your committee recommends the seating of the delegates of the United Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees and Railway Shop Laborers.

Faternally submitted,

CHAS. F. SCOTT, Chairman

WALTER V. PRIORE

E. N. EDWARDS, Secretary.

The report of the Committee was adopted.

The delegation of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers asked that J. H. Barry be substituted for Thomas F. Slattery, who was not able to attend on account of illness.

The Operative Plasterers requested that Thomas George be substituted for Edward J. McGivern.

Both requests were granted.

President Gompers announced that Delegate Morin would be substituted for Delegate Slattery on the Building Trades Committee.

Delegate Wharton asked the privilege of the floor for Mr. Glenn E. Plumb, General Council for the Organized Railway Employees of America. The request was granted and Mr. Plumb was escorted to the platform by Delegate Wharton.

ADDRESS OF MR. GLENN E. PLUMB

Mr. Chairman, and you men upon whom rests the hope of mankind; I am very glad of this opportunity to explain to you the plan which has been endorsed by all of the organized employees of the railroads, and in addition has received a very large endorsement from organizations representing men outside of the railroad employment. Today is particularly the day of all days when human rights are coming to the foreground and beginning to demand full recognition at the hands of those who for so long a time have monopolized control of our industries.

We have developed a plan for the reorganization of the railroads which recognizes these human rights, which are equal; they cannot be measured in dollars and cents; there is no financial standard by which you can measure the interest of the employee and set it off against the interest of the public, or by which these two interests can be compared with the interest of capital and measured in dollars and cents. The interest of the wage earner and the interest of the public are human interests and not dollar interests. We have attempted to devise a plan which brought these various interests into sympathy, gave to each one its equal voice of authority, and gave to each its share in the responsibility for the conduct of this great industry.

The railroad industry is peculiarly a national issue; it is not confined to any one locality or to any one industry. The products of every farm, of every mine, of every factory, of every form of production must pass over these railroads before they can reach the consumer, and either the producer or the consumer pays the cost of that transportation. Therefore it is an issue which reaches the farthest corners of this nation. It is an issue that is present in every family, in every factory, in every great center, and in the farthest hamlet.

We have designed our plan along lines which recognize these various interests, and before I

attempt to explain the plan I want to take just a few minutes to define clearly to you what we have deemed to be the interests of these corporations in the railroads. There is a vast public misunderstanding as to the extent of these interests. This misunderstanding has been fostered through generations of usurpation of privilege and an education among all of our people to consider railroads as merely private property. To get an understanding of the relation of these interests to the public I want to announce just a few simple, recognized principles, and from that will come a clear recognition of the plan which we present.

First, railroads are public highways; we all recognize that; that needs no definition. Public highways are matters purely of public concern. There can be no private interest in a public highway except that which has been granted by the people. And all that did not pass by grant into the hands of the private owners remains a part of the public domain retained for the public benefit. You have frequently heard it said that railroads are private property retained for public use. Railroads are public property in which the public has granted certain restricted private rights, and it is only the right measured by the grant which has passed into private property; all the rest is retained as the public interest in these highways.

Now, how are we to determine what has become private property? By studying the charter of the corporation which has received the grant. And when we look at these charters we find many restrictions on the rights which have been granted. First, you will find this universal restriction, that property can be acquired by these corporations only for the purpose of operating a public highway, and for no other purpose whatsoever. Secondly you will find the old principle of the common law restricting the powers of corporations written into the constitutions of twenty-six states, and written into the statutes of most of the others. It is a provision that has long been overlooked and with which the great multitude of the people are entirely unfamiliar. Illinois was the first state to embody this in its constitution in these words:

"No railroad corporation shall issue its stocks or bonds except for money, labor or property actually received and applied to the purposes for which the corporation was created. Any stock dividend or other fictitious increase of capital stock or indebtedness shall be void."

Can you imagine stronger language than that to protect the people from the usurpations of inflated capital? And yet, in the fifty years since that provision was written into the constitution of the State of Illinois and from that state carried into the constitutions of twenty-six other states, that principle has never been urged in protection of the public right until the four railway brotherhoods presented it to the Interstate Commerce Commission in the valuation proceedings now pending.

Coupled with that provision is another constitutional provision which merely states an inherent power of government but does not create it, and that is this; that the State retains the right to regulate the rates and charges for transportation and to prescribe maximum rates to prevent extortion and discrimination. And that has been construed to mean, in connection with the preceding provision, by the Supreme Court of the State of Illinois, that the State in regulating rates and charges had the power to prescribe any rate which did not deprive the corporation either of its investment or of a fair

return upon that investment. An investment has been defined by the Supreme Court of the United States to mean the amount of money actually put at the service of the public. Coupled with that is the requirement of these corporations that they shall maintain this property.

And again, the Supreme Court has said that that means that they must expend such moneys out of their revenues as would preserve the integrity of the original investment, and if they failed to make such expenditures for maintenance it was equivalent to a withdrawal of investment. So that the right which these corporations had granted to them was merely the right to own and operate these properties and to charge such fares as would give them a return upon their actual investment. And all over and above that was a right which the people had retained for themselves.

Now, see how those rights have been disregarded. The railroads today show a property investment account of upwards of nineteen billion dollars, with a surplus of three and one-half billion dollars accumulated out of the earnings, but we find them demanding of Congress at this time that the people guarantee them a minimum of six per cent. on their property investment account. The property investment includes the par value of every investment now outstanding. Doubtless they are over-capitalized six to eight billion dollars, and upon that fictitious valuation they are asking your representatives in Congress to fix their returns. That means an attempt to exact from you in the cost of transportation half a billion dollars a year for which they can show no title.

Therefore we begin with a valuation based upon the determination of the amount of money which they have placed at our service. We provide by our plan for the immediate acquisition of all of these properties by the government. To make it a lawful acquisition we must at the same time provide a forum that shall determine the amount of compensation to be paid, and that must be based upon the value of the rights which have been granted, not the rights which have been retained. We authorize the Secretary of the Treasury, when that amount has been determined in each individual case, to issue government bonds in like amount and at the lowest obtainable rate of interest to pay for such a finding after it has been judicially approved by the Supreme Court. When that step is taken we have governmental ownership, but I want you to distinguish clearly between government ownership and government operation, because we make that distinction. By the acquisition of these railroads by substituting government bonds for the outstanding investments we eliminate by this plan private capital. The holders of the securities are placed in a status that is fixed. It is not within the power of Congress to increase the amount of their claim or their returns; consequently Congress and the legislative bodies will not be besieged by the representatives of capital to grant them further privileges. Capital is not represented by the obligations of the government, and a saving in fixed charges would be occasioned, first by a reduction of the eighteen billion dollars, the amount actually invested, and second by the reduction in interest charge which a government security affords over a private security. Also the holders of these securities are no longer interested to monopolize the management of these properties. They are disinterested spectators. And management also becomes as clearly disassociated from capitalistic control as do the legislative bodies. However, management remains, and management must be

placed in the hands of the men who know how to conduct this industry.

And remember, all the time that I am discussing management, from this time forth it is a management released from the dictatorship of Wall Street. We provide for management in this fashion. We ask this government, we ask the people of this government, to create a corporation for public service, not for private profit. That corporation must be composed of a body of men; therefore we say it shall consist, first of the board of directors; second, of all official employees; and third of all classified employees. The board of directors shall have control of this corporation. We suggest that that board of directors be made up in this manner; that the President shall appoint one-third of that board, that third shall represent the public interest; that the classified employees representing the wage earners, shall appoint one third; and that the official employees, representing management, shall appoint one third. This board of directors shall then, in its legislative capacity, have control of the operations of this corporation. Having created the corporation we authorize a lease by the government to the corporation of all of the transportation systems which the government has acquired. By this lease the corporation is obliged to pay for that out of revenue, first its operating expenses, including such sums for maintenance and renewals as the Interstate Commerce Commission may determine from time to time to maintain the integrity of the investment. That is something that has never been done heretofore, as you railroad men well know.

After meeting these operating expenses the corporation must then pay the interest on the outstanding bonds. After having paid that interest it must provide a sinking fund to retire these bonds, and after it has done that then what is left represents what formerly was used for dividends on stock. But now we do not declare dividends on the securities; we declare one-half of that dividend to the public and the other half to the operating corporation, and the operating corporation is to distribute that fund as a dividend on the wages of its employees. We must provide some limit on these dividends, otherwise the employees would have the public at their mercy, and the public has a basic interest in this industry.

We provide that when the amount received by the public as dividends equals or exceeds five per cent. of the gross operating revenue there will then be a reduction in freight rates and transportation charges sufficient to absorb that proportion of the profits. You might think that would reduce your earnings. It might have a tendency to do so, but every reduction in the cost of transportation is immediately followed by an increase in industrial activity, just as every rise in the price of transportation is accompanied by a decrease in industrial activity. As soon as the rates are decreased there is a greater flow of traffic. At the same time you have furnished the government hundreds of millions of dollars to be spent in extensions and improvements which increase your earning power but do not increase fixed charges, again bringing your level of profits back. At the same time you have furnished the government with a sinking fund to pay outstanding indebtedness. The natural result of this proposition will be that in time all charges on capital will be eliminated from the operating expense and the cost of transportation.

Now, there is the short mechanical outline of this device, with every tendency seeking to establish lower levels of cost and with the

wage earner secured in that share of the profits which he produces that he is entitled to receive. But if this were all there were in the plan I don't believe I would be interested in it. It is because there is a spirit back of it, there is a soul in this plan; there is the spirit of the day which restores to every individual his opportunity for development.

They say we cannot have efficiency without competition. Why, you men know that under the old condition competition existed only to increase profits, not to increase efficiency. The public benefit resulting from competition was a mere by-product of this play for profits. It was not the purpose of the system, it was a waste product. And you know that the cost of competition undoubtedly exceeded the benefit. Competition is merely an attempt of one party engaged in a transaction to get more profit away from another party, and for every private benefit resulting from public competition there is a corresponding private loss.

Who was interested in competition? The man who benefited by it, the man who received a little greater compensation because he carried on this system of grabbing from another. Now, you know that only a few men at the top of this system got any more money because of the drive of the competitive system. They were actuated by the hope of increasing their gains, but all men below those few were driven into competition by fear, fear that they would lose their jobs if they did not produce more profit for another, or fear that their position the next day would be worse than it was then. Why, men, fear is the poorest incentive on earth upon which you may build efficiency. The man who fears conceals the defects; he does not seek to overcome them. Hope is the inspiration of free men; fear is the incentive of slaves. We would have this inspiration, this glorious hope of free men, extended to every man in the employ from the president of this great corporation down to the humblest office boy; we would have them all know that they shared in the profits of their own efficiency and in the efficiency of all. We would have every employe know that the road was open to him clear to the top if he could earn it, and that there was no power in existence that could stay his progress if his service was worthy of that reward. Why, with such an incentive what efficiencies could we accomplish, what economies could we make, what services could we render!

And the public, the great body of people who must pay this cost, would then know with assurance that they were not paying more than was necessary to operate these properties and to procure the assistance of every employe. Instead of being the servants of a system the two million and more employes on these railroads can be made the most efficient arm of service for the people of the country the world has ever seen, if you give them authority and responsibility. Without authority and responsibility they are merely automatons. There is no spiritual uplift in their work—there is no reason why there should be. But with this right restored to them they become really an army for the service of mankind and assured of the reward which that service demands.

This is the plan. I have put it before you very briefly. It introduces into industry the fair control of that industry which the producer should enjoy. It gives to those who know most about the industry the formulation of the rules, the methods, and the practices to be followed, and it takes away from those who have political motives, those who are seeking

only private profit all control of that industry which is the life-blood of this nation.

You have selected great men for your leaders; they have been worthy of that trust in the organizations which they represent. There is the iron-jawed Stone at the head of the engineers; the clear-eyed Shea; the battle-scarred but valiant Lee, and Garretson, that Lincoln of the laboring men. These four, not representing the American Federation of Labor, but the first to adopt this idea, are now joined with your leaders. Here is the diplomatic Jewell, the great, big, strong Ryan, the studious Forrester and so I could go on naming all of them. And they have given it their heart's best thought and they believe in it. They will not lead you astray. They have seen a great vision; the vision of industry free.

We hope you will study this plan. There will be some five thousand copies of the plan here for distribution before you leave. We hope that it will meet with your approval, because it applies not only to the railroads—though it may be applied there first—but it applies to every industry based on a grant, monopoly, or privilege, and I believe it embodies a step in industrial development in advance of anything that has been heretofore suggested.

The future of the world lies in your hands. I do not mean to say that that future depends upon your acceptance of this plan, but the plan which you adopt for the solution of our industrial problems does involve the stability of civilization. Generations yet unborn will look back to this convention of the workers of America, and they may date the regeneration of all mankind from this meeting. It is said we cannot succeed with this plan. Don't you believe it; we can succeed with it. It is a question not to be determined by this Congress; it must be determined by the American people, and when the voice of the American people speaks Congress will obey. Not only Congress, but every other division of government must obey the voice of our people, and that voice is growing stronger and stronger every day.

Two million men through their organizations have already endorsed this plan: two million men in the railway employ. Organizations representing three-quarters of a million farmers have endorsed it through their officials—there was no opportunity for them to endorse it in convention. The Non-Partisan League of the Northwest has also endorsed it through its officials, and we will have the convention endorsement from that great body. That means a million votes; the farmers two or three million votes; the railroad organizations certainly mean three votes for every man; and with ten million voices raised to reconstruct industry on this plan or any other plan upon which they agree means absolute control, and it rests in your hands.

I thank you.

Delegate Emory, Minneapolis, moved that the address of Mr. Plumb be made a part of the proceedings of the convention, and that the thanks of the convention be tendered him for its delivery. Motion was seconded and carried.

Secretary Morrison read the following communication:

UNITED STATES SHIPPING BOARD
Emergency Fleet Corporation
Philadelphia, Pa., June 9, 1919.

Mr. Samuel Gompers,
Hotel Alamac,
Atlantic City, N. J.
Dear Mr. Gompers:

The suggestion contained in your telegram

of June 8th that the vessel being named for the American Federation of Labor be christened "Afel" is a good one. Please verify this spelling. Should the name be "Afel" or "Afol"?

The request that you should name this vessel carries with it the further request that you should select the sponsor. Will you kindly let me know at the earliest opportunity the name of the lady whom you will designate to christen the ship?

The launching will take place at high tide on the morning of June 28th at the Hog Island Shipyards. This vessel is 7500 deadweight, steel, cargo carrying and oil burning. It is desired that not only yourself, but all other officials of the American Federation of Labor who can possibly be present attend the launching, as well as the delegates and representatives now attending the Atlantic City Convention. Display of the union button will be all that will be necessary to gain admission to the yard on that day.

Mr. Brush, the president of the Hog Island yard, advises me that he is designating a local shipyard committee representative of the various trades allied with the A. F. of L. who will handle the launching program.

Very truly yours,

FRANK B. LORD,
Assistant to the Chairman.

Delegates Wharton, Machinists, moved that resolutions be accepted up to twelve o'clock Tuesday night. Motion seconded and carried.

Resolution No. 46—By Delegates M. J. Sillinsky of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America, and Max Gorenstein of the I. L. G. W. W.

WHEREAS, As a result of the jurisdictional controversy between the United Hatters of North America and the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America over the millinery trade, the latter organization was suspended from the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The United Hatters at their last convention held in the city of New York during the month of May, 1919, have, according to press reports, changed their attitude to the cap trade and decided to claim jurisdiction over this trade, which is practically one hundred per cent. organized under the banner of the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America; and

WHEREAS, With this new attitude of the United Hatters, the jurisdictional tangle and strife between them and the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers will naturally grow still more bitter and prejudicial to the interests and progress of all the headgear workers, whether felt hatters, millinery workers or cloth hat and cap makers; and

WHEREAS, The United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers are known to favor amalgamation with the United Hatters, and have introduced a resolution to that effect at the Buffalo Convention of the A. F. of L.; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That with the United Hatters now claiming jurisdiction over the entire membership of the United Cloth Hat and

Cap Makers they cannot reasonably refuse amalgamation with this latter organization and that the Executive Council therefore be instructed to call a conference of both organizations for the purpose of bringing about amalgamation between them.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Resolution No. 47. By Delegates E. E. Baker, H. J. Conway and John B. Schulte, Retail Clerks' International Protective Association.

WHEREAS, During the month of October, 1918, a former local of our International movement, known as Local No. 4 of Butte, Montana, seceded by vote of that organization from its affiliation with their International, and since that time have retained their representation in the Silver Bow Trades and Labor Assembly, and also to the best of our knowledge have continued their affiliation with the Montana State Federation of Labor, both organizations working under charters from the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, Every possible effort has been made to obtain the reafiliation of this local with our International Association or the unseating of their delegates from the Silver Bow Trades and Labor Assembly and the Montana State Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor hereby instruct the Executive Council to demand within a period not to exceed thirty days the unseating of all delegates or representatives from former Local No. 4 of the Retail Clerks' International Protective Association, or any independent organization of salespeople in Butte, Montana, in both of the above mentioned bodies.

Referred to Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

Resolution No. 48—By Delegate D. D'Alessandro of the International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America.

WHEREAS, The world war has brought the workers of the world into closer relations, especially from an economic standpoint and has particularly demonstrated the necessity of better understanding and mutual confidence in the matter of a just peace which shall recognize and safeguard the rights and interests of labor here and elsewhere, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That as one means toward the accomplishment of the foregoing purposes we recommend that all national and international unions admit to membership without the payment of an initiation fee all journeymen workers who can show a paid up working card with a certificate showing they have served the required apprenticeship, provided such workers are members of unions recognized by the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 49—By Delegate Harry L. Hartford, Portsmouth, N. H., Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, On March 1, 1918, the President of the United States approved the expenditure of \$50,000,000 for the housing of shipyard workers, and later, on May 16, 1918, approved the further expenditure of \$50,000,000 for the housing of war workers, to be spent under the direction of the Emergency Fleet Corporation and the United States Department of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The public money appropriated has been used to build houses now occupied by families who are forced to pay abnormal rents, based on the cost of construction, completed during the war emergency, is an injustice and a hardship on the workers; and

WHEREAS, Property owners have taken advantage of the excessive prices fixed by the Government rent adjusters and carried on a general campaign of profiteering and rent boosting, thereby imposing great hardships on the tenants; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record as protesting the policy of the Emergency Fleet Corporation charging excessive rents for the property built by them with the public money; be it further

RESOLVED, That a committee of three be appointed with full authority and instructions to convey the sentiment of this convention to all persons and departments concerned and to use all means at their disposal to reduce rents on all Government housing projects to a normal equitable figure.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 50—By Delegate C. A. Strickland, of the Central Labor Council, Portland, Ore.

A Resolution demanding the election of "foremen" by the workmen who must work under their directions.

WHEREAS, Union men must function in a way to benefit the laboring class as a whole or go down in defeat; and

WHEREAS, A great portion of the abuses which are imposed on the laboring class by the employing class could not be successfully practiced were it not for the custom now established of keeping overseers and foremen in charge of work who are entirely heartless and disregarding of the welfare of the workers; and

WHEREAS, The producers of wealth have as much right to decide who shall direct their labors as has the employer; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That on and after May 1, 1920, the workers in any industry shall have the privilege, and are encouraged to demand the right, to "elect" the foreman under whom they shall work, by a majority vote of the entire force of the employees engaged in that industry.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 51—By Delegates W. W. Britton, Geo. Leary and H. C. Diehl, of the Metal Polishers' International Union.

WHEREAS, The International Jewelry Workers' Union have persistently refused to obey the mandates of the American Federation of Labor as expressed by the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. and the St. Paul convention of the A. F. of L., and are con-

tinuing to solicit and accept as members into their organization those workers who rightfully come under the jurisdiction of the Metal Polishers' International Union, the International Sheet Metal Workers' Amalgamated Alliance, the International Association of Machinists; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-ninth Convention of the American Federation of Labor suspend the charter of the Jewelry Workers' Union until such time as they comply with the mandates of the American Federation of Labor as expressed by the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. and the St. Paul Convention.

Referred to the Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Resolution No. 52—By Delegates Wm. J. Schultz, Janitors' 15876, St. Louis, Mo.; I. E. Holm, Supt. Janitors' and Assistants, 15923, New York; P. J. Reardon, Janitors' 14936, Boston, Mass.; and Jacob Middleton, Janitors and Helpers, No. 16084, Charleston, S. C.

WHEREAS, The membership of local unions Nos. 15923 and 16156, of New York, N. Y.; 14936 of Boston, Mass.; 13152 of Springfield, Mass.; 15923 of Providence, R. I.; 13130 of Cincinnati, Ohio; 15876 of St. Louis, Mo.; 16234 of Memphis, Tenn.; 14332 of Chicago, Ill.; 16198 of Des Moines, Iowa; 15508 of Denver, Colo.; 10367 of San Francisco, Calif.; 14605 of Seattle, Wash.; 16130 of Aberdeen, Wash.; 16304 of Charleston, S. C., affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, have unanimously decided, after thoroughly studying and canvassing carefully the situation with reference to the building (or institution) cleaning and domestic service employees, that the interests of the said workers in the United States could be best served and advanced by the formation of an international union under the supervision of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, There are at this time sixty locals affiliated with the American Federation of Labor composed of such building (or institution) cleaning and domestic service employees, with a combined membership of approximately 5,000; and

WHEREAS, There is now a temporary international union of building service employees organized and composed of locals throughout the United States that are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, A charter fully stating the jurisdiction of an international union of building service employees, be "persons employed in the cleaning, custodians and domestic service of any institution," that meaning those workers known as custodians, matrons, housekeepers, janitors, janitresses, housemen, maids, servants, porters, watchmen, elevator operators and starters, house and window cleaners; and

WHEREAS, In every city, town and village are these classes of workers unorganized, and that the said locals affiliated with the American Federation of Labor are only in forty-one cities; and

WHEREAS, Experience has taught that the way to organize the workers is to put the work or organization into the hands of specialized organizers experienced in the said callings; and

WHEREAS, The sixty locals now existing are able to finance and promote the organization of an international union in the United States, as is exhibited in the financial report of the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to this, the Thirty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, instruct the President of the American Federation of Labor to issue a call within six months to such local unions of building service employees for a convention, at which convention an international union shall be organized under the supervision and in conformity with the constitution of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Organisation.

Resolution No. 53—By Delegates W. W. Britton, George Leary and Chas. E. Atherton, of the Metal Polishers International Union, and John J. Connolly, C. H. Grow, H. W. Brown and Wm. Schoenberg, of the International Association of Machinists.

WHEREAS, The firm of the Hamilton-Beach Manufacturing Company, makers of electrical products of Racine, Wis., have locked out all employees of their factory after having previously agreed to submit to and abide by the decision of the War Labor Board; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor grant all moral assistance possible to the locked out employees of the Hamilton-Beach Manufacturing Company which includes members of the Metal Polishers' International Union and the members of the International Association of Machinists.

Referred to Committee on Organisation.

Resolution No. 54—By Delegates John O'Keefe and Harry L. Morrison, of the Laundry Workers' International Union.

WHEREAS, There are about one hundred thousand women workers employed in the laundry industry, the majority of whom have not yet been organized into local unions of their craft; and

WHEREAS, The Laundry Workers' International Union is meeting with determined opposition from the National Association of Laundry Owners in its efforts to organize both the men and women laundry workers; and

WHEREAS, The above-mentioned association of laundry owners have gone on record in their national conventions and in their state conventions as being utterly opposed to the right of collective bargaining with their employees, and have pledged their association members to operate and maintain non-union laundries; and

WHEREAS, It is detrimental to the interests of organized labor to have the large laundry industry operated under non-union conditions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be requested to issue during the coming year a special circular letter to all salaried and volunteer organizers of the American Federation of Labor, directing their attention to the great need for organization work that

is to be found among the women wage-workers of the laundry industry.

Referred to Committee on Organisation.

Resolution No. 55—By Delegate C. A. Strickland, of the Central Labor Council, of Portland, Oregon.

WHEREAS, Any movement or lack of action at the present time which does not promote the idea of "solidarity" in the ranks of labor is a dangerous and disintegrating agency; and

WHEREAS, The American Labor Day as recognized and celebrated on the first Monday in September of each year, starting as it did from a successful local picnic or jollification, was "boosted" into national prominence by designing politicians to prevent the European Labor Day becoming a worldwide adhesive power; and

WHEREAS, With this bond of unity being made a tie of affection to bind all the world of labor into an universal brotherhood, and with working agreements and union contracts with the employers terminating, all at a given time would prove a valuable help in the task of "getting the boss off our back;" therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor does hereby declare the Labor Day as heretofore recognized and celebrated on the first Monday in September to be abandoned and of no effect.

RESOLVED, That the next Labor Day to be recognized and celebrated as "Labor's Own Day of Independence" shall be on May 1, 1920, and on the same date of May 1, of each year thereafter.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 56—By Delegate Vinton L. Dillon, of the International Molders of North America.

WHEREAS, Many workers left their homes and traveled to different parts of the country during the war to work for the United States Government; and

WHEREAS, As this work is finished and the workers are returning to their homes, we believe it is only just that the Government should pay their transportation home; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the American Federation of Labor, instruct the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to use every honorable means to secure for these workers transportation to their homes after they have completed their work.

Referred to Committee on State Organizations.

Resolution No. 57—By Delegate Max S. Hayes, of the International Typographical Union.

WHEREAS, With the rapid demobilization of our valiant soldiers, sailors and marines, there is presented acutely the problem of employment for these men; and

WHEREAS, These men are being taken advantage of by employers who are offering them jobs at starvation wages, thus threatening and breaking down union conditions; and

WHEREAS, Employing interests have gone so far as to use our former soldiers, sailors and marines as scabs to break strikes, securing these boys through misrepresentations and allurements, and through taking advantage of their necessity; and

WHEREAS, There has been organized an association of ex-service men, banded together as ex-soldiers and sailors for their own protection, in fullest sympathy with organized labor, in strongest opposition to the use of their comrades as strike breakers, as they have shown in those cases in New York when they endeavored to prevent the use of uniformed men in the harbor strikes; and

WHEREAS, This association, known as The Soldiers, Sailors and Marines Protective Association, is organized to secure employment for its members at union wages, and under union conditions, is committed to the shorter workday, vocational training, and a year's pay at \$30 for all ex-service men, and is in thorough sympathy with organized labor; and

WHEREAS, The above association recognizing the evils of autocracy and militarism, its members having given their lives to preserve the nation's peace and democratic institutions, is pledged to these lofty ends; and

WHEREAS, The purposes of the association above mentioned are in accord with those of the American Federation of Labor; be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor call upon its affiliated organizations to encourage and assist morally and financially The Soldiers, Sailors and Marines Protective Association, and similar associations of soldiers and sailors for similar purposes, to secure their just demands and rights.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 58—By Delegate A. E. Fisher, of the Trades and Labor Assembly, Beaumont, Texas.

WHEREAS, There are many thousands of workers employed in the timber industry of the South; and

WHEREAS, The majority of these workers are underpaid and are employed by lumber barons who heretofore have manifested an antagonistic attitude toward organized labor and the principles of collective bargaining; and

WHEREAS, Practically all these workers could be added to the ranks of organized labor, were they advised of the proper steps necessary to take to get into the Timber Workers; and

WHEREAS, These workers, so long as they remain unorganized, are unable to better their condition; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed by this convention to give every support to the Timber Workers in the work of organizing those employed in the timber industry of the South.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 59—By Delegate Max S. Hayes (introduced at request of Marion, Ohio, Central Labor Union).

WHEREAS, There are ever-recurring controversies between employers and employees over the division of the wealth created by the employees by the use of the machinery of production owned by the employers; and

WHEREAS, At present when the workers of one branch of an industry go on strike they often lose the battle because other workers of a different branch of the same industry, in the same town or even same establishment, or workers of the same branch of industry in a different locality, or workers of a different industry upon which the industry of the strikers is dependent, being bound by contracts that expire at different times from those who are on strike remain at work, thus virtually scabbing on their fellow-workers and helping to defeat them; and

WHEREAS, If the employees are to win they must recognize the fact that all workers are brothers; that an injury to one is an injury to all; that in solidarity there is power; that by a united demand often concessions could be gained without a strike, and that in order to win they must put themselves in a position so that when necessary they can make common cause with their fellow-workers and all act in concert; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-Ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor goes on record as being in favor of all unions in the United States—except those industries in which the state of trade makes it more advantageous to make contracts at a different time—having their contracts with their employers made for only one year, and all to bear date of May 1, May 1 of each year to be observed by union labor as a holiday; and, be it further

RESOLVED; That it is the sense of this convention that all delegates hereto should use their best endeavors to have the principles embodied in this resolution adopted by their various state federations of labor, their central bodies, their national and international and local unions.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 60—By Delegate Michael A. Broderick, of the Quincy, Mass., Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, A condition prevails in the metal industry of this country that is impractical from an organization standpoint, insofar as it concerns one of the crafts whose occupation is being rapidly expanded because of changing methods of manufacture, namely, the welding and burning processes by electricity and oxy-acetylene gas; and

WHEREAS, It is for the mutual protection of all employed in metal work, irrespective of craft or calling, that all be organized to the greatest possible extent; and

WHEREAS, Because of the prevailing condition in this craft, many workers cannot be organized owing to jurisdictional claims of various national and international bodies in the organized metal crafts; and

WHEREAS, The workmen following the electric and oxy-acetylene welding industry are employed at their trade in shipyards, foundries, auto manufacturers, repair shops, machine shops, blacksmith shops, copper shops, sheet-metal shops, and structural

operations, in fact, in all the industries where metals of any nature are used; and

WHEREAS, All these trades or crafts claim jurisdiction necessitating the electric and oxy-acetylene welders to carry cards in as many different organizations as there are trades involved; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the electric and oxy-acetylene welders be recognized as a separate trade and that a charter recognizing this fact be issued by the American Federation of Labor, because the electric and oxy-acetylene welding process is a distinct trade apart entirely from the other trades in the metal industry; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That committees composed of men following the electric and oxy-acetylene trade be given an opportunity to appear before the proper committees at the above-named conventions to show reasons why the request for charter should be granted, or if the matter is referred to Executive Council of American Federation of Labor that the committee referred to, be given the same opportunity to present its case before the Executive Council.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 61—By Delegates Milton Snellings, H. M. Comerford, E. L. Edgerton, and Albert Peterson, of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers.

To the officers and delegates of the Thirty-Ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Atlantic City, N. J.

Greetings:

WHEREAS, The International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers have been on strike in brickyards in the city of Chicago and vicinity since September, 1912, and are now on strike; and

WHEREAS, The United Brick and Clay Workers of America have during that period manned the positions struck by the engineers with members of their organization, and thereby helping to break the strike, which have worked a great injury to our membership.

WHEREAS, The International Union of Steam and Operative Engineers have tried to meet with representatives of the United Brick and Clay Workers of America for the purpose of adjusting this long-standing controversy to which the United Brick and Clay Workers of America have not responded; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Atlantic City, N. J., instruct the United Brick and Clay Workers of America to observe the charter rights of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record to do all in its power to adjust this strike of seven (7) years' duration, for the benefit of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 62—By Delegate William I. Gildas, of the Lima, Ohio, Trades and Labor Council.

An amendment to the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor to amend Article 5 by adding the following, to be known as Section 7:

When ten (10) unions in good standing, affiliated with the A. F. of L., and that they represent at least five (5) different states, and that they demand the recall of one or more of the officers; it will be the duty of the officers to prepare ballots for said recall, and mail the same to all affiliated unions, and if said recall carries by at least two-thirds majority of the members voting, it will be the further duty of the officers to provide for the election of a successor to the defeated official; one candidate shall be nominated by the officers and two others, the first and second choice of the ten (10) unions originating that recall; the election shall be conducted as proposed in amendment to Article 5, Section 1.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 63—By Delegates James P. Noonan, James J. McAndrews, Edw. J. Evans, William J. Brennan, George L. Berry, Henry F. Boyen.

WHEREAS, By general referendum vote the general membership of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers instructed its international officers to call a nationwide strike of the electrical workers and telephone operators employed by the telephone systems operating in the United States, and by authority of such instruction the said officers have issued a strike call, setting June 16, 1919, as the day for the strike of the telephone electrical workers; and

WHEREAS, By authority of congressional action the control and management of the telephone systems of the United States were placed in the charge of the Postmaster General of the United States; and

WHEREAS, The officers of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers have earnestly attempted since August, 1918, until this date, to secure a working understanding with the Postmaster General in reference to these employees; and

WHEREAS, The Postmaster General has promised to establish a working arrangement but failed to do so and has turned the operation of the telephone lines back to private control, retaining the financial control in the Government of the United States; and

WHEREAS, Prior to the taking over of the said telephone systems by the United States Government the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers had working agreements with various of these companies; and

WHEREAS, The Postmaster General has persistently refused to renew these agreements upon their termination or to make any provisions to care for the electrical employees of said company, the above-mentioned strike vote became an urgent necessity to safeguard the rights of the membership involved; and

WHEREAS, The officers of the International Brotherhood have at all times during the prosecution of the war refused to call or sanction a strike against said telephone companies, attempting at all times to assist the Government in the successful prosecution of the war; be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation, in convention assembled, and its affiliations pledge their moral and financial support in the prosecution of said strike; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, or a committee appointed by it, proceed forthwith to Washington, D. C., to take up this matter with the Governmental authorities with a view of procuring a satisfactory adjustment of this matter.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Resolution No. 64—By Delegate C. F. Grow, of the International Association of Machinists, and Delegate J. P. Noonan, of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

WHEREAS, The workers of America are paying an enormous toll in life and limb in industrial accidents, there being over 700,000 accidents, including 25,000 fatalities, considered by compensation boards each year; and

WHEREAS, A large proportion of these accidents could and should be prevented; and

WHEREAS, There are important industrial sections in which there is little or no public action being taken to prevent such accidents; and

WHEREAS, There is great need for improvement in, and extension of methods and devices for safeguarding the lives of the workers, and of crystallizing the very best practice into sets of rules for various branches of industry, thus making for greater efficiency and uniformity in safety standards; and

WHEREAS, The Federal Government should actively participate in the development and formulation of such safety standards; and

WHEREAS, The conditions of labor have already been greatly improved by the Working Conditions Service of the Department of Labor, by the application of the Federal safety standards in Federal industrial establishments, by the safety work of the Bureau of Mines in the mining industry, and by the general safety work of the Bureau of Standards, particularly in investigations leading to uniformity of requirements, and in the consulting engineering service rendered state and city authorities; and

WHEREAS, A recent conference called by the Bureau of Standards and attended by delegates of nearly a hundred national organizations, representing all interests concerned, agreed upon the need for developing a set of national industrial safety codes; Therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That in the interests of labor this work should be actively continued and extended, and that adequate support should be provided for the active participation of the appropriate Government bureaus in the undertaking; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be transmitted to the members of the Committee on Labor of the United States House of Representatives, and of the Committee on Education and Labor of the United States Senate, and to the Secretaries of Labor, Commerce, Interior, War and Navy.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Resolution No. 65—By Delegates J. W. Kline, International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers; T. Healy, International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen and Oilers; A. O. Wharton, International Association of Machinists' Delegation; John J. Hynes, Sheet Metal Workers' International Union.

WHEREAS, The members of various labor unions and other employees of the Willys-Overland Company at Toledo, Ohio, Elyria, Ohio, and Elmira, N. Y., plants have for the past three years enjoyed the eight-hour day with Saturday half holidays; and

WHEREAS, The Willys-Overland Company, did on May 6th, arbitrarily increase the working hours from the 45-hour basic week to the 48-hour basic week while negotiations for a new wage adjustment were in progress; and

WHEREAS, The Willys-Overland Company has in the past met with committees selected by the various unions to negotiate wages and shop conditions, but is now insisting that all committees in future must be selected under a plan prepared by the company; and

WHEREAS, To increase the hours of labor at this time is unfair, undemocratic, un-American and contrary to the necessities of the times; and

WHEREAS, It is the fundamental right of members of organized labor to choose their shop committees at their own time and convenience; and

WHEREAS, The members of organized labor employed by the Willys-Overland Company did insist upon maintaining the conditions established and under which they were working, and as a consequence thereof were arbitrarily locked out by the company, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled emphatically denounces the attitude of the Willys-Overland Company; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That all national and international unions circularize their local lodges, and that the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to communicate with all central labor unions, calling attention to the unfair attitude of the Willys-Overland Company toward union labor.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 66—By Delegate Patrick J. Cahillane, of the City Employees' Local, No. 15951, Manchester, N. H.

WHEREAS, The organized labor movement of New Hampshire has been active in efforts to perfect the organization of all wageworkers; and

WHEREAS, In the furtherance of this plan the active union men and women of New Hampshire have been untiring in their efforts and unsparing in their contribution of time and finances; and

WHEREAS, It is believed that greater progress can be made in this work by an organizer of the American Federation of

Labor who will bring to his aid the prestige of the whole labor movement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that the Executive Board be instructed to designate an organizer for New Hampshire who shall direct and co-operate with efforts of the existing labor movement to perfect the organizing of its workers.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 67—By Delegates J. W. Kline, International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers; A. O. Wharton, International Association of Machinists; John J. Hynes, Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance; Milton Snellings, H. M. Comerford; T. Healy, International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen and Oilers.

WHEREAS, The Mayor of Toledo, Ohio, has seen fit to utilize returned soldiers as citizen police in a labor controversy, which action was entirely uncalled for and unnecessary; and

WHEREAS, The utilizing of returned soldiers in the uniform of the army of the United States in such a capacity will bring disgrace and discredit to a uniform which all American citizens desire to respect; and

WHEREAS, The uniforms of the army and navy of the United States should be used only in such a manner as to command the respect of the citizens of the United States; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled denounces the action of the Mayor of the City of Toledo in employing returned soldiers in the uniform of the United States army as citizen police in a labor controversy, which really means using the uniform of the United States as a protection for strike-breakers; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the convention protest to the Secretary of War against the uniform of the army or navy being used for such purpose; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Secretary of War be requested to take immediate steps, by legislation or otherwise, to prevent such use of the uniform of the United States army or navy and to provide proper and adequate punishment for those who so use or cause to be so used such uniform.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 68—By Delegate W. V. Ringer, of Federal Labor Union No. 15988, of Waynesboro, Pa.

WHEREAS, The poor state of organizations existing in York, Pa., and Frederick, Md., is a great hindrance to other nearby towns and cities, and that investigation will prove that those two towns can be organized by a concerted effort on the part of all trades through their respective organizers going in simultaneously and remaining for about one week; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. use its influence to have such a crew visit those towns as speedily as possible for the final organizing of the said towns.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 69—By Delegates of the National Association of Master Mates and Pilots, National Marine Engineers' Beneficiary Association, and International Seamen's Union.

WHEREAS, The Recruiting and Training Service and the Sea Service Bureau of the United States Shipping Board are asking Congress for an appropriation under which those war institutions may continue during peace; and

WHEREAS, Both of those institutions are useless for any practical purpose and if we really mean to build up a personnel for a merchant marine, we should return to the system of training men on board ships actually engaged in the ocean and coastwise service and under the direction of the ship officers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the convention hereby enter an emphatic protest against any further appropriation being made for the continuance of the above-mentioned institution; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That these resolutions be forwarded to the Appropriation Committee in Congress.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Resolution No. 70—By Delegate J. E. Crain, of the Orange, Texas, Labor and Trades Council.

WHEREAS, Owing to conditions created and existing during the war and continuing since the signing of the armistice, many thousands of men have been added to the ranks of organized labor; and

WHEREAS, Many of these recruits, while enthusiastic, are not well informed in regard to the jurisdiction claims and principles laid down in the Constitution and By-Laws of the A. F. of L. for the protection of each organized craft against encroachment by other organized crafts; and

WHEREAS, This lack of information, together with a certain amount of confusion existing on account of some new lines of work being created, and new crafts being organized, has caused serious friction to come up between powerful organizations which threatens to disrupt some local organizations of large membership; and

WHEREAS, If organized labor is to survive and improve the conditions of the wage earners of the United States, it is necessary that every branch and every local of the A. F. of L. be kept alive and working together as harmoniously as possible; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That all necessary steps be taken at the convention whereby authorized representatives of the A. F. of L. shall, as soon as possible, visit the places where friction is known to exist between various locals of the A. F. of L. and use every means in their power to bring about reconciliation between said locals, and to establish harmony and co-operation on the part of all parties concerned.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 71—By Delegate Wm. Koch, of the Colorado State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Through the persistent efforts

of the American Federation of Labor and the unions affiliated the wage earners of the United States have firmly established the eight hour day as a standard that is used as a base when measuring the working day; and

WHEREAS, There is also need of a fixed standard minimum wage for workers in all lines of occupation and endeavor, to be likewise used as a base when measuring the rate of wages to be paid for eight hours work or service; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the 39th Convention of the American Federation of Labor that we record our hearty approval of the plan to fix a standard minimum wage for workers not only by action of unions affiliated but also by action through the legislatures of the various states of the nation; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Officers of the American Federation of Labor be and they hereby are instructed to carry out insofar as they are able to do it the objects and purposes of this resolution.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 72—By Delegates John O'Keefe and Harry L. Morrison, of the Laundry Workers' International Union.

WHEREAS, A great wave of organization is sweeping the country at the present time, as witness the fact, that the unorganized men and women laundry workers of many different cities appeal every day to the Laundry Workers' International Union for Organizers or representatives to assist them in being organized; and

WHEREAS, The limited financial resources of the Laundry Workers' International Union does not allow them to comply with many of these requests for Organizers; and

WHEREAS, The Union men of America are deeply interested in the organization of women wage workers, and the American Federation of Labor in former conventions has gone on record as being heartily in favor of organizing all women wage workers as soon as possible into Unions of their respective crafts; and

WHEREAS, A contribution of one cent each from the three million or more of Union members would establish a large fund that could be used to facilitate the organization of the women wage workers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled authorize the Executive Council to levy a one cent assessment on all affiliated members for the special purpose of organizing women wage workers; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be requested to devote such part of this fund, as they may deem necessary, for the purpose of organizing the women employed in the laundry industry.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 73—By Delegate C. A. Strickland, Ore., Central Council.

WHEREAS, Unrest is rampant throughout the land; and

WHEREAS, This unrest would be mitigated and greatly relieved if all classes of men could express their wishes at the voting polls; and

WHEREAS, Many workers are deprived of the

right to vote by having been discharged, purposely, and caused to move away from the precincts where they were entitled to a vote; and

WHEREAS, The day of "Ward-heeling" and "gang-voting" is passed forever in America; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the United States Congress and all State Legislatures be and hereby are petitioned to so change the registration laws that every citizen can cast a vote at all elections, who has resided within the precinct where the vote is offered to be cast, for a period of twenty-four consecutive hours previous to the act of voting.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 74—By Cigar Makers' Delegation.

WHEREAS, The cigar manufacturers of Detroit, employing about 8,000, fully 90 per cent. of whom are unorganized, and many of whom are women, foreign born or of foreign extraction; and

WHEREAS, These manufacturers, taking advantage of the unorganized condition of these workers and their lack of knowledge of America and our institutions, have so reduced wages and working conditions that a condition exists which is a disgrace to America and her institutions;

WHEREAS, In justification of the foregoing statement 16 persons and members familiar with the cigar industry of Detroit, all being duly sworn, have made affidavits, in substance as follows:

Harry Carpenter and Henry Verbonngen: That the Hemeter Cigar Co., of Detroit, fined them 25 cents each for each thousand cigars if not sufficient cigars were rolled out of the tobacco, and compelled each worker to turn in two free cigars on each 1000. Fines amounted to as much as \$1.25 a week.

Tessie McKay: That she worked for the Mazer Cigar Co. and received for a 5 1/4 marble head shape cigars, as a roller, \$5.50 per 1000, the bunch maker, \$3.00; total \$8.50. The union cigar maker received \$20.00 per thousand for marble heads.

Anna Politonaska: That she worked at the San Telmo Cigar Co., where about 1000 girls were employed, making the Pastora 5 1/4 inch, 10-11 cent cigar; prices paid, 25 cents a hundred, but was compelled to make one free out of each 100; a system of fines prevailed. The union price on same class of cigars is \$1.00 per hundred. This firm takes from the workers, based on the prices union factories pay, at least \$1,500,000.00 in wages, besides the free cigars.

Dorothy Paradowska: That she rolled 800 cigars a day and made 8 free cigars; that she was fined 10 and 20 cents per 1000 for making less out of tobacco than demanded. Other girls fined as much as 40 cents per M. One girl was fined \$1.60 in one day. Prices paid for rolling, \$4.25 per thousand. Union price \$10.00 per thousand. Work is from 6:30 a. m. to 5 p. m. with five minutes for lunch in the factory. Girls who lunch at home are on the run going and coming from lunch.

Marie Lubas, Francis Lubas and their mother, Mrs. Lubas: That they were employed at San Telmo Cigar Co., Detroit. Rollers at this branch receive \$4.40 and bunch breakers \$2.25. Hours from 6:30 a. m. to 5:30 p. m. Girls

take from 5 to 10 minutes for lunch; those going out and those going home rush right back. Making one free cigar for each 100 compulsory. On October 1, 1918, an increase of 60 cents for rolling and 25 cents for bunch making went into effect, but the system of fining prevails and the increase in wages did not cover the additional fines.

May Hammond and Stella Ward: That the Wayne Cigar Co. (renamed General Cigar Co.) paid \$8.50 for 1000 made by team, which was equally divided. Girls had to strip own wrappers. Union price for same class of work \$21.00 per thousand. System of fines prevails. Hours from 7 a. m. to 5 p. m. (Marie Lubas also testified to substantially same statement.) No free smokes or fines permitted in union shops.

Stella Kierzawska: That the Lillies Cigar Co. pays different prices for rolling and bunch making to different girls. Some receive \$2.50 and others up to \$4.00 for rolling the same cigars. The system of rolling one free to every 100 and being fined generously prevails. Hours from 7 a. m. to 5 and 6 p. m. Fines are definite being \$1.00 a week for failure to keep within the limit on stock.

Thomas Keating: That he received \$2.50 per 1000 making bunches at the Lillies Cigar Co. Union price is \$5.00. Substantiates statement as to free bunches and fines.

Rose Yelincik: Testifies to the same general prices and conditions prevailing at the Lillie Cigar Co. while working there.

David S. Jones and John Dridamne: That Chas. J. Spletz, part owner and manager of the Wayne Cigar Co., asserted in their presence that he would not consent to run a union factory as long as he could get cattle to make them at their own price, and that he'd be a fool to run a union shop, and that David S. Jones was a fool to bother himself about cattle employed by Wayne Cigar Co.

WHEREAS, The action of these non-union manufacturers, especially the Havana American Cigar Company, a part of the cigar and tobacco trust, has defied the Federal Government and the State Government by refusing to recognize the official conciliators and mediators of the federal and state government; and, moreover, have denied the right of collective bargaining, the right to organize, and have refused to recognize in any way the local or International Union, or state or city federations of labor;

WHEREAS, The actions of these autocratic, get-rich-quick concerns, with no thought of anything but the dollar mark, which they place above human rights and human welfare, is calculated to, and has created, a spirit of unrest and a state of mind bordering upon hatred, and a feeling of doubt, in which the employees are asking: "Is there any economic justice in America?" "Are these arrogant institutions so strong and powerful that they can refuse with impunity to meet and treat with government conciliators and mediators, and deny the right of organization and collective bargaining, a right which has been recognized and conceded by the President of the United States, the Congress, and the State, the War Labor Board, and all just and right-thinking men and women?" and

WHEREAS, These non-union concerns, especially the American Tobacco Company, which employs thousands of men and women in factories in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Louisiana, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Florida,

Porto Rico, and other states, make it doubly difficult to organize the workmen or for the workers to increase wages or shorten the hours of labor, or otherwise improve working conditions, because these employers have the power by closing a local factory or factories where an attempt is made to achieve these things, and then increasing their force on the same brands in other factories not affected; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled at Atlantic City, N. J., respectfully request the Hon. William B. Wilson, Secretary of Labor, to cause an investigation of the wages, hours of labor, and working conditions, prevailing in factories owned and operated by the American Tobacco Company and its subsidiary branches and the cigar industry generally in Detroit, Michigan; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the executive officers of the American Federation of Labor and are hereby instructed to render the Cigar Makers' International Union all assistance possible through its paid and voluntary organizers, in an effort to organize the unfortunate workers now held in bondage by the American Tobacco Company and its subsidiaries, and other large non-union employers in the cigar industry.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 75—By Delegate E. G. Hall, of the Minnesota State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There are in a number of cities, organizations of police or peace officers who are under one form of civil service rule or another, and whose sympathies are with the principles of the American Federation of Labor, as well as its policies; and

WHEREAS, In many cities, city employees under civil service are being admitted through Federal Unions to the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That all police or peace officers be admitted to membership to Federal Unions the same as other city or county employees under civil service laws in compliance with the constitution of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Resolution No. 76—By Delegate Harry A. Badgett, of Federal Labor Union No. 16321.

RESOLVED, That, as the man working in the day has the best part of the working day allotted him, a good night's sleep and the best part of the afternoon and evening for recreation, and as the night man has to fight sleep in summer time, inhale the fumes of a torch, stand the noise of the daily routine of business, we therefore request the Executive Council to present this resolution to Congress and have Congress enact a law to equalize these conditions by giving the night man more pay.

We, the undersigned, brothers of American Federation of Labor, do hereby resolve that as white organizers in the South have trouble in getting among the colored workmen that the American Federation of Labor appoint a colored organizer in every state where one is needed, and be it further resolved that the American Federation of Labor appoint a laboring man

from the craft to represent us at Washington in any business to the benefit of the craft.

W. M. WATSON,
Federal Union, No. 15681.

WM. E. MCKINNON,
Ship Yard Labor, No. 15980.

ROBERT J. LANE,
Shipyard Labor No. 15922.

WILLIE E. VAUGHN,
No. 15392.

HARRY BADGETT,
La Junta, Colo., No. 16821.

O. L. LEONARD,
Local No. 16417.

EDMUND TURNE,
Local No. 16199.

JAMES W. FITTS,
Oysters Shuckers, Local No. 16117.

MATT LEWIS
H. H. U. No. 16406.

JOHN A. LACEY,
Rec. Sec. Colored C. L. U., Norfolk, Va.

J. W. RICHARDSON,
Suffolk, Va., Local No. 15859, Peanut Worker.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 77—By Delegate George Rincker, of the Sign and Bulletin Board Hangers, No. 14872.

WHEREAS, The expenses allowed fraternal delegates have not been increased for several years; and

WHEREAS, In the performance of their duties the cost at the present time is almost one hundred per cent. more than formerly; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That an increase be granted the fraternal delegates correspondingly with the increased cost of living.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Resolution No. 78. By Delegate C. A. Strickland, of the Portland, Ore., Central Labor Council.

WHEREAS, Back of all wars of conquest is the spirit of brutality, greed and commercialism. And back of all revolutionary wars for redress of wrongs is the spirit of independence, liberty, justice and democracy;

WHEREAS, Much credit is always due, but usually denied, to the extremist who urges and advocates radical and revolutionary reform measures for application to our industrial order, inasmuch as his keen vision is always precursory to a discovery of existing evils; and

WHEREAS, All adjustments and supplements are of the nature of a compromise and the conclusions arrived at could not be of an advancing nature except for the extreme measures and need of changes put forth by these radicals; and

WHEREAS, Our Government, while we boast of maintaining an asylum for political offenders of the entire world, has, during recent years been most extremely severe with such "alleged" offenders; and

WHEREAS, In a vast majority of cases the victims of prosecution or persecution under the espionage act have appeared more in the light of violators of "a legal" protection, claimed by the predatory interests and of "vested rights" than as enemies of our free institutions; and

WHEREAS, None, not even the most imperialistic, among the European governments

are so ceaselessly continuing to punish their labor leaders and radical reformers for the use of "free speech and a free press" as is the Government of the United States of America; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in regular session assembled, at Atlantic City, N. J., that this body recommend and urge all state, central and local unions to at once petition Congress and all legislative or executive powers to immediately have released from all prisons in America all men and women held as violators of the espionage act and similar laws which were enacted as a war emergency or for other reasons, except those persons proven guilty of high treason. Also to demand the immediate repeal of all such laws tending to restrict the rights of free speech, a free press and the peaceable assembling as is guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States of America.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 79. By Delegate William Koch, of the Colorado State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The State Federations of Labor in many States are unable on account of lack of funds (and lack of interest on the part of many local unions) to properly carry on the work which the Federation should do for the benefit of the labor movement, and

WHEREAS, If all international unions that are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor would insist that their local unions affiliate with their State Federations, the Federations would become a great power in the trade union movement, and

WHEREAS, Instead of the per capita tax being a burden upon a few unions they could be fixed at a rate which would not be a hardship on any of them and the Federation would be in a prosperous condition at all times, and

WHEREAS, Believing it to be the duty of all international unions to have their local unions affiliate with their State Federations and become a part of the trade union movement in their localities, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in its thirty-ninth annual convention assembled, that the Executive Board of the Federation be instructed to take this matter up with all international unions affiliated with this Federation at the earliest possible time and that every effort be made to have the internationals whose local unions are not affiliated with their State Federations to do so.

Referred to Committee on State Organization.

Resolution No. 80. By Delegate Nathan P. Birch, of the Newsboys' Union, No. 15,836.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in Seattle, 1918, adopted a substitute resolution placing the issuance of charters to newsboys and carriers' organizations into the hands of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The time lost in waiting for a meeting is extremely detrimental to the interests of those desiring to organize and a great handicap to organizers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the power to issue charters to organizations of newsboys be

placed in the hands of the president and secretary of the American Federation of Labor; and, further be it

RESOLVED, That the action of the 1913 convention of the American Federation of Labor for the further organization of newsboys and carriers may be immediately undertaken.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 81—By Delegates Joe N. Weber, D. A. Carey, C. A. Weaver and Jos. F. Winkler, of the American Federation of Musicians; Charles C. Shay, L. G. Dolliver, P. J. Ryan and John J. Barry, of the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees.

WHEREAS, Certain interests in the theatrical field in response to the efforts of the unions or organizations of the employees to better the conditions of the workers in the theatres threatened to non-unionize their establishments and are now carrying this threat into effect; and

WHEREAS, The activities of the theatrical interests referred to if remaining unchallenged will eventually lead to attempts by other theatrical interests to hinder the improving of the conditions of the workers in theatres and furthermore will lead to efforts by the employers in the theatrical field to lower the existing conditions of said workers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council is hereby instructed upon the request for assistance from the organizations interested to render such assistance to the fullest extent in order to protect the interests of the workers in theatres and is further instructed to declare all theatrical interests who maintain an antagonistic policy towards the organized workers in theatres and their organizations as unfair to organized labor.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 82—By C. A. Strickland, of the Portland, Ore., Central Labor Council.

WHEREAS, The only soil in which "dual unions" have rooted is the attempted monopolization of labor's functionings by the crafts, under the tutelage of the A. F. of L.; and

WHEREAS, An aristocracy of union labor would curse the world as sorely as has the aristocracy of capitalism; and

WHEREAS, By the introduction of modern machinery, one unskilled man is enabled to render a large number of skilled mechanics jobless; and

WHEREAS, Through this process of changing the methods of doing the world's work it is not far amiss to state that "there are no crafts at the present stage of industrial development;" and

WHEREAS, The new industrial democracy must be met with entirely new plans of action by the toilers; be it

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-ninth Annual Convention of the A. F. of L., in regular session assembled, that the General Executive Board proceed at once to formulate a plan for the reorganization of the labor movement; to change from the craft-line plan of organization to one being based on the plan of "industries" or "plant unions," making

all working cards universally interchangeable. To empower the several shop committees, representing the different classes of work in each plant to form a general shop, or plant committee, invested with powers to legislate in all matters of interest to the workmen of that industry. They shall act, subject to, or not in conflict with their District Central Councils, which Councils shall co-operate with other similar Councils, through and by State federated bodies consisting of delegates from the District Central Councils. These State federated bodies to be bound by and conform to the general constitution of the reorganized American Federation of Labor.

RESOLVED, That the State and National Federation bodies shall hold annual or called conventions as the needs and welfare of labor's interests shall require.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 83—By Delegates Andrew C. Hughes and James J. Doyle, of the Coopers' International Union.

WHEREAS, Resolution 85 of the St. Paul convention of the American Federation of Labor, covering jurisdiction disputes between the International Longshoremen's Association, was ordered to be amicably settled through a conference arranged by the president of the American Federation of Labor between that organization and the Coopers' International Union, covering ship coöperage and coöperage repair work on the docks of Greater New York; and

WHEREAS, President Gompers delegated James E. Roach his representative to proceed to New York city to bring about a settlement between the two contending parties; and

WHEREAS, On October 18, 1918, Representative Roach met representatives of both organizations and arrived to a signed agreement, which if lived up to by the I. L. A., would forever harmonize the claims of both organizations; and

WHEREAS, The signing parties representing the I. L. A. had, by their signatures, agreed to put an end of the victimizing of union coopers on all piers of Greater New York, recognizing the union cards of coopers who are known for years as ship, cargo and dock coopers; and

WHEREAS, A short time after the departure of Representative Roach, the two business agents of the I. L. A. again harassed our members by compelling employers to discharge them and put to work members of a so-called union known as Cargo Repairers Local, No. 908, under threat of a strike; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Coopers' International Union demand that the I. L. A. and the representatives of its local unions to abide by their agreement.

Referred to Committee on Adjustments.

Resolution No. 84—By Hatters' delegates.

WHEREAS, The union label of the United Hatters of North America at the present time is only used in felt, straw, Panama and wool hats; and

WHEREAS, Union men who desire to wear cloth hats and caps which contain a union

label recognized by the American Federation of Labor cannot do so because the United Hatters of North America, the only organization in the head gear industry affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, have not jurisdiction over that branch of the industry; and

WHEREAS, The recent convention of the United Hatters of North America instructed its delegates to the Thirty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor to ask for an extension of the charter rights of the United Hatters of North America, so as to cover the entire head gear industry for men, women and children; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-ninth Annual convention of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled extend the jurisdiction of the United Hatters of North America so as to include the making of all fur, felt, wool, straw, Panama, velvet, cloth and silk hats for men, women and children, also the making of hats or caps of any other material which might be used in the head gear industry.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council.

Resolution No. 85—By Delegate C. A. Strickland, of the Central Labor Union, of Portland, Ore.

WHEREAS, It has been published in the daily press, that on the request of President Wilson, two divisions of the American Army which were scheduled for an early return home are to be retained in the Army of Occupation indefinitely, and as it appears to be the plan of Secretary of War Baker and Chief of Staff March to maintain five divisions of the American Army in the Army of Occupation in Europe; and

WHEREAS, It is reported to be the plans of and the intention of Secretary of War Baker and Chief of Staff March to maintain a standing army of not less than 500,000 or more for at least one year; and

WHEREAS, It is further reported that it is the plan of the militarists of this country to enforce military training in the colleges, and other institutions of learning throughout this country; and

WHEREAS, A large majority of the armies and navies of the world are obtained from the laboring class of the world; and

WHEREAS, The laborers of the world pay all the expenses of all military operations, and are thereby providing lucrative positions for certain individuals who thrive off the armies and navies of the world, and who are anxious to retain their official positions in the armies and navies; and

WHEREAS, Labor believes that the better interests of a nation would be permanently secured if the vast sums which are used for military purposes, such as maintaining large armies and navies, were used for the purpose of establishing and constructing permanent trans-continental highways across our country, and providing improvements which would prove of real benefit to the present society and to the future generations which may come; and

WHEREAS, In its finality labor is opposed to wars, and to all education which tends to train men's minds for war, with all the

resultant destruction of life and property; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention, assembled, do hereby voice a protest against all forms of militarism, and does now most respectfully request the President of the United States, Woodrow Wilson, as commander-in-chief of the armies and navies of this United States, to use his authority for the purpose of withdrawing all American forces from foreign countries, and we wish to especially mention Russia, and other European countries which are now wholly or partially occupied by American troops, and that they be returned to their homes and demobilized as rapidly as transportation can be available; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to the President of the United States, and a copy be sent to Secretary of War Baker, and that the Congress of the United States be notified of the adoption of these resolutions, and that organized labor throughout the world be informed of the action of this body.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 86—By Delegate C. A. Strickland, of the Central Labor Council, of Portland, Ore.:

WHEREAS, It has recently come to the knowledge of organized labor that in addition to other enormous sums incurred by the late war is an expense of eighty-one dollars and seventy-five cents (\$81.75) per man sent to foreign soil, and realizing that labor in the finality pays all debts; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor respectfully request that the Congress of this United States give some explanation why this was done. We, the organized labor of this country would welcome any information which would explain why our sons were required to offer their lives in the protection of other nations and pay for the privilege of doing so.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 87—By Delegate John J. Hynes, of the Metal Workers' International Alliance:

WHEREAS, The splendid growth and high standing of the American Federation of Labor in this country and throughout its jurisdiction has been brought about jointly by the efforts of the officers of the American Federation of Labor, and the officers of the international unions; and

WHEREAS, The salaries paid the officials of the American Federation of Labor have not been increased since 1914, and the labor and responsibility have increased, therefore; be it

RESOLVED, That on and after July 1, 1919, the salary of the President of the American Federation of Labor be made \$10,000 per year, and that of the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor be made \$7500 per year.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

RESOLUTION No. 88—By Delegates Thomas F. Flaherty, of the National Federa-

tion of Postal Employees; Edward J. Gainor of the National Association of Letter Carriers; Luther C. Steward of the National Federation of Federal Employees; E. J. Ryan, of the Railway Mail Association.

WHEREAS, The Federal Civil Service laws are defective in not making provision for granting employees the right to appeal from the judgment of officials in disciplinary cases, involving demotion or dismissal; and

WHEREAS, This lodging arbitrary power in the hands of officials frequently results in injustices being inflicted upon employees and tends toward the upbuilding of a bureaucracy in our government institutions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-ninth Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the Executive Council to co-operate with the representatives of affiliated organizations of civil service employees in securing the enactment of legislation, granting civil service employees the right to a hearing and to an appeal from the judgment of officials in cases involving demotion or dismissal.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 89—By Delegate Frank Morrison, of the International Typographical Union:

WHEREAS, The maternal death rate of the United States is 14th in the list of principal civilized countries; and

WHEREAS, The infant death rate of the United States is 11th in the list of principal civilized countries; and

WHEREAS, The protection of the welfare of mothers and young children of this nation is a fundamental public duty of profound interest to labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor urges Congressional action directing Federal co-operation with States in providing funds and in organizing and carrying forward the welfare, medical, nursing and instructional services necessary to secure reasonable care for every mother and young child.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 90—By Delegates Thomas F. Flaherty, of the National Federation of Postal Employees, and Edward J. Ryan, Railway Mail Association:

WHEREAS, Thousands of postal employees throughout the postal service are compelled to work nights under conditions inimical to their mental and physical well-being; and

WHEREAS, The Postal Department grants no recognition by either a wage or a time differential of the admitted hardships of night work; and

WHEREAS, The Affiliated Postal Employees are endeavoring to eliminate unnecessary night work in the service by securing a reduction in the daily working schedule of fifteen minutes in every hour worked after 6:00 P. M., and prior to 6:00 A. M., a legislative reform beneficial to the men and the service; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention endorse the efforts of affiliated postal workers to minimize night work in the service and in-

struct the Executive Council to co-operate in securing from the 66th Congress the needed legislation.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 91—By Delegate Florence Etheridge, of the National Federation of Federal Employees.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has from its inception urged the political equality of women on the same terms as men; and

WHEREAS, The last convention of the American Federation of Labor adopted a resolution calling upon its officials to use their best efforts to secure the passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment through the United States Senate; and

WHEREAS, The passage of the amendment through Congress has now been achieved and the amendment is before the several states for ratification; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention shall urge the ratification of the suffrage amendment by the several state legislatures, and shall do all in its power to aid in the speedy consummation of this last step in woman's enfranchisement, as it has ever aided throughout the long struggle.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 92—By Delegates Edward J. Gainor, of the National Association of Letter Carriers; William D. Clark, of the Plate Printers' International Union; John B. Colpoys, of the Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union; Charles D. Duffy, of the National Association of Letter Carriers; Edward J. Ryan, Railway Mail Association; Luther C. Steward, National Federation of Federal Employees; Thomas F. Flaherty, National Federation of Postal Employees.

WHEREAS, The retirement of superannuated civil service employees upon service annuities is now generally recognized as justifiable from both a humane and a business standpoint; and

WHEREAS, The United States Government is one of the few in the world that makes no provision for the retirement of its aged civil service workers resulting in one of two conditions: men are heartlessly dismissed after years of faithful service or they are retained upon the pay-roll when no longer able to render efficient service; and

WHEREAS, The compensation of Government employees is insufficient to permit of adequate savings for voluntary retirement in old age; and

WHEREAS, All political parties in their platforms have pledged their support for the enactment of retirement legislation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-ninth Convention of the American Federation of Labor does hereby go on record as favoring an equitable retirement law for superannuated Government employees, as contemplated by the Lehlbach Bill (H. R. 3149), now pending before Congress, and that the Executive Council is hereby instructed to use every means at its command to secure

the enactment of such legislation by the Sixty-sixth Congress.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 93.—By Delegates E. J. Ryan, Railway Mail Association; Edward J. Gainer, National Association of Letter Carriers; Thomas F. Flaherty, National Federation of Postal Employees.

WHEREAS, The Eight-Hour Law, regulating the hours of work for post office clerks and city letter carriers, and railway postal clerks assigned to terminal and transfer offices, provides that only in emergencies shall overtime be imposed, and for such overtime the regular rate of pay shall be paid; and

WHEREAS, It is the trade union principle, a principle now almost universally in effect in private industries, on Government contract work and in many branches of the Government service that overtime work must be compensated for at a higher rate of pay; and

WHEREAS, In the absence of any such penalty for work in excess of eight hours in the postal service, the practice has developed of imposing excessively long hours of work daily upon the experienced men instead of keeping the working force recruited to a proper standard; and

WHEREAS, This excessive overtime is breaking down the health and morale of the men in the service, it is the direct cause of the resignation of many employees, and is impairing the efficiency of the service; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-ninth Convention of the American Federation of Labor pledges its support to the Affiliated Postal Employees in their efforts to insure a more strict observance of the letter and spirit of the postal Eight-Hour Law by securing legislation establishing a rate of time and one-half for all work in excess of eight hours.

Referred to Committee on Shorter Work Day.

Resolution No. 94.—By Delegates Luther C. Steward, National Federation of Federal Employees; Charles B. Stillman, American Federation of Teachers; Florence Etheridge, National Federation of Federal Employees.

WHEREAS, Scientific research and the technical application of results of research form a fundamental basis upon which the development of our industries, manufacturing, agriculture, mining, and others must rest; and

WHEREAS, The productivity of industry is greatly increased by the technical application of the results of scientific research in physics, chemistry, biology, and geology, in engineering and agriculture, and in the related sciences; and the health and well-being not only of the workers but of the whole population as well, are dependent upon advances in medicine and sanitation; so that the value of scientific advancement to the welfare of the nation is many times greater than the cost of the necessary research; and

WHEREAS, The increased productivity of industry resulting from scientific research

is a most potent factor in the ever-increasing struggle of the workers to raise their standards of living, and the importance of this factor must steadily increase since there is a limit beyond which the average standard of living of the whole population cannot progress by the usual methods of readjustment, which limit can only be raised by research and the utilization of the results of research in industry; and

WHEREAS, There are numerous important and pressing problems of administration and regulation now faced by Federal, state and local governments, the wise solution of which depends upon scientific and technical research; and

WHEREAS, The war has brought home to all the nations engaged in it the overwhelming importance of science and technology to national welfare, whether in war or in peace, and not only is private initiative attempting to organize far-reaching research in these fields on a national scale, but in several countries Governmental participation and support of such undertakings are already active; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, that a broad program of scientific and technical research is of major importance to the national welfare and should be fostered in every way by the Federal Government, and that the activities of the Government itself in such research should be adequately and generously supported in order that the work may be greatly strengthened and extended; and the Secretary of the Federation is instructed to transmit copies of this resolution to the President of the United States, to the President pro tempore of the Senate, and to the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 95.—By Delegate John J. Hynes, of the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers.

WHEREAS, For several years a controversy has existed between the Sheet Metal Workers Int. Union and the Stove Mounters' Int. Union; and

WHEREAS, Several conferences have been held without any result; and

WHEREAS, Said controversy is creating much turmoil in the industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor deputize one of their members to make an investigation looking to clarifying the situation in an amicable way.

Referred to Committee on Adjustments.

Resolution No. 96.—By Delegates W. W. Britton, George Leary, H. C. Diehl, Metal Polishers' International Union; James Wilson, James L. Gernon, J. J. Forrest, Pattern Makers' League; Charles J. MacGowan, International Brotherhood of Boilermakers; John J. Hynes, Sheet Metal Workers:

WHEREAS, The constitution of the American Federation of Labor provides for the representation of all divisions of labor chartered under the A. F. of L., with the exception of its departments; and

WHEREAS, No division of organized labor chartered by the A. F. of L., is more important to its well being than the organized chartered departments; and

WHEREAS, State organizations, Central Bodies, and other divisions of the movement, are in a position because of having a representative attend all conventions to properly present and bring to the attention of the conventions such resolutions, motions and instructions as are adopted at the proper meetings or conventions of the above organizations, the departments, however, under the constitution are denied this privilege; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That Section 1, of Article 5, of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor, be amended by adding the word "departments" after the words "State Federations", so that each department will be entitled to one delegate with one vote.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

RESOLUTION No. 97—By Delegates J. W. Kline, International Brotherhood Blacksmiths and Helpers; Louis Weyand, Charles J. MacGowan, Brotherhood of Boilermakers:

WHEREAS, The National Federation of Federal Employees was organized and chartered by the American Federation of Labor and granted jurisdiction over men and women in clerical capacities and other Federal employees not eligible to any of the existing national or international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, It now develops that the National Federation of Federal Employees is totally disregarding the recognized and established jurisdiction of many international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and is accepting into membership any and all who desire to make application and in some cases the applicants are suspended and expelled members of existing national and international unions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the National Federation of Federal Employees be and are hereby instructed to cease to exist in their organization men and women who properly come under the jurisdiction of other national and international unions those members who are wrongfully members of the National Federation of Federal Employees.

Referred to Committee on Adjustments.

Resolution No. 98—By the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor. Referred to the Convention of the American Federation of Labor by the Eleventh Annual Convention of the Metal Trades Department, American Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, in session assembled in Seattle, Wash., in 1914, rendered a decision in controversies between the International Association of Machinists and the United Association of Plumbers and Steam Fitters whereby the various forms of pipe fitting was vested in United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters. Since that time the different local organizations of the machinists' craft have completely ignored the decision of the Amer-

ican Federation of Labor on the jurisdiction awarded to the United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters and are still doing the work to the detriment of the members of the United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor hereby reaffirm their previous decision that "Various forms of pipefitting," including all marine work, the installation of all and various kinds of pipe and pipe fittings, including copper pipe and cast iron flanged fittings is hereby vested in the United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters and its members.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Resolution No. 99—By Delegate George H. Wrenn, of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The Federal Civil Service Laws are defective in that they make no provision for protecting civil service employees with the right of appeal from the judgment of department officials in cases affecting their removal or demotion; and

WHEREAS, It has been found that in thus lodging arbitrary power in the hands of executive officials the laws have enabled them to remove or demote employees at pleasure; and

WHEREAS, This power has been at times unjustly used, and that men have been removed for merely doing what Union laborers in industrial employment do unquestioned for merely endeavoring to better the conditions under which they and their fellow men work; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor request the National Executive Council to co-operate with the representatives of affiliated organizations of civil service employees in their endeavors to secure the right of an appeal and a hearing before a properly constituted Court of Appeals in cases affecting demotion and dismissal.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 100—By Delegate George W. Wrenn, of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Organized Labor in this nation has clearly demonstrated its loyalty and patriotism, standing shoulder to shoulder with our great President and the American people to win this war; and

WHEREAS, Many changes in labor conditions have taken place since the declaration of war, both in wages and employment, particularly in the employment of thousands of men and women in new industries created since the war; and

WHEREAS, It is evident that these workers will seek other employment, especially in large cities of our country, together with the returning to civil life of our gallant soldiers and sailors, will require serious attention of the labor movement of this nation and the government itself so that the standard of wages and conditions brought about by Organized Labor will not be affected and the re-employment of soldiers and sailors will

also be a matter of careful forethought and consideration; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention request our President to appoint Federal committees in each State and our Governors to appoint State committees to study this question now, and that this Convention through its Executive Council, adopt such methods as will be of benefit to the wage earners.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Resolution No. 101—By Delegate William Boncer, of the Virginia State Federation of Labor:

Whereas, It is impossible for Colored Men to obtain a charter from the Metal Trades Headquarters of any craft; and

WHEREAS, Similar trades locals refuse them entrance; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as endorsing the colored brother as being entitled to any charter according to his trade.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 102—By the McKeesport Council of Labor:

WHEREAS, The campaign committee for organizing the iron and steel workers have been under great expense in their campaign in this district; and

WHEREAS, While the campaign is on wonderful results can be obtained by the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated unions in the McKeesport, Pa., district; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That a permanent organizer of the American Federation of Labor be stationed in the McKeesport, Pa., district, with headquarters at the said city.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 103—By Delegate George H. Wrenn, of the Massachusetts State Branch, American Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The Chamber of Commerce of the United States has seen fit to denounce the Federal Trades Commission; and

WHEREAS, This action is what is to be expected from an organization whose aim at all times has been to retain control and supervision of the wealth of the country; and

WHEREAS, The Federal Trades Commission has rendered a conspicuous service to the country in exposing the profiteering of a large section of the business; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the Delegates to the American Federation Convention in regular session assembled, do affirm our confidence in the Federal Trades Commission; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we ask that the existing vacancies now on the commission be filled by men of the type of those now serving, whose efforts in exposing the selfish and vicious practices of many of the large corporations of this country has done much to reassure the people of this country that the farmer, wage earners and all consumers

are to have a square deal; and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of these resolutions be sent to the President of this country and the Federal Trades Commission.

Referred to Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

Resolution No. 104—By Delegates of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America:

WHEREAS, Among the policy holders of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company are many members of organized labor; and

WHEREAS, The Company owns buildings in New York City and elsewhere upon which it directly employs a number of painters who are not members of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be directed to use their good offices with the Company to the end that it may be induced to employ union men as painters upon all of its construction and maintenance work and to otherwise comply with union conditions.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

Resolution No. 105—By Delegates of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America:

WHEREAS, Public opinion demands that the Government be a model employer and that the wages and working conditions of men in its employ be at least equal to the wages and working conditions of men in the employ of the most liberal private employers; and

WHEREAS, The forty-four hour week has been established in the larger industries and accepted by progressive business men; and

WHEREAS, Experience has demonstrated that piece work means poor work and is undesirable from every point of view; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to use their good offices with the Secretary of the Navy to the end, (1) that the forty-four hour week shall be established in all Navy Yards; (2) that all piece work shall be abolished in Navy Yards; and (3) that no workman shall be required to do any work other than that of the craft under which he is classified.

Referred to Committee on Shorter Work Day.

Resolution No. 106—By Delegate George H. Wrenn, of the Massachusetts State Branch of the American Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The Director General of Railroads has recently issued an order forbidding railroad employees from engaging in politics and warning them on pain of immediate dismissal scrupulously to abstain therefrom; and

WHEREAS, This order has a tendency to infringe upon and to a certain extent abridge the constitutional rights of millions of American citizens because it is an extension on a vast and far reaching scale of an old policy which has hitherto attracted but little atten-

tion because it affected but a comparatively small number of men but which in its effects has sufficiently revealed the danger and unwisdom of its further enlargement; and

WHEREAS, We believe it is unjust and unnecessary to deprive any class of American citizens of any of the rights of citizenship or to set them aside a body of partially disfranchised citizens; and

WHEREAS, We believe that the present is of all times the least fitting conjuncture for the promulgation of any order which in the slightest degree snacks of autocracy or which unnecessarily tends to curtail the rights of any class of American citizens; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Convention of the American Federation of Labor, direct the Executive Board to endeavor to secure a conference with the Director General of Railroads and represent to him the feelings with which Organized Labor views an extension of the old bureaucratic policy and in so doing endeavor to prevail upon him to rescind this recent order; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Board not only endeavor to secure the rescinding of this particular order but also strive to have their political rights restored to those Federal Employees now affected injuriously by similar but older orders.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Resolution No. 107—By Delegate E. G. Galloway, of the Tri-City Central Trades Council, Granite City, Ill.:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor in convention held at Seattle, Wash., adopted a resolution to organize the enameling industry in the United States of America and Canada, and would then form an international union of the enamel workers; and

WHEREAS, There has been nothing done by the American Federation of Labor in the way of organizing this industry since the A. F. of L. convention held at Seattle, Wash.; and

WHEREAS, There are thirty enameling industries operating in the United States of America and Canada at the present time, and only one is organized and that is the National Enameling and Stamping Company, Granite City, Ill.; and

WHEREAS, Tin, Steel, Iron and Granite Workers' Local Union No. 10948, Granite City, Ill., have struggled for years to maintain their organization and when the members of their organization ask for an increase in wages and better conditions the reply from the employer is that competition of the unorganized enamel industries are so strong for the fact that the unorganized industries get their work done so much cheaper that they, the National Enameling and Stamping Company cannot grant higher wages and compete with their competitors; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor make special efforts to organize the workers in the enameling industries immediately, especially in the Canton, (Ohio) district and in the New England States.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 108—By Delegate E. G. Galloway, of the Tri-City Central Trades and Labor Council of Granite City, Ill.:

WHEREAS, The committee on reconstruction of the American Federation of Labor has declared; "The very life and properties and free democratic institutions are dependent upon freedom of speech, of the press and of assemblage and association, we insist that all restrictions of freedom of speech, press, and public assembly, association and travel be completely removed, individuals and groups being responsible for their utterances. These fundamental rights must be set out with clearness and must not be denied or abridged in any manner;" and

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has endorsed the foregoing statement in the following language: "We call not only upon the organized workers but upon the whole people of America to bring into a state of active operation the splendid humanitarian and democratic reconstruction program here presented"; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-ninth Convention of the American Federation of Labor demand the immediate repeal of the Espionage Act, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the convention instruct the Executive Council to oppose any and all attempts on the part of the present Congress, State Legislatures, City Councils or law-making bodies to enact legislation of a character denounced by the Executive Council, abridging or restricting the constitutional rights of American citizens; be it further

RESOLVED, That the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to transmit copies of this resolution to the President of the United States, both Houses of Congress and the Governors and Legislatures of the several States.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 109—By Central Labor Union of Worcester, Mass.

WHEREAS, It is generally known to the entire country and the membership of organized labor in particular that the City of Worcester, Massachusetts, is the home and center of activities of the worst labor hating organization in the country, to wit: the Metal Trades Association, which like an octopus, has a grip on the financial, industrial and political life of this city; and

WHEREAS, This employers organization is using every effort to break down and crush labor through black list card index systems. Through forcing members thereof to give affidavits to firms who have declared for open shop conditions. Through control of banks to furnish money to assist open shop contractors in preference to any others; and

WHEREAS, These being well known facts, the Central Labor Union and Building Trades Council of Worcester, Mass., believe that the American labor movement, as represented by the American Federation of Labor should use every effort to cope with this unfair opponent in its home city; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention instruct the Officers and Executive Board of the American Federation of Labor to immediately inaugurate a campaign of organization in

Worcester, Mass., to strengthen unions already established and to organize new unions in all branches of industry in said city; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the convention call upon all National and International Unions to lend financial and moral support, through furnishing organizers that a simultaneous effort may be made by all trades and industries to perfect strong organizations and to create a sentiment for unionism which will compel the labor exploiting manufacturers and contractors to recognize the just demands of labor.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 110—By Delegate A. Greenstein, of the International Jewelry Workers' Union:

WHEREAS, Upon request of the Metal Polishers and Buffers' Union and the International Association of Machinists, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has ordered the International Jewelry Workers' Union to segregate and transfer part of its members to the above mentioned unions; and

WHEREAS, Said decision of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor was, in the judgment of the International Jewelry Workers' Union, based upon inadequate information regarding conditions prevailing in the jewelry industry; and

WHEREAS, After presenting more data and additional evidence proving the impossibility of retaining the International Jewelry Workers' Union intact, after the transfer of so-called polishers and so-called tool makers to the above named unions, a new hearing was not granted by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates in the Thirty-ninth convention assembled grant the appeal of the International Jewelry Workers' Union to re-open the case of jurisdiction dispute between the International Jewelry Workers' Union, Metal Polishers' Union and Machinists' Association; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council after the close of this convention invite the three unions involved in this dispute to settle the matter in dispute by an amicable understanding for the mutual benefit of all concerned.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Resolution No. 111—By Trades and Labor Assembly, of Mascoutah, Ill.:

WHEREAS, The necessities of life have reached such proportions that it is almost beyond human efforts of the average workman to secure a substantial living; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we ask of the officials of the American Federation of Labor, at the convention assembled to take such measures at the convention as to urge upon the U. S. Senate and House of Representatives, to act at the earliest moment and legislate such laws as outlined below:

1st. That the United States Government grant to citizens the use of land and provide financial assistance at least equal to that

so successfully provided by the Canadian Government.

2d. That penal sentences be imposed upon all persons convicted of connections with combinations fixing prices upon the necessities of life.

3d. That the willful destruction of food be made a penal offense.

4th. That the boarding of foodstuffs in cold storage plants warehouses, or otherwise, where such boarding increases the price thereof to the ultimate consumer be made a penal offense; that all such foodstuffs so stored be confiscated by the Government and sold to the people at actual cost covering seizure and sale.

5th. That the maximum rents be regulated by basing the rental upon the actual valuation of the property rented.

6th. That where the production of any article of food is not equal to the demand, the price of such article shall be regulated by the Government on the basis of the cost of production.

7th. That the income of any person in money or its equivalent in value be limited.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Resolution No. 112—By Delegate George H. Wrenn, of the Massachusetts State Branch of the American Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The employees of the different departments of the United States Government upon reaching the age of incapacity are either discharged or obliged to resign; and

WHEREAS, Every other large nation, except China and Turkey have a system of pensioning or retiring aged workers; and

WHEREAS, A measure known as the McKellar Keating Retirement Bill has been introduced in Congress which would upon its enactment grant a moderate pension to government workers and the workers during their employment, contributing from their earnings for the eventual retirement; and

WHEREAS, Secretary Morrison of the A. F. of L. has already appeared before the House Committee on Interstate Commerce in advocacy of this measure, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Convention of the A. F. of L. request the Executive Board of the American Federation of Labor to assist the National officers of affiliated government employees' organizations in their endeavors to have this proposed law enacted, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. notify members of Congress of this action and request their support of the McKellar Keating Bill.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 113—By Delegates William J. Bowen, Bricklayers', Masons' and Plasterers' International Union of America; William L. Hutcheson, United Brotherhood of Carpenters; John J. Hynes, Sheet Metal Workers and Coppermiths; James Wilson, Pattern Makers' League; James Duncan, Granite Cutters' Union; Luther C. Steward,

National Federation of Federal Employees; George L. Berry, International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union; Oollis Lovely, Boot and Shoe Workers' International Union; E. J. Ryan, Railway Mail Association; Thomas F. Flaherty, National Federation of Federal Employees; Edward J. Gairnor, National Association Letter Carriers; J. P. Noonan, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; Martin Joyce, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers:

WHEREAS, Through the failure of Congress to appropriate funds for the continuation of the United States Employment Service, this most important function of the Federal Government is in danger of dissolution, and

WHEREAS, The wage earners of the United States are entitled to an opportunity to secure remunerative employment without recourse to the fee employment agencies charge, and

WHEREAS, The United States Employment service established by the Department of Labor has demonstrated the value of a Government Agency in the placing of men and women in industry during the war, and

WHEREAS, It has again demonstrated the value in securing employment for the returning soldiers, sailors and marines and other workers, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in its 39th Convention assembled, hereby indorses the Nolan-Kenyon Bill for the continuation of the United States Employment Service, and the Secretary of the Convention is hereby directed to wire a copy of this resolution to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, the President of the Senate, the Chairman of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, the House Committee on Labor, Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Hon. Frank Mondell and Hon. Champ Clark, and be it further

RESOLVED, That pending the enactment of permanent legislation looking to the continuation of this most valuable service, it is urged that immediate relief be accorded by means of a deficiency appropriation and such other emergency legislation as will assure a continuance of the United States Employment Service, until legislation can be enacted establishing a permanent service.

Referred to Committee on Executive Councils.

Resolution No. 114—By Delegate George H. Wrenn, of the Massachusetts State Branch:

WHEREAS, The Post Office Department has instituted a policy under which the working hours of railway mail clerks have been lengthened at a time when the hours of workmen everywhere have been shortened—a policy which has seriously affected the home life and social conditions of a large number of postal employees in New England, and

WHEREAS, Railway Postal Clerks are the only employees from whom the government expects and demands unlimited hours of service; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention request the Congress to repeal that section of the postal laws (Section 1599) which says that "the entire time" of railway mail clerks is

subject to the control of the Post Office Department, and to substitute in its stead a new section, establishing a standard day for railway mail clerks in which the hours to be required for them shall be clearly defined; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That in fixing the standard consideration be given and all credit allowed for the work which these clerks are obliged to perform for the Government in their own homes when off road duty; and also that a reasonable limit be set to the time that they may be detained between trips at the outward terminus of their runs; and that every minute which it shall be necessary to detain them beyond that reasonable limit shall be counted as a part of their working time whether or not they are actually performing service.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 115—By Delegates Matthew Woll of the International Photo Engravers' Union; Walter W. Barrett, T. W. McCullough, William Young, J. W. Hays of the International Typographical Union; George L. Berry of the International Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union; Walter N. Reddick of the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; and Charles Sumner of the International Stereotypers' and Electrotypes' Union, and Harry V. Dill of the Trades and Labor Assembly of Kenton and Campbell Counties, Kentucky:

WHEREAS, The American Book Company, of Cincinnati, Ohio, manufactures a large number of school text books, which are in general use in the schools throughout the United States and Canada; and

WHEREAS, The social, economic and political advancement of the citizens of the country in general depends finally on the enlightenment that comes through the free schools, which are the very foundation and support of our free institutions; and

WHEREAS, The books from which the children of the country, on whom its future solely rests, receive their first instructions on which to build their character as men and women should be of a quality beyond reproach in any regard; and

WHEREAS, Unremitting efforts have been made without success to bring about the unionizing of the various departments of the American Book Company's Cincinnati plant, its management absolutely refusing to treat with the representatives of organized labor, or the unions directly involved, but persisting in the practice of employing only non-union labor as being consistent with its policy of control of the text book trade wherever it may, and thus bringing before the mind of the child at its most impressionable time the product of unfair labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled at Atlantic City, New Jersey, that we heartily condemn the policy of the American Book Company in its general attitude towards organized labor and the unions of the crafts employed in the production of school text books in particular; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we urge upon all school authorities and purchasing agents for the public schools that they provide only such text books and other material for the use of the school children of the country as are produced by union labor and under union conditions, to the end that the first inking of general knowledge obtained by the children, and the first lessons they receive in the glorious history of a free people be not derived from sources tainted by the contamination of scab labor, to the profit of those who refuse to recognize the fundamental principles of justice and fair dealing on which the labor movement of America rests; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we request the editors of the journals or other publications of national and international unions, the American Federationist, and the labor press in general to give to this resolution or its substance the widest possible publicity; and that we urge upon the various state and city central bodies the necessity of giving the vitally important matter of school text books a prominent place in their program.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 116—By the Virginia State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The essential and consistent contention of organized labor of America is for justice to all classes, for the actual freedom and democracy of our institutions, for the general application of the "Golden Rule" to our social and industrial lives, and

WHEREAS, The Mooney case, since the rendering of the indispensable report of the Federal Commission sent by President Wilson to investigate, is an instance of deliberate trampling upon those privileges and principles upon which it has developed; and

WHEREAS, Organized Labor is unquestionably the mouthpiece of the great majority of the rank and file of the nation's population; and

WHEREAS, Organized Labor has failed to take a definite and decisive stand upon this question; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 39th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor recommend that the International Unions advise their membership of some proper actions in this situation.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 117—By Delegate James William Fitzpatrick, of the White Rats Actors' Union of America:

WHEREAS, There has been proceeding for some time an investigation of vaudeville conditions and of the conspiracy to crush the White Rats Actors' Union of America, an International Union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor by the Vaudeville Managers' Protective Association, a weekly newspaper called Variety, the United Booking Offices of America and others; and

WHEREAS, Such investigation has been conducted by that branch of the United States Government known as the Federal Trade Commission; and

WHEREAS, Such investigation on sworn testimony and documentary evidence has revealed a state of things and conditions of employment almost beyond belief, particularly

in regard to the commissions and fees extorted from actors by the said United Booking Offices and its allies; and

WHEREAS, The employment and business of ninety-five per cent. of the actors of this country is inter-state and is obtained through the said booking offices or employment agencies; and

WHEREAS, At a hearing of such conditions before the State Labor Board of Oklahoma, the said Board in its report recommended that Federal Legislation should be introduced to remedy these evils; and

WHEREAS, The managers of this country dominate and control the actors of this country through the said booking agencies which they own and operate; and

WHEREAS, The said Vaudeville Managers' Protective Association which is composed of the owners and patrons of the said employment agencies and the United Booking Offices, has repeatedly refused to meet or negotiate with or in any way recognize the said White Rats Actors' Union of America, because the White Rats are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, in fact over their own signature, in public announcements, the Vaudeville Managers' Protective Association has announced that the affiliation of the White Rats with Organized Labor "is the sole issue between the Vaudeville Managers and the White Rats"; and

WHEREAS, The United Booking Offices by means of subsidiary corporations and agencies is able to and has for many years past, and is now successfully breaking the laws of the State of New York, Iowa, Illinois, Michigan and California; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in conjunction and co-operation with the International Officers of the White Rats Actors' Union be instructed to prepare and have introduced, and to use every influence to successfully pass an Act of Congress placing the interstate employment of actors in the hands of the Federal Government by means of a Federal Employment Agency.

Referred to Committee on Organisation.

Resolution No. 118—By Delegate Robt. E. Burford, of the Freight Handlers' Union, No. 16220, of Richmond, Va.:

RESOLVED, Owing to the peculiar position of the Colored Freight Handlers and Station Employees on the C. & O., S. A. L., and R. F. & P. Ry. systems and on the American Ry. Express Co. being under the jurisdiction of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks and chartered direct from the American Federation of Labor and having no representative or grievance man in the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, we are receiving little or no assistance from them.

RESOLVED, That this body appoint a system organizer for the above mentioned railroads and express companies to organize the Freight Handlers and Station Employees into a system organization. Our purpose for a system organization is to affiliate ourselves together for our mutual protection and benefit. We appeal to the Executive Council for their support and immediate action also for instructions about appointing a grievance committee to help us get an agreement and a contract with our various railroads and the American Ry.

Express Company. We understand that the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks on the C. & O. system have an agreement with their officials that covers the Freight Handlers on the C. & O. system, but the Freight Agent at Richmond, Va. told our committee that it does not cover the Colored Freight Handlers, as to Saturday afternoons, Sundays and Holidays, and they being unable to get any information from their clerks we desire to bring this matter to your attention, asking your help and instructions.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 119—By Delegates Matthew Woll of the International Photo-Engravers Union; M. G. Scott, Walter W. Barrett, T. W. McCullough, J. W. Hays, of the International Typographical Union; George L. Berry of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union; Walter N. Reddick of the International Association of Bookbinders; Charles A. Sumner, of the International Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Union; John J. Manning of the United Garment Workers:

Amend Section 5, Article XI. of the Constitution by inserting in the fifth line after the word "strike" the words: "or to take a strike vote." Also by adding to the same section the following: "A violation of this law shall be sufficient cause for the Executive Council to suspend the charter and expel the organization." The Section as amended to read:

SECTION 5. No Central Labor Union, or other central body of delegates, shall have the authority or power to order any organization, affiliated with such central labor union, or other central labor body, on strike, or to take a strike vote, where such organization has a national organization, until the proper authorities of such national or international organization have been consulted and agreed to such action. A violation of this law shall be sufficient cause for the Executive Council to suspend the charter and expel the organization.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 120—By Delegate Jordan W. Chambers of the Railway Coach Cleaners, No. 16088, of St. Louis, Mo.

WHEREBY the American Federation of Labor will petition to give a square deal to colored skilled and unskilled laborers, favorably consider an application for an International Charter of organized colored labor, or use its influence to have them chartered from the International Organization having jurisdiction over them.

WHEREAS, The influence of the world of affairs on the present and future conditions of the masses of laborers is such as to make necessary a closer and more kindred feeling of sympathy and purpose on the part of all who labor; and

WHEREAS, This spirit of oneness of purpose can and will only be most completely achieved when the benefits derived by the efforts of Organized Labor are not predicated on creed, or sex or color, but rather shall be the common lot and heritage of all; and

WHEREAS, In the past because of a lack of realization on the part of Organized White Laborers that to keep the organized Colored Laborers out of the fold of organization, has only made it easily possible for the unscrupulous employer to exploit the one against the other to mutual disadvantage of each. Therefore; be it

RESOLVED, That this the 39th Annual Convention go on record as endorsing such petition from Colored Organized Labor.

Respectfully submitted by delegates approved: W. E. Vaughan, Jr., Shipyard Helpers and Laborers, Berkley, Va.; Robert J. Lane, Shipyard Labor Union, No. 15980; W. M. Watson, Federal Labor Union, No. 15681; J. W. Richardson, Suffolk, Va. Local No. 15856, Peanut Workers; James W. Fitts, Oyster Shuckers, Local No. 16117; John A. Lacey, Rec. Sec. C. L. U., Norfolk, Va.; O. L. Leonard, Memphis, Tenn., Union No. 16407, F. H. H.; Edmund Turner, Local No. 16199, A. F. L.; Robt. E. Buford, Freight Handlers', No. 16220, Richmond, Va.; Garrett Riles, R. Coach Station Cleaners, Local No. 16351; Matt Lewis, Freight Handlers', No. 16406, Little Rock, Ark.; William Carter, Station Employees, Freight Handlers, Local No. 16381, Baltimore, Md.; J. W. Worthey, Freight H. U., Local No. 16395, Salisbury, N. C.; Oscar Williams, Freight Handlers' Local No. 16413, St. Louis, Mo.; E. St. Louis, Ill.; Miller L. Campbell, Railroad Employees, 16486.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 121—By Delegates Matthew Woll of the International Photo-Engravers' Union; Walter W. Barrett, T. W. McCullough, William Young, J. W. Hays of the International Typographical Union, George L. Berry of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union; Walter N. Reddick, of the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; Charles A. Sumner of the International Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union; John J. Manning of the United Garment Workers:

Amend Section 3, Article XI of the Constitution by adding thereto the following

"Local unions shall be entitled to representation in Trades Assemblies or Central Labor Unions as follows: A union with less than 50 members, 1 delegate; a union with 50 members and less than 100, two delegates; a union with 100 members and less than 200, three delegates; a union with 200 members and less than 350, four delegates; a union with 350 members and less than 500, five delegates. Any union having 500 or more members shall be entitled to one additional delegate for each 500 members or major fraction thereof up to 5000 members. A union having more than 5000 members shall be entitled to one additional delegate for each 1000 or major fraction thereof."

The section as amended to read as follows: "Section 3.—Where there are one or more local unions in any city belonging to any national or international union affiliated with this Federation they may organize a Trades Assembly or Central Labor Union, or shall join such body if already in existence. Local unions shall be entitled to representation in Trades Assemblies or Cen-

tral Labor Unions as follows: A union with less than 50 members, one delegate; a union with 50 members and less than 100, two delegates; a union with 100 members and less than 200, three delegates; a union with 200 members and less than 350, four delegates; a union with 350 members and less than 500, five delegates. Any union having 500 or more members shall be entitled to one additional delegate for each 500 members or major fraction thereof up to 5000 members; a union having more than 5000 members shall be entitled to one additional delegate for each 1000 or major fraction thereof."

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 122—By Delegate Edmund Turner of the Boilermakers, Blacksmiths' and Machinists' Union No. 16,199, of Mobile, Alabama.

WHEREAS, There is a vast field to organize colored men skilled and unskilled among the different crafts, in the State of Alabama, which at the present is not organized.

A few International Organizers pay a visit occasionally but do not remain long enough among the colored men to get in touch with the unorganized class; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Annual Convention of the A. F. of L. give the executive board authority to appoint a colored organizer for the Southern District of Alabama. This colored organizer shall work in the interest of labor at all times. His salary shall be paid monthly.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 123—By Delegate Chas. B. Stillman of the American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, In accordance with the instructions of the last convention, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, working with the American Federation of Teachers and the National Education Association, has co-operated in the preparation and introduction of the Educational Bill (H. R. 7), which creates a Federal Department of Education, and appropriates one hundred million dollars to be apportioned among the states to aid in the payment of more adequate teachers' salaries, in the equalization of educational opportunities, in the removal of illiteracy, in Americanization of immigrants, in physical education, and in the preparation of competent teachers; and

WHEREAS, The present period of reconstruction is revealing even more clearly than the preceding period of war the need for a national educational policy to secure coordination among the states, and to promote national welfare, efficiency, and unity; and

WHEREAS, The threatened collapse of our schools, which influenced the action of the last convention, is still more imminent now, through the forcing out of our best teachers by the thousand by sheer economic pressure, and through the refusal of young men and women of ability and independent spirit to prepare themselves for a calling which does not offer a self-respecting living; and

WHEREAS, The ultimate national need is for educated manhood and womanhood, a need which will become more urgent in the period we are entering; and

WHEREAS, The recent past has forced upon us a realization of the necessity of more effective physical education, of the removal of illiteracy, and of the Americanization of immigrants; and

WHEREAS, In the fields of vocational and agricultural education, the value of the stimulus to the states of Federal appropriations available to a state on its meeting specified standards. and on the appropriation by that state of equal amounts, has been proved by experience; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-ninth Convention of the American Federation of Labor, in conformity with the recommendation of the preceding convention, endorse the Educational Bill (H. R. 7), and instruct the President and Executive Council to use the full influence of the American Federation of Labor in its support.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 124—By Delegate William Green of the United Mine Workers.

WHEREAS, There are hundreds of thousands of foreign-born permanent residents of the country who desire to become citizens; and

WHEREAS, In response to public demand, and by direction of an Act of Congress of May 9, 1918, the Bureau of Naturalization of the United States Department of Labor has issued the Federal text-book on citizenship to be distributed through the public schools of the states and cities of the Union, for the purpose of fitting candidates for citizenship for their duties as Americans; and

WHEREAS, There is co-operation with the Bureau of Naturalization the public school officials of upward of 2,200 cities and towns who have established classes in citizenship; and

WHEREAS, Great numbers of the foreign-born who desire to become citizens do not know the measures that have been put into effect for their training in citizenship; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the 39th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that it recommends to affiliated organizations co-operation with the Bureau of Naturalization, to the end that they shall assist the foreign-born to become citizens, to direct them into the citizenship classes established for their benefit, and to aid them to an understanding of our customs and our institutions.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 125—By Delegate Frank Morrison of the International Typographical Union.

WHEREAS, In the defense of present high prices, the claim is repeatedly made that wage rates are responsible for this condition; and

WHEREAS, This claim ignores the economic fact that wages are the last cost that is increased and that present wage levels do not equal increased living costs as stated in government reports; and

WHEREAS, The Bureau of Labor Statistics, United States Department of Labor, has reported that the labor cost in the manufacture of one pair of welt shoes is 36.8 cents. This report is made in Bulletin No. 232, May, 1918, on "Wages and Hours of Labor in the Boot and Shoe Industry: 1907 to 1916;" and

WHEREAS, Bulletin No. 232 indicates the low labor cost in production because of specialization and machinery that is not affected by even substantial wage increases; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to select other industries dealing with neces-

series of life and urge the proper government officials to conduct inquiries similar to that reported in Bulletin No. 282; and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be forwarded by the officers of the American Federation of Labor to representative organizations of employers in the event that they would be inclined to assist in this investigation.

Referred to Committee on State Organizations.

Resolution No. 126—By Delegate Harry L. Hartford, of the Portsmouth C. L. U.

WHEREAS, The Portsmouth, N. H., Metal Trades Council protest retaining of Yeomen (F) in clerical positions until civil service register is exhausted, and then only after competitive examinations; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this A. F. of L. Convention endorse the protest of the Portsmouth Metal Trades Council, and endeavor to secure the enforcement of the Civil Service regulations.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 127—By Delegate Wm Schoenberg, of the International Association of Machinists.

WHEREAS, All indications point to the fact that thousands of workers from the war-torn countries of Europe will come to the United States soon after the peace treaty is signed in Paris; and

WHEREAS, Regardless of the different measures of restriction the majority of the newcomers may pass the necessary examinations; and

WHEREAS, Immigration, if not properly handled may become dangerous to the American labor movement if left to themselves to shift into industries and sections of this country where they cannot be assimilated; and

WHEREAS, The large interests of employers and manufacturers are using, or misusing immigrants to the detriment of American labor, because of their lack of knowledge of our conditions and customs; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this, the 39th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that the executive council be, and hereby is instructed to investigate the advisability of the establishment of a trades union information bureau for immigrants in New York, preferably on Ellis Island, where the newcomers may be advised relative to their bona fide trades unions of America, to working conditions, in regards to chances of obtaining employment relative to strikes and lock-outs and such other information which may be valuable to them both from their and our point of view; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That if the executive council finds that the establishment of an information bureau is advisable, the council be and hereby is authorized to establish this bureau at their earliest opportunity.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 128—By Delegation of the International Seamen's Union.

WHEREAS, The Supreme Court of the United States has construed section eleven of the Seamen's Act so that foreign and American vessels may pay advance wages in foreign ports where such practice is not forbidden by law and that such advances are to be allowed in these United States when the seaman is paid off; and

WHEREAS, Section four of the same Act has by Court of Appeals been construed so that one-half of the total wages earned must remain with the vessel for the purpose of keeping the seaman to his shipping contract; and

WHEREAS, These rulings go directly against the means to bring about equalization in wage-cost of foreign and American vessels; therefore,

RESOLVED, That the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries of the House of Representatives be requested to examine into these rulings and to take such action as shall leave the forces working for equalization in full operation.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution 129—By Delegate James A. Duncan, of the Seattle Central Labor Council.

WHEREAS, Following the dictates of Democracy, and in an effort to secure for our citizenship the fullest possible opportunity for the expression of its sentiment relative to the laws for its government, the American Federation of Labor has for years past stood out as the foremost champion of direct legislation, which has, where placed in operation proved a boon to popular government, by placing in the hands of the people an instrument, by means of which many progressive measures have been enacted into law; and

WHEREAS, In the interests of co-operation and efficiency in the matter of securing desirable legislation, the officers of the American Federation of Labor have from time to time suggested model and uniform laws to be urged by, and for the welfare of the workers of the various states; and

WHEREAS, There is a woeful lack of uniformity in the laws governing our international unions, which condition makes efficient co-operation and team work between the membership of the various international unions extremely difficult and in many instances impossible, which chaotic condition it is eminently desirable to overcome; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the thirty-ninth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor that its Executive Council be, and hereby is instructed to, within ninety days of this date, prepare and send to all international unions, a model initiative and referendum provision as a suggested amendment to their various constitutions, such suggested amendment to be drawn in such manner as will make possible the submission of any given proposition to the whole membership of the American Federation of Labor simultaneously, and in legal manner; the demand of five per cent. of the local unions being necessary to invoke the use of this amendment by any international union at given stated periods; and, further be it

RESOLVED, That each international union be urged to take whatever steps may be necessary to secure (if possible) the adoption of this proposed amendment to its constitution at the earliest possible date and notify the secretary of the American Federation of Labor as to the results of its efforts.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 130—By the Delegation of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. Benjamin Schlesinger, Max Gorenstein, Jacob Heller, Al Laporta, I. Feinberg and M. Friedman.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, instructs its Executive Council to lend its support to the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union in its peaceful negotiations with the employers of the City of Chicago, and likewise in case a strike is found necessary for the introduction of collective bargaining and uniform standards in the waist, dress and skirt industries of Chicago.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 131—By Delegate William F. Kavanaugh, of the State Federation of Labor of New Jersey.

WHEREAS, President Woodrow Wilson, issued from the capital city of our nation on July 26th, 1918, a personal statement addressed to his fellow-countrymen, defining mob-spirit action, called upon the nation to show the world that while it fights for Democracy on foreign fields, it is not destroying democracy at home; and

WHEREAS, While the President referred not alone to mob action against those suspected of being enemy aliens or enemy sympathizers, he denounced most emphatically mob action of all sorts, especially lynchings, and this very much predominates in southern states, where also white and colored child labor is exploited; and

WHEREAS, In all wars, where our country and its interests were at stake the colored race, with their white brothers, fought, shed their blood and died in defense of Old Glory and over there gave their all that others may live in peace and happiness ever after; and

WHEREAS, Lynchings, cowardly and unjust, is also a blow at the heart of ordered law and human justice; and

WHEREAS, The colored people, their workers, their bread winners, throughout the nation look with hope and anxiety in their hearts to those in the struggle for better conditions, for better homes and for the good things of life, as well as protection from mob rule and for a surging popular opinion behind them that will not tolerate a laxity in upholding the laws of our land; and

WHEREAS, The hope of civilization is in democracy; the hope of democracy is in justice; the only hope of justice is in the tribunals through which justice can be secured, and the only hope of the functioning of these tribunals is in the sentiment which demands that they, within their departments, shall be supreme and that any effort to incite mob violence shall be regarded as an attack upon the very foundations of society itself; and

WHEREAS, The American labor movement, A. F. of L., knows no race, color or creed in its stand for the tolling masses to get justice; and

WHEREAS, Through its representatives in convention assembled at Perth Amboy, N. J., week of August 19th, 1918, the New Jersey State Federation of Labor, with a membership of over 90,000, endorsed this resolution; and

WHEREAS, The great American Labor movement through its conventions, city, state and national, is the very medium through which popular and public sentiment can best be expressed against mob rule and for proper enforcement of the laws of our land; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the representatives of this 39th Annual Convention of the American

Federation of Labor, go on record as endorsing the above as our sentiments in opposition to mob rule and lynchings; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of the same be sent to our Representatives of Congress and United States Senate and Speakers of both Houses, to the press and to the President of our nation, Honorable Woodrow Wilson.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 132—By Delegate Wm. F. Kavanaugh, New Jersey State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Irish people of Ireland, have for centuries, sought Independence from England's rule; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we the representatives of the American Labor movement at this the 39th annual convention, go on record as expressing our sympathy for the aspirations of the Irish people for a government of their own choosing.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 133—By Delegates Benjamin Schlesinger, Max Gorenstein, Jacob Heller, Al Laporta, I. Feinberg and M. Friedman, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, record its protest against the massacres and brutalities committed upon the Jewish populations of Poland, the Ukraine and other parts of Eastern Europe, and calls upon the Government of the United States to use its great offices with all the governments of the world to the end that recurrence of such inhuman deeds is made impossible, and that national minorities in every country in the world are guaranteed full civil and political rights and protection.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 134—By Delegates James P. Noonan, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; John Donlin, Operative Plasterers International Association; John J. Hynes, Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers International Alliance.

WHEREAS, President Woodrow Wilson has recommended to the Congress that the law, which was recently passed for the preservation of food stuffs until peace was declared and the army was demobilized, was no longer necessary, and that it should be modified so as to permit the manufacture and sale of beer and light wines; and

WHEREAS, The absolute prohibition of beer and light wines is not now nor never will be necessary to promote the peace, integrity, education and morality of the peoples of these United States, but it is regarded by many honest working men and women, as well as by a majority of business and professional men, as a detriment to the peace and prosperity of this and other countries, and

WHEREAS, President Woodrow Wilson has also recommended in his message to the Congress the enactment of more suitable laws for the protection of the working men and women of these United States, and also the passage of laws for the abolition of child labor, which laws are beneficial to all mankind and will ultimately result in the co-operation of em-

ployers and employes for the amelioration of the human race in all walks of life so that all may enjoy the constitutional right of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; and

WHEREAS, The plans and laws recommended by the President of the United States for the modification of the war-time prohibition laws and for the separation of children from industry, and measures for the general good of all the working people are in accord with the long established policies of the American Federation of Labor and its several departments; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Building Trades Council of St. Louis, Mo., and vicinity in regular meeting assembled this, the 28th day of May, 1919, does unanimously concur in the recommendations in the President's recent message, and we demand that the representatives in Congress earnestly and vigorously support the bills favored by President Wilson until they are finally disposed of at the present extraordinary session of the Congress; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the Building Trades Department Convention to be called at Atlantic City, N. J., June 8d, 1919, with the request that they be concurred in by that body and forwarded to the American Federation of Labor convention to be called in the same city on June 9, 1919, for similar action; and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of these resolutions be spread upon the minutes of the Building Trades Council of St. Louis, Mo., and vicinity, and that copies also be sent to Honorable Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States, and to the Honorable President of the United States Senate, and to the Honorable Speaker of the House of Representatives, and also to each of the Representatives in Congress from the City of St. Louis, Mo., and to the two United States Senators from Missouri. Respectfully submitted, Maurice J. Cassidy. The above resolutions were unanimously adopted by the Building Trades Council of St. Louis, Mo., and vicinity, May 28th, 1919.

MAURICE J. CASSIDY,
Secretary.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 135—By Delegates Henry U. Raisse of Lorain Central Union and Edward J. Evans of the Electrical Workers.

WHEREAS, The Mayors of several towns in the Pittsburgh district have arbitrarily suppressed the rights of Free Speech and Free Assembly, and have refused to permit the American Federation of Labor to hold meetings in their towns; and

WHEREAS, Every effort has failed to dissuade them from this un-American and autocratic attitude, they refusing absolutely to be guided by policies of justice, reason and fair play; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-ninth Convention of the American Federation of Labor heartily condemns this lawless conduct; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we respectfully request the President of the United States to institute a congressional investigation of the situation in Western Pennsylvania, and to take such steps as he may deem necessary to put the constitution into force in this district.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 136—By Delegates James P. Noonan, I. B. E. W.; John H. Donlin, Operative Plasterers; John J. Hynes, Sheet Metal Workers.

WHEREAS, Resolution No. 96, of the St. Paul Convention of the A. F. of L. was intended to stop the encroachment of the Theatrical Stage Employes upon the jurisdiction of the several building trades in the moving picture industry; and

WHEREAS, The situation still remains the same in that the Theatrical Stage Employes continue to claim jurisdiction over certain building trades when working in said moving picture industry, and further refuse to relinquish their claim over said building trades regardless of the craft fundamental character of the work in question; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the charter of the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employes be revoked.

Referred to Committee on Adjustments.

Resolution No. 137—By Delegates Benjamin Schlesinger, Max Goenstain, Jacob Heller, Al Laporta, Israel Feinberg and M. Friedman, of the International Ladies' Garment and Workers' Union.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, instructs its Executive Council to lend its support to the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union in its efforts to introduce collective bargaining and union working conditions in the cloak, suit and skirt industries of the City of Cleveland, Ohio.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 138—By Delegates John Donlin, William L. Hutcheson and John J. Hynes.

WHEREAS, The so-called Baker-Gompers agreement consummated on June 19, 1917, was intended as a war measure only; and

WHEREAS, The period in which it was expected to serve has passed, also the institution that functioned in its affairs has automatically dissolved; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 39th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor will consider the aforesaid agreement null, void and in every way canceled on or before July 1, 1919.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 139—By Delegates Henry H. Raisse, of the Lorain Central Labor Union, and Edw. J. Evans, of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

RESOLVED, That this 39th Convention of the American Federation of Labor initiate the proper proceedings looking toward the formation of an iron and steel workers' department in the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 140—By Delegates John Donlin, Operative Plasterers International Association; William L. Hutcheson, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America; John J. Hynes, Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers International Alliance.

WHEREAS, The International Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees claim for their membership jurisdiction over the construction, repair and alteration of all buildings owned by railroads; and

WHEREAS, Said Brotherhood in the past not only has done much of this work, but insists upon doing such building work in the future; and

WHEREAS, Several conferences held between said International Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees and International Unions of the Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L. availed nothing in the way of an adjustment or understanding; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 39th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor revoke the charter of said International Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

Resolution No. 141—By Delegates Benjamin Schlesinger, Max Gorenstein, Jacob Heller, Al Laporta, I. Feinberg and M. Freidman, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, urge upon the Government of the United States to grant complete amnesty to all political prisoners convicted under the special emergency laws enacted by Congress during the war, and the repeal of all such laws as interfering with the normal exercise of American liberties guaranteed by the Constitution.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 142—By Delegates Henry W. Raisse, of the Lorain, Ohio, Central Labor Union and Edward J. Evans, of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

WHEREAS, Every labor union in America, regardless of its trade or industry, has a direct and positive interest in the organization of the workers in the iron and steel industry, because the accomplishment of this vital task will greatly weaken the opposition of employers everywhere to the extension of trade unionism and the establishment of decent conditions of work and wages; and

WHEREAS, The organizing force now in the field working upon this vast project is altogether inadequate in strength to carry on the work in the vigorous manner imperatively demanded by the situation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That President Gompers of the American Federation of Labor, and Chairman of the National Committee for Organizing Iron and Steel Workers be authorized to call a conference, during the coming convention of the A. F. of L., of the heads of all international unions affiliated with the A. F. of L., to the end that they make arrangements to lend their assistance to the organization of the iron and steel industry.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 143—By Delegate M. Goldsmith of the Federal Labor Union, No. 16398.

WHEREAS, The organized workers have been and are doing all in their power to assist the government in the Americanization of our people and especially the foreigners; and

WHEREAS, The Trade Unions as such are doing good work in acquainting their members

with the institutions of our government and insisting upon an amalgamation of all nationalities by advocating a common language among all of the people of the United States; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention instruct the Executive Council to endeavor to have Congress pass a bill compelling all societies, fraternal, insurance and others—secret or otherwise, to conduct their business in the English language.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 144—By Delegate O. M. Ryerson of the Central Labor Council of Salem, Oregon.

WHEREAS, From investigations conducted by the government it is learned that the spread of venereal diseases has caused an alarming condition to exist throughout the nation. According to figures prepared by the Surgeon General of the army approximately 200,000 cases of venereal diseases were treated in the army and of this number more than 160,000 men came into the service already infected. This cross section of America's manhood demonstrates a terrible and deplorable physical condition of our country; and

WHEREAS, Statements made by the Surgeon General of the United States Public Health Service show most of the congenital blindness is due to gonorrhoeal infection of the mother—most cases of abnormal operations on women are due to this disease; that most cases of venereal infection in married women come from infection contracted in earlier life by their husbands. That syphilis is filling the insane asylums and feeble-minded institutions of the country; that defectives of many classes, due to syphilis, are becoming an increasing burden on the people of the United States; and

WHEREAS, Statistics issued by the Public Health Service show prostitution causes most of the spread of venereal diseases. It is an unfortunate fact that prostitutes are recruited largely from among working girls and women; and

WHEREAS, The Government, with the co-operation of the states, has by a comprehensive program of education, medical treatment and law enforcement demonstrated that the spread of these diseases can be controlled and their ravages reduced; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled heartily endorses the efforts of the United States Public Health Service, cooperating with the various states, in combating the spread of venereal diseases; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we call upon organized labor to familiarize themselves with the government's program of combating these diseases and to assist in every possible manner the eradication of these scourges of civilization.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 145—By Delegates Henry W. Raisse of the Lorain, Ohio, Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, There is now much dissatisfaction and confusion among many of the men employed in the steel mills through not being in the union having jurisdiction over their work, by having been placed in there through no mis-

take of their own or by having had to seek another line of work after joining; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates to the 39th Convention of the A. F. of L., ask that a free transfer card be issued to men working in the steel industry who have to transfer from one union to another.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 146—By Delegates C. F. Grow, H. W. Brown, William Shoenberg, A. W. Wharton, J. J. Connelly of the International Association of Machinists.

WHEREAS, The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners have persistently refused to obey the mandates of the American Federation of Labor as expressed by the action of the San Francisco conventions, in the adoption of the following resolution known as "Resolution No. 152."

WHEREAS, The International Association of Machinists has jurisdiction over the building, assembling, erecting, dismantling and repairing machinery in machine shops, buildings, factories or elsewhere; and

WHEREAS, The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners is attempting to do this work and taking advantage of every opportunity to place the members of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners on same, and

WHEREAS, Numerous protests have been made to the officers of the Brotherhood and Carpenters and Joiners of the trespass on the jurisdiction of the International Association of Machinists and a number of conferences have been held, all to no avail, this resulting in the International Association of Machinists appealing to the Seattle Building Trades Dept. Convention in the form of a resolution protesting against the infringement complained of, this resolution was adopted and the officers of the Building Trades Dept. instructed to use every means at their command to conserve the rights and jurisdiction of the International Association of Machinists; and

WHEREAS, The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners is fundamentally a craft composed of men skilled in the erecting, forming and assembling of wood materials and has never been recognized as a metal craft organization or granted jurisdiction over the making, repairing, erecting, assembling or dismantling of machinery; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners be and are hereby instructed to discontinue the infringement complained of; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the President and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor stand instructed to render every possible assistance in enforcing the intent of this resolution; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be and is hereby ordered to suspend the charter of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners until such time as they have complied with the intent and purpose of the above resolution.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

Resolution No. 147—By Delegates John Donlin, Operative Plasterers International Association; John L. Owens, Cleveland Federation of Labor; Edward J. Evans, William L. Lewis, George Leary, Louis Weyand, H. B. Odell.

WHEREAS, The high cost of living incident to the war has not been reduced since the signing of the armistice, and is continuing to increase at the present time; and

WHEREAS, The toilers in almost every craft have received an increase in wages to meet this high cost of living, and the organized labor movement have gone on record against reductions; and

WHEREAS, It is the belief of the delegates that the labor movement should set the example of permitting the workers to meet their obligations by seeing to it that their employees are properly treated; and

WHEREAS, The organizers of the American Federation of Labor, are compelled to travel from place to place and at the same time provide for their folks at home, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the salary of organizers be increased from \$7.00 per day to \$8.00 per day, and the expenses increased from \$4.00 to \$5.00 per day, to give them a better opportunity to meet the high cost of living prevalent in our country today.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Resolution 148—By Delegate Alice A. Kissam, of the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union, No. 12646.

WHEREAS, The International Brotherhood of Teamsters has recently organized the clerks in the express offices in New York City; and

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Railway Clerks claims jurisdiction over these express clerks; and

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Railway Clerks has jurisdiction only over clerks in railway offices and these express clerks are not employed in railway offices; and

WHEREAS, Bookkeepers', Stenographers' and Accountants' Union, No. 12646, New York City, claims that these express clerks come within their jurisdiction, performing work over which they claim jurisdiction; and

WHEREAS, Bookkeepers', Stenographers' and Accountants' Union 12646 can do more for these clerks than can the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks in that there are very few railway clerks in New York City; and

WHEREAS, Bookkeepers', Stenographers' and Accountants' Union, No. 12646, claim jurisdiction over the express clerks and in fact have started arrangements with the International Brotherhood of Teamsters for their transfer to the jurisdiction of Bookkeepers', Stenographers and Accountants' Union, No. 12646; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the claim of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks to the right of jurisdiction over the Express Clerks be held in abeyance and that this protest be referred to the proper committee of this convention for a hearing, at which the delegate of the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union may have an opportunity to be heard.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 149—By Delegate C. M. Rynerson, of the Central Labor Council of Salem, Ore.:

WHEREAS, Realizing that the establishment of stable conditions in business and industries is of the utmost importance at the earliest possible time; and

WHEREAS, recognising that such conditions can come only by general acceptance for necessary adjustments of a basis which does justice to all elements of our nation; thus is stressed the importance of the work of various agencies seeking to establish figures indicating fluctuations in living costs, labor costs and price changes; and

WHEREAS, figures established by such agencies have come to be widely used in the adjustment of the workers' wage to meet increased living costs; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, that the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled condemn in strongest terms the efforts of certain employers of labor to construct a basis upon the lower standard of living resulting from curtailed consumption due to high prices of commodities and in response to patriotic appeal; and be it further

RESOLVED, that the work of the Department of Labor through its Bureau of Labor Statistics, is most highly commended for the great good accomplished in establishing figures which furnish a fair basis to be used in making desired readjustments.

Referred to the Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 150—By Delegate C. M. Rynerson, of Salem, Ore., Central Labor Council:

WHEREAS, The Committee on Cooperation should have authority to consider plans of a cooperative nature that may be proposed from time to time for the benefit of the wage earner and of the community, and to cooperate with other bodies that may be interested in plans, so far as such plans may benefit the wage earner; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the committee on cooperation, authorized to be appointed by the Buffalo Convention in 1917, and continued by the convention in St. Paul in 1918, is hereby further continued and is authorized to represent the American Federation of Labor, to consider, and to pass upon such plans for cooperation, that may be submitted and to cooperate in carrying such plans into effect so far as is deemed advisable to carry out such cooperative plans, and that in their judgment will benefit the wage earner and the community, and to report to the next convention.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 151—By Delegate John T. Smith, of the Central Labor Union of Kansas City Mo.

WHEREAS, There is a shortage of wholesome dwellings in practically every community in the country; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That each city and town should be authorized and encouraged to build enough houses to meet the needs of its inhabitants, providing with each a tract of land suitable to the locality and that the Federal Government participate in the production of a full supply of suitable homes by continuing the Housing Bureau to aid, encourage and stimulate the building of dwelling houses.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's report.

Resolution No. 152—By Delegate John G. Owens, of Cleveland Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The cost of living is steadily increasing as far as rents, food, clothing, etc. are considered, thus absorbing increases of wages that may be obtained by the organized workers through negotiations and strikes; and

WHEREAS, This condition is unjust and unbearable to the masses of people; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we, delegates to the Cleveland Federation of Labor, hereby request that a special grand jury be appointed to investigate this problem and make public their findings and also indict all individuals and concerns that are violating the statutes against trusts, conspiracies and committing other lawless acts; be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the A. F. of L. be instructed to present a similar proposition to that body and urge that this question be made a national one.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Resolution, No. 153—By Delegates Peter J. Brady, Frank Feeney, William L. Hutcheson, Jas. T. Moriarty, Matthew Woll, Martin Ryan, Thomas T. Redding, Thomas Kearney, Chas. Anderson, A. G. Enright, Jas. B. Connors, Frank Kasten, Wm. J. McGeary, J. A. McInerney, Thomas F. McMahon, John F. Murphy, P. H. McCarthy, Daniel J. O'Donnell, Thomas J. Reagan, P. J. Rooney, O. J. Boyle, Frank Duffy, C. L. Baine, John Carroll, Jas. G. Allen, J. Hurley, E. W. Edwards, Timothy Healy, T. M. Daly, John J. Sullivan, Daniel T. McKillop, John Kennedy, Pat E. Gorman, Daniel J. Tobin, Geo. B. McGovern, Geo. Leary, E. W. Leonard, Walter J. Reddick, Henry F. Hilfers, H. J. Conway, R. A. Cooney, Frank Farrington, George A. Tracy, John J. Hynes, John Bradley, John Sullivan, Margaret C. Daley, Anna Fitzgerald, Thomas F. Flaherty, W. H. Lyons, Joseph Proebstle, Stephen O'Donnell, Patrick Crowley, William Young, William F. Dwyer, Michael J. Scanlan, E. F. Welsh, W. W. Britton, Jas. P. Holland, A. McAndrew, J. J. Doyle, Edward I. Hannah, Andrew C. Hughes.

WHEREAS, the people of Ireland have, in accordance with the principles of self determination enunciated by President Woodrow Wilson, through the peaceful use of the ballot, declared in no uncertain terms demand for the sovereign independence of their country and have already established in Ireland a Republic of the people, by the people, and for the people of Ireland; and

WHEREAS, we, the delegates to this, the 39th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor representing the liberty loving citizens of America, realizing the justice of the claims of the people of Ireland to national existence and reaffirming our belief that all just

governments derive their right to govern through the consent of the governed, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we most heartily approve of the demands of the people of Ireland and call upon the Congress of the United States to give due and firm recognition to our sister republic, Ireland, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Secretary is instructed to send copies of this resolution to the President of the United States, to each member of Congress, to the people of Ireland, through their chosen officials and that copies be given to the press.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 154—By E. J. Ryan, H. W. Strickland, R. E. Plymale, Railway Mail Association, and T. F. Flaherty, National Federation of Postal Employees.

WHEREAS, the Post Office Department has in operation systems to measure the speed and efficiency of the Postal Employees, and

WHEREAS, These systems are calculated to force the employees to maintain a speed and standard that is unreasonable and detrimental to their welfare and health, and

WHEREAS, In practice, these systems have resulted in unreasonable punishment and discrimination against the employees, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled condemns this policy, and asks the Executive Council to use its efforts to abolish all speed tests, time measuring devices and unreasonable standards of personal efficiency in the Postal Service.

Referred to Committee on State Organizations.

Resolution No. 155—By Delegates Luther C. Steward, William E. Jenken, Martin J. Leonard, Florence Etheridge, National Federation of Federal Employees.

WHEREAS, The report of the U. S. War Labor Conference Board, of March 29, 1918, declared, among other things, "The right of workers, including common laborers, to a living wage," and "In fixing wages a minimum rate of pay shall be established which will insure the subsistence of the worker and his family in health and reasonable comfort; and

WHEREAS, There has been an abnormal increase in the cost of living in the past three years, but the wages of most Government employees have not been correspondingly increased, notwithstanding the fact that the wages of practically all employees in the commercial world have been increased; and

WHEREAS, In order for the Government to establish proper wage standards among private employers it should become a model employer itself and set an example for private employers by the adoption of a living wage standard for its employees; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the 89th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled at Atlantic City, N. J., that Congress should immediately take favorable action on the Nolan and Johnson bills (S. 8878 and H. R. 152) for establishing a minimum wage for Government employees and that further legislation should be enacted whereby the wages of all Government

employees not affected by said bills are given a substantial increase.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 156—By Sam Griggs, Stone Cutters:

The following resolution was adopted by the Thirteenth Annual Convention of the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, and by action of that convention was referred to the Thirty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor for its cooperation and support:

WHEREAS, the Public Buildings Bill legislation that failed of passage at the last session of Congress; and

WHEREAS, this legislation was necessary of passage for the reconstruction program of the United States Government; and

WHEREAS, this failure of the last Congress to provide for any plan wherein the Government could go ahead with their building program; and

WHEREAS, The Public Buildings Bill carried with it provision for the immediate erection of many post offices throughout the country, therefore, the failure of the last Congress to provide the needed money to carry out the Government's building program; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirteenth Annual Convention, through its officers, petition Congress to pass as quickly as possible the Public Buildings Bill that failed at the last Congress, so that the United States Government can go ahead with their building projects, that will give employment to many thousands of building mechanics and will tend to quickly stabilize the building industry of our country, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this Department for itself, and requesting the A. F. of L. to cooperate, call upon both Executive Council to memorialize our federal government to encourage building construction of public buildings as soon as the above funds are available and give out contracts immediately, rather than defer such building until February, 1920, as provided for in a recent ruling of the Treasury Department.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Resolution No. 157—By Delegate Harry L. Hartford, Portsmouth, N. H., Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, War has demonstrated the urgent need of adequate housing facilities, to provide decent homes for the American workers, and

WHEREAS, There has been demonstrated the necessity and advisability for such housing facilities to promote the efficiency of the workers and to establish and promote the community and home environment, necessary to full industrial production and good citizenship and

WHEREAS, The Government has recognized the necessity and advisability of providing such environment and housing facilities, as a military necessity, during the War, by appropriating funds to construct such houses for War workers therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the A. F. of L. go on record as favoring the establishment of a permanent housing bureau, for the purpose of providing homes for the workers of this country, and be it further

RESOLVED, That our officers be instructed to try and secure a representative of labor on the board, to see that the interests of the workers are fully protected.

Referred to Committee on Executive Councils Report.

Resolution No. 158—By Delegates John Golden, Thomas McMahon, Daniel J. O'Connell, Thomas J. Brogan, Sara A. Conboy.

WHEREAS, On the night of May 21, 1919, while attending an open air organizing meeting seven innocent people, members of the United Textile Workers of America, were shot down in a cold blooded manner by officials and paid hirelings connected with some of the textile mill corporations at Columbus, Georgia, and

WHEREAS, As a result of this dastardly act, one of these innocent victims, Grady Tucker, a soldier who had just returned from service on the battlefields of France, paid the supreme sacrifice, and

WHEREAS, We feel convinced that this cowardly act is a desperate attempt on the part of the mill owners to stem the tide of organization that is now sweeping over the textile districts of the Southern States, to the end that they may maintain the long hours of labor, low wages, and the exploitation of child labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the Delegates to the 39th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor condemn this cowardly crime committed against peaceful, law abiding American citizens, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to render all possible assistance to the United Textile Workers of America in their efforts to bring to justice the persons guilty of this cowardly crime.

Referred to Committee on State Organization.

Resolution No. 159—By Delegates John M. Harrigan, of the Schenectady, N. Y., Trades Assembly.

The Building Trades Council of Schenectady, N. Y., respectfully submits the following resolution for your consideration and earnestly urges the adoption of same:

WHEREAS, It is to the best interests of the building trades that all Building Trades Locals be affiliated with the Building Trades Council in their vicinity; and

WHEREAS, There are a number of Building Trades Locals which either through lack of interest or selfish motives are not affiliated and will not affiliate; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That in the event of the adoption of these resolutions they become effective immediately.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades. A. F. of L. has already appeared before

Resolution No. 160—By Delegates C. F. Grow, H. W. Brown, John J. Connolly, Wm. Schoenberg, of the International Association of Machinists.

WHEREAS, Since the very inception of the organization of the A. F. of L., an untiring campaign has been conducted by the Federation and its affiliated organizations for the establishment of the universal eight-hour work day for the men and women who toil; and

WHEREAS, The great educational and economic campaign that has been consistently carried on has been the means of conferring a great benefit upon millions of workers and their families; and

WHEREAS, Tremendous changes have taken place in the industries of this country and of the world, due to the introduction of new machinery, tools, processes and methods of efficiency, and production of commodities; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. and its affiliated National and International organizations conduct in the future a campaign of education to establish the Universal Six-Hour Day in the industries covered by the jurisdiction of the A. F. of L. and its affiliated organizations.

Referred to Committee on Shorter Work Day.

Resolution No. 161—By Luther C. Steward, William E. Junker, Martin J. Leonard, Florence Etheridge, National Federation of Federal Employees.

WHEREAS, Federal employees, through the administrative regulations of certain departments, have been denied leave of absence to care for important duties devolving upon them as officers in organizations of affiliated Government employees, thus in many instances necessitating their resignation from the service and operating in general as serious handicaps to the existence and progress of such unions; and

WHEREAS, Unless an organization is permitted to properly function, the right to organize is in itself of little value, and arbitrary and unnecessary ruling denying leaves of absence are in effect the denial of the right to organize, which was granted to civil service employees in the Act of Congress of August 24, 1912, known as the "Anti-Gag Law;" and

WHEREAS, Necessary leaves of absence could be granted employees engaged in the work of their respective organizations without either injuring the service or impairment of its efficiency; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor urge upon Congress the enactment of legislation which shall provide for the retention of the civil service status by the officers of unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor who are called upon to absent themselves from their official duties and their re-instatement in the service at a salary no less than that received by them at the time such leave of absence is granted; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That leaves of absence, either temporary or extended, shall be granted the officials of affiliated unions to conduct the work of their organizations without prejudice to their official standing in the Government service.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 162—By Delegate Thos. M. Gann, of the Tennessee Federation of Labor, George L. Berry.

WHEREAS, The policemen in various cities have formed local organizations, and are desirous of becoming a part of the great American labor movement; and

WHEREAS, They have made application to the A. F. of L. for charter; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record as favoring the organization of the policemen, and that the officers of the federation be instructed to issue charter to same when application is properly made.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 163—By E. J. Ryan, H. W. Strickland, R. E. Plymale, Railway Mail Association.

WHEREAS, The working hours of Railway Postal Clerks are being lengthened at a time when the hours of workmen everywhere are being shortened, and as these men complain that an uncommon and unwarrantable hardship is thus being imposed upon them, that their health and safety are being sacrificed; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has always contended and has at length successfully demonstrated that neither efficiency nor economy is promoted by such methods—a fact which has been strikingly proved and candidly admitted again and again; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Convention of the American Federation of Labor request the United States Congress to establish a standard day of road duty applicable to the Railway Mail Service; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That due credit be given for the duties necessarily performed in this service while not on road duty so that the average of aggregate duty will not exceed the Governmental standards that have been determined and are now applicable to the employees of the Government controlled transportation companies.

Referred to Committee on Shorter Work Day.

Resolution No. 164—By Luther C. Steward, William E. Junker, Martin J. Leonard, National Federation of Federal Employees.

WHEREAS, The Congress of the United States has created a Commission for the purpose of re-classifying the Federal Civil Service in the District of Columbia and thus carried out for a portion of such service the provision of Resolution No. 74 of the St. Paul Convention of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The need for a re-classification Commission and re-classification investigation is no less throughout the country than in the city of Washington; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this Thirty-ninth Convention of the American Federation of Labor that the duties conferred by Congress upon the existing re-classification Commission be so extended as to authorize it to investigate and make recommendations for the standardization of duties, wages, salaries, hours and

titles of Federal employees throughout the United States; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council is directed to co-operate with the National Federation of Federal Employees in procuring the extension of the duties of the Re-classification Commission described above.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 165—By Delegates E. J. Gann, C. D. Duffy, J. S. Mugavin, L. E. Swarts, National Association of Letter Carriers; Thomas F. Flaherty, National Federation of Postal Employees; E. J. Ryan, H. W. Strickland, R. E. Plymale, Railway Mail Association.

WHEREAS, In line with the recommendation of the 38th Convention of the American Federation of Labor, Congress created a Commission to investigate the subject of postal wages; and

WHEREAS, It is undeniably true that there is an imperative need for an immediate increase in wages if the efficiency of the service is to be restored and maintained, and a complete demoralization averted and the wasteful labor turnover curtailed; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 39th Convention of the American Federation of Labor instructs the Executive Council to give all possible aid to the affiliated postal organizations in presenting facts to the Joint Commission on Postal Salaries to establish permanent adequate wage standards, commensurate with the increased cost of living; therefore, be it further

RESOLVED, That pending the findings of this Commission, and in view of the pressing emergency, this Convention endorses the proposal of the affiliated postal organizations to secure from the 66th Congress a twenty-five per cent. temporary wage increase effective July 1, 1919, over and above the then existing grades.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 166—By Delegates J. W. Worthey, Salisbury, N. C., F. H. U. No. 16,395; E. G. Galloway, Tri-City Central Trades and Labor Council, Granite City, Ill.; Harry W. Fox, Pres. Wyoming Federation of Labor; Max S. Hayes, International Typographical Union; Joseph Probstle, Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers' International Union; John A. Lacey, C. L. U., Norfolk, Va.; O. L. Leonard, Memphis, Tenn. Local No. 16407, F. H. H.; Oscar Williams, Freight Handlers' Union, Local No. 16413; John Moore, Pres. Ohio F. of L.:

WHEREAS, There is a Senate Joint Resolution, No. 22 and a House Joint Resolution, No. 60, (both identical) pending before the Sixty-Sixth Congress, proposing an initiative and referendum amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of its citizens, when they so desire, to vote upon Constitutional amendments and laws; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in Convention assembled this ninth day of June, 1919, demand that the Senators and Representatives of the Sixty-Sixth Congress now assembled use their best efforts with the Judiciary Committees of the Senate and the House of Representatives to render a favorable report on such resolutions Numbers 22 and 60 and cast their votes in the affirmative upon such Resolutions when submitted; be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor are hereby instructed to appear before the Judiciary Committees of the Senate and the House of Representatives, in Washington, D. C., in advocacy of such resolutions; be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of these Resolutions be mailed to the Vice-President of the United States and each Senator and Representative of the Sixty-Sixth Congress.

S. J. RES. 22.—In the Senate of the United States, May 28, 1919. Mr. Pomerene (by request) introduced the following joint resolution; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary: Proposing an initiative and referendum amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of its citizens, when they so desire, to vote upon constitutional amendments and laws.

RESOLVED, By the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of such legislatures, shall be valid as part of such Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE —

"Section 1.—That upon the submission to the Secretary of State, of the Department of State, at Washington, District of Columbia, of a petition signed by five hundred thousand bona fide voters of the United States, duly certified, praying for a proposed constitutional amendment or law, it shall be mandatory upon him to submit such proposed amendment or law at the next regular congressional election, providing such petition has been filed with him sixty days prior to such election, at which time he shall notify the executive of each State to that effect; and that upon the presentation of a petition signed by one million bona fide voters, duly certified, he shall submit such proposed amendment or law at a special election to be called by the executive of each State after being notified by the Secretary of State, of the Department of State, to that effect, for that express purpose, within sixty days after the presentation of such petition, and that if a majority of the people voting upon such amendment or law submitted at such regular congressional or special election shall vote in the affirmative, such proposed amendment or law shall become effective upon the proclamation of the Secretary of State; and the Secretary of State shall make such proclamation as soon as he receives the certified votes from the executives of the various States.

"Section 2.—That when such petition or petitions have been certified by the citizens circulating them before some person legally

competent and authorized to administer oaths under the laws of the various States and Territories they shall be deemed valid by both the executive of each State and the Secretary of State.

"Section 3.—That any fraud committed in any manner whatsoever in circulating the petitions herein mentioned shall be prosecuted and punished under the laws of the State in which the fraud has been committed.

"Section 4.—That all amendments and laws submitted under this amendment shall be placed upon a separate ballot and marked Federal amendment or law, and such ballots shall be preserved for the period of six months, and for a longer period if directed by the Secretary of State, of the Department of State, after the general or special election has been held, so that in case of alleged fraud such ballots may be submitted in evidence.

"Section 5.—That the Congress shall have power to carry into effect by appropriate legislation any constitutional amendment adopted by the people in the manner aforesaid."

H. J. RES. 60.—In the House of Representatives, May 24, 1919. Mr. Emerson introduced the following joint resolution; which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary and ordered to be printed. Proposing an initiative and referendum amendment to the Constitution of the United States, extending the right of its citizens when they so desire to vote upon constitutional amendments and laws.

RESOLVED, By the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which when ratified by three-fourths of such legislatures, shall be valid as part of such Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE —

"Section 1.—That upon the submission to the Secretary of the Department of State, at Washington, District of Columbia, of a petition signed by five hundred thousand bona fide voters of the United States, duly certified, praying for a proposed constitutional amendment or law, it shall be mandatory upon him to submit such proposed amendment or law at the next regular congressional election, providing such petition has been filed with him sixty days prior to such election, at which time he shall notify the executive of each State to that effect, and that upon the presentation of a petition signed by one million bona fide voters, duly certified, he shall submit such proposed amendment or law at a special election to be called by the executive of each State after being notified by the Secretary of State, of the Department of State, to that effect for that express purpose, within sixty days after the presentation of such petition, and that if a majority of the people voting upon such amendment or law submitted at such regular congressional or special election shall vote in the affirmative such proposed amendment or law shall become effective upon the proclamation of the Secretary of State; and the Secretary of State shall make such proclamation as soon as he receives the certified votes from the executive of the various States.

"Section 2.—That when such petition or petitions have been certified by the citizens circulating them before some person legally competent and authorized to administer oaths under the laws of the various States and Territories they shall be deemed valid by both the executive of each State and the Secretary of State.

"Section 3.—That any fraud committed in any manner whatsoever, in circulating the petitions herein mentioned, shall be prosecuted and punished under the laws of the State in which the fraud has been committed.

"Section 4.—That all amendments and laws submitted under this amendment shall be placed upon a separate ballot and marked 'Federal amendment or law,' and such ballots shall be preserved for the period of six months, and for a longer period if directed by the Secretary of State, of the Department of State, after the general or special election has been held, so that in case of alleged fraud such ballots may be submitted in evidence.

"Section 5.—That the Congress shall have power to carry into effect by appropriate legislation any constitutional amendment adopted by the people in the manner aforesaid."

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 167—By Luther C. Steward, William E. Junker, Martin J. Leonard, Florence Etheridge, National Federation of Federal Employees :

WHEREAS, The prohibition of night work for women in industry has been generally urged on the ground that such work encourages immorality among them; and

WHEREAS, One of the principal considerations stated in support of a bill recently passed in New York State abolishing night work for women was that such work tends to render them immoral; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That, protesting that all unnecessary night work for either men or women is harmful in many respects, we yet declare that any distinction as to night work between the working woman and the working man placed upon the ground stated above is an unwarranted discrimination against and reflects upon her sex; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is directed to make such public criticism of the imputations described above as may in its opinion be best calculated to discourage them.

Referred to Committee on Shorter Work Day.

Resolution No. 168—By Delegate Duncan McDonald, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The present bloody War has torn asunder former relations and fellowship of Labor Unions and kindred Organizations; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Illinois State Federation of Labor, in Annual Convention Assembled, fraternally requests all International Unions and kindred Organizations to call an International Congress of Labor immediately after conclusion of peace, for the purpose of consulting and advising each other with a view to Organizing Labor of the

Entire World on an International Basis; be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the Labor Press and to all National and International Labor Unions.

Secretary Van Horn : Your committee recommends non-concurrence, but advises that this resolution be taken to the American Federation of Labor.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 169—By Delegates John Moore, Ohio Federation of Labor; Max S. Hayes, International Typographical Union; John A. Lacey, Norfolk, Va., Central Labor Union; J. W. Worthey, Salisbury, N. O., Federal Union No. 16395; Oscar Williams, Freight Handlers' Local No. 16473; O. L. Gernary, Memphis, Tenn., Local No. 16407; E. G. Galloway, Tri-City Central Trades & Labor Council, Granite City, Ill.

WHEREAS, There is a bill No. 1473 pending before the Sixty-Sixth Congress, namely: To provide for public improvements, needs, and employment of discharged soldiers, unemployed and other citizens of the United States; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled this tenth day of June, 1919, demand that the Senators and Representatives of the Sixty-Sixth Congress now assembled, use their best efforts with the Banking and Currency Committee of the House of Representatives of the Sixty-sixth Congress, to render a favorable report on such Bill 1473 and cast their votes in the affirmative upon such Bill when submitted; be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this Resolution be mailed to the President and Vice-President of the United States and each Senator and Representative of the Sixty-Sixth Congress:

Sixty-Sixth Congress, 1st Session. H. R. 1473. In the House of Representatives, May 21, 1919. Mr. Sherwood (by request) introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency and ordered to be printed.

A BILL

To provide for public improvements, needs, and employment of discharged soldiers, unemployed, and other citizens of the United States.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That whenever any State, Territory, county, township, municipality, or incorporated town or village deem it necessary to make any public improvement or for its needs, it shall deposit with the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States a non-interest bearing twenty-five year bond, not to exceed one-half of the assessed valuation of the property in such State, Territory, township, municipality, or incorporated town or village, and such community depositing its bond in accordance with this act shall be required to return the principal of such bond in legal tender Treasury notes at the rate of 4 per centum per annum until such bond is paid in full.

Section 2. That whenever the foregoing section of this act has been complied with it shall be mandatory upon the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States to have engraved and printed Treasury notes in the denominations of \$1, \$2, \$5, \$10, \$20, \$25, \$50, \$100, and \$500 each, which shall be a full legal tender for all debts, public and private, to the face value of such bond, and deliver to such State, Territory, county, township, municipality, or incorporated town or village 99 per centum of such notes, and retain 1 per centum for expense of engraving and printing the same.

Section 3. That after the passage of this act it shall be compulsory upon every State, Territory, county, township, municipality, or incorporated town or village to give employment to any idle discharged soldier, unemployed, and other citizens applying for such work, and that the rate be not less than 40 cents per hour for common labor and 80 cents per hour for team and labor, and that eight hours per day shall constitute a day's labor under the provisions of this act.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Resolution No. 170—By Delegate R. E. Oden, of the International Association of Fire Fighters :

WHEREAS, The Fire Fighters of Cincinnati, Ohio, in seeking relief have affiliated themselves with the International Association of Fire Fighters. The city officials of Cincinnati, Ohio, in order to discourage this affiliation have dismissed the Fire Fighters of Cincinnati, Ohio, thereby placing in danger important property in that city; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled extends to the Cincinnati Fire Fighters its moral support of organized labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor further assist the Cincinnati Fire Fighters by co-operating with the International Association of Fire Fighters in placing a paid organizer in Cincinnati, Ohio, for the reason that the funds of the International Association of Fire Fighters have been practically exhausted in standing by 110 locked out fire fighters, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be empowered to render such further assistance as in their judgment is deemed necessary to remedy the situation in Cincinnati, Ohio.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 171—By Delegates Matthew Woll, Peter J. Brady.

WHEREAS, The war so happily ended has required our people to develop thrift and saving which to some degree has stimulated freedom of action and independence on the part of some wage-earners; and

WHEREAS, it is essential to stimulate thrift and saving in time of peace as in time of war, and

WHEREAS, the inauguration of the national system of war savings and thrift stamps has afforded to some of small earnings a safe, sound and guaranteed method of Government investment of their hard-earned savings; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention approves of the continuation and extension of the war savings and thrift stamp institution as a necessary peace-time institution, or the substitution of a national savings institution akin in character and method, which will prove helpful to safeguard the earnings of the toiling masses of our country.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 172—By Delegates C. W. Grow, Wm. Schoenberg, H. W. Brown, John J. Connelly, of the International Association of machinists.

WHEREAS, The necessity of a shorter work day and a shorter work week is most essential to the full economic life and welfare of the workers; and

WHEREAS, The securing of the shorter work day and week can only be accomplished by and through the proper co-ordination of all the elements of Organized Labor of this Country, affiliated with the A. F. of L., and

WHEREAS, The only practical method of inaugurating such shorter hours of toil in all American industry where it has not as yet been established, is by inaugurating a campaign under the direct supervision of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. in conjunction with the Presidents of all affiliated National and International Organizations, and

WHEREAS, This campaign should begin immediately following the adjournment of this Convention; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. is hereby authorized and instructed to call a conference at an early date in the City of Chicago. The Delegates to be composed of the Presidents of all affiliated National and International Organizations; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this conference is directed to take up the shorter work day, to consist of not more than eight hours for the first five days of the week and not to exceed four hours on Saturday.

RESOLVED, That this conference shall exert its full influence and power to establish within the shortest possible time, the intents and purposes as set forth in this Resolution.

Referred to Committee on Shorter Work Day.

Resolution No. 173—By Delegate G. W. Perkins :

WHEREAS, Senator Blair, one of the earliest men in political public life to manifest his sympathy for the workers and to incorporate it into a helpful action introduced and had passed in the U. S. Senate a resolution authorizing and directing the Committee on Labor and Education to make an investigation of economic and industrial conditions; and

WHEREAS, The report made by this committee was never fully published and the four volumes that were published are now out of print; and

WHEREAS, This report and the interesting facts set forth therein make a valuable contribution to the history and industrial condition at that time; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 39th Convention of the A. F. of L. herewith petition the U. S.

Senate to order a reprint of this report and such other papers, documents and memorandum now in the possession of Senate custodians or ex-Senator Blair.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 174—By Delegates E. J. Gairnor, J. T. Mugavin, C. D. Duffy, L. E. Swarts, National Association of Letter Carriers; Thos. F. Flaherty, National Federation of Federal Employees; E. J. Ryan, H. W. Strickland, R. E. Plymale, Railway Mail Association; Luther C. Steward, National Federation of Federal Employees.

WHEREAS, Because of inadequate wage standards in the Federal Civil Service, the efficiency of Governmental institutions is being seriously impaired, with resultant economic loss to the people; and

WHEREAS, It is becoming increasingly difficult to secure and hold competent employees through regular civil service channels, by reason of these low wage standards and working conditions; and

WHEREAS, While deploring the existence of this condition in Governmental employment, the American Federation of Labor also notes with approval the appointment of Congressional commissions to investigate salaries and working conditions of Government employees; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 39th Convention of the American Federation of Labor instructs the Executive Council to co-operate with the representatives of affiliated organizations of the Federal civil service employees in securing the upward revision of salaries, with resulting benefits to the service and employees.

Referred to Committee on State Organizations.

Resolution No. 175—By Delegate Wm. T. Griffith, El Paso, Texas, Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, It has come to our attention that carpenter work and other craft, employed by the constructing quartermaster department of the U. S. Army at Fort Bliss, Texas, or new quarters for soldiers and other work at that place, is being paid at a rate below the scale fixed by the War Labor Board as a just and equitable basis for Government work in this district; and

WHEREAS, The men doing this work are chiefly not only un-American in their ways, and non-union, but also aliens, owing their allegiance to another country, and have as a class on numerous occasions proven themselves unfriendly to the United States; and

WHEREAS, It has been the practice of the Quartermaster Construction Corps to transport, free of charge, these aliens to and from their place of work to the international bridge between El Paso, Texas, and Juarez, Mexico, in motor trucks of the U. S. Army driven by U. S. soldiers; and

WHEREAS, These aliens living for the most part in Juarez and Agua Prieta, Mexico, do not spend their salaries earned in America and on American work in this country, but on the other hand spend the same in Mexico with Mexican merchants; and

WHEREAS, These aliens are employed obviously in preference to discharged American soldiers; be it

RESOLVED, That we, first, as American citizens who have at all times upheld our Government in its course and have contributed to the support of its policies even when such action sometimes caused self-denial and hardship; and second, as men of labor who believe in a just and equitable arrangement of all labor to Americans, and who have accepted and do abide by the fixed scale of wages as adopted by the War Labor Board, do most earnestly protest against such procedure; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we do urge the necessity of employing red-blooded American citizens, and the justice of giving this work to men who are citizens of the United States, whose every interest is identical with the interests of America, and that their salaries be in accordance with the accepted scale, and especially do we urge the employment of discharged American soldiers, many of whom have given evidence of their true Americanism in a furnace that proved their worth as men, where the dawn-lit hills of France were red with the flaming blaze of Hell; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we condemn this policy on the part of the Construction Quartermaster Corps of the United States Army in this city as unwise, un-American and unjust, and we earnestly protest that its continuance will work a most serious detriment to American labor; be it further

RESOLVED, That the El Paso Central Labor Union hereby instructs its delegate to the National Convention of the American Federation of Labor to request that body to go on record as protesting the action of the constructing quartermaster at Fort Bliss, Texas, and at all other places where construction work is now, or may in the future be done by the United States Government against the practice of employing aliens on any work for the Government of the United States under any conditions.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Resolution No. 176—By Delegates Luther C. Steward, William E. Junker, Martin J. Leonard, Florence Etheridge, National Federation of Federal Employees.

WHEREAS, United States Immigration and Customs inspectors along the Canadian border are required to work from 12 to 14 hours a day for 7 days in the week; and

WHEREAS, These employees are grossly underpaid, the immigrant inspectors receiving an average of \$4.00 and customs inspectors \$3.50 per day; be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled demand that these overworked and underpaid workers have their compensation increased and their hours of labor shortened to not more than 8 hours per day and one day of rest in seven; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be directed to co-operate with the National Federation of Federal Employees in securing necessary legislation from Congress in procuring an 8-hour day and a minimum wage of \$5.00 per diem for these employees.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 177—By Delegate Urban Fleming, International Spinners' Union.

WHEREAS, The Convention of the American Federation of Labor at Buffalo and St. Paul adopted resolutions, etc., proposing an amalgamation of textile unions, with the hope and purpose of bringing all the national and local textile unions into one harmonious organization; and

WHEREAS, There appears to be no possibility of bringing about such a result upon the basis proposed by the representatives of the United Textile Workers of America, or of the Committee of the A. F. of L., because of their failure to take into consideration all the factors entering into such a proposition as the entire and unified amalgamation of all existing organizations; and

WHEREAS, There are now outside the fold of the United Textile Workers such national organizations as the Woolsorters and Graders, Loomfixers, Weavers, Full-fashioned Hosiery Workers, Lace Operatives, Carders, Spinners and Slaughter Tenders; and

WHEREAS, The membership of these organizations is about 40,000, and who under present conditions refuse to sacrifice their national entities and affiliate with the U. T. W. as local unions; and

WHEREAS, There are some 900,000 unorganized textile workers in this country that should be organized but whom it is impossible to bring into the organized labor movement as at present proposed by the U. T. W.; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention approve the real amalgamation of the above-mentioned national unions, and the organizing of the unorganized; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. within sixty (60) days after the adjournment of this convention, or as soon thereafter as possible, shall call for a convention of representatives of these various organizations with the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. for the purpose of securing their assent to amalgamation into an international federation of textile workers, providing for the craft autonomy of each, their craft affiliation with the A. F. of L., and their harmonious and successful prosecution of an organizing campaign; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the conclusions reached by this convention shall be reported back to the next convention of each organization represented and that the representative or representatives of said organizations shall urge its acceptance by their conventions.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Resolution No. 178—By Delegates M. Snellings, H. M. Comerford, A. Peterson, and E. L. Edgerton, International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers.

WHEREAS, At the St. Paul convention of the American Federation of Labor, the oil well workers presented an application for a charter which was protested against by several international organizations; and

WHEREAS, After numerous conferences between representatives of the protesting organizations and the oil well workers, the oil well workers presented a signed agree-

ment agreeing to take no person into their organization coming under the jurisdiction of any organization now chartered by the American Federation of Labor, whereupon the protests were withdrawn; and

WHEREAS, The oil well workers are now taking in and claiming jurisdiction over engineers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention instruct the oil well workers to cease taking in these engineers and transfer those already taken in into the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That in the event of their refusal to comply and cease their encroachments on the jurisdictional rights of other international unions, the Executive Council stand instructed to suspend their charter until such time as they do comply with the order of this convention and agree to live up to their signed agreement with the international unions.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Resolution No. 179—By Delegates Luther C. Stewart, William E. Junker, Martin J. Leonard, Florence Etheridge, National Federation of Federal Employees.

WHEREAS, The practice has grown up during the war of using men and women enlisted in the military and naval service of the United States in civilian positions; and

WHEREAS, This practice is being continued now that the war emergency is over, with the result of introducing military standards into employment purely civilian in character; therefore, be it

RESOLVED By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled that temporary expedients of this nature necessary in time of war become a menace to shopstandards if continued in time of peace and that the civilian employment by the Government of men and women enlisted in the military service be discontinued upon the signing of the Peace Treaty.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 180—By Delegates A. O. Wharton, International Association of Machinists; James P. Noonan, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; John J. Hynes, Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance; J. W. Kline, International Blacksmiths' and Helpers'; Louis Weyand, International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers; S. E. Heberling, Switchmen's Union; Martin F. Ryan, A. E. Barker, United Brotherhood Maintenance of Way and Railroad Shop Laborers; J. J. Forrester, Brotherhood of Railway Clerks; E. J. Manion.

WHEREAS, There is now pending before the American people and their representatives in Congress the political solution of the railway problem; and

WHEREAS, Every human and industrial activity, the life of every community, and the happiness and the prosperity of every citizen are dependent upon the solution of this problem, and

WHEREAS, It is demanded by the private owners of these properties as the condition on which they will resume the control and operation thereof, that the people of America guarantee them privileges which they have not heretofore enjoyed, to wit, the right to earn a guaranteed return on the property investment account of the railway companies; and

WHEREAS, Such a guarantee would make valid as a direct obligation of the people of the United States all fictitious securities, stocks, dividends and discounted bonds, issued by the railroads without consideration and representing no service to the American people; and

WHEREAS, In order to make good such guarantee, rates must be raised far in excess of the level now fixed, or, in default of such increase in rates, wages must be reduced far below the level now fixed, or both; and

WHEREAS, There has been presented to the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce, and will shortly be introduced in Congress the plan for a reorganization of this industry originating with the railway employees; and

WHEREAS, Labor's plan so presented provides for immediate public ownership of these properties, the protection of every honest dollar actually invested, and the assurance of an adequate return on such investment without any increase in rates; and

WHEREAS, Labor's plan provides for joint control of the industry through a Board or Directors representing equally the wage-earner, management, and the public; and

WHEREAS, Said plan guarantees to the public the protection of its interests in procuring ultimately service at cost, and at the same time secure to the wage earner a fair share of the profits produced by his skill, efficiency and economy; and

WHEREAS, Labor's plan provides for the full protection of all the rights and privileges of the wage earners as a class without invading the rights of any other classes of society, and at the same time throws wide the golden gate of opportunity for the full development of the powers of initiative, inherent to every individual; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED by this Thirty-ninth Convention of the American Federation of Labor that we hereby approve, endorse and adopt the plan for the re-organization of the railway industry, presented to the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce on behalf of the Railroad Employees represented by the following organizations: International Association of Machinists, Brotherhood or Locomotive Engineers, Brotherhood Railway Carmen of America, International Brotherhood Blacksmiths and Helpers, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Brotherhood Railroad Trainmen, Switchmen's Union of North America, Brotherhood Railway Clerks, Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance, Order Railroad Conductors, Order Railroad Telegraphers, United Brotherhood Maintenance of Way and Railroad Shop Laborers, International Brotherhood Boilermakers, Iron Shipbuilders and Helpers of America, by A. B. Garretson, Grand Chief

of the Order Railroad Conductors and Glenn E. Plumb, their counsel; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we hereby pledge ourselves to use every legitimate endeavor to promote the enactment of this plan into law.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 181—By J. W. Hays, of the International Typographical Union.

Amend present laws so as to change the salary of the treasurer from \$500.00 to \$1500.00, same to become effective July 1, 1919.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Resolution No. 182—By Delegate Duncan McDonald, of the Illinois Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, It has come to the time that we think that there should be something done to check the outrageous grafters and profiteers that are existing, where the laborers get a twenty per cent. increase on wages we have to pay from fifty per cent. to one hundred and fifty per cent. increase for our necessities of life; and

WHEREAS, As an organized body of union people, we can and should help our Government stop all that is an enemy to us and our country. Our country is at war and has called every man, woman and child to do their bit, and we must answer the call; everyone must be patriotic and do all we can to whip our enemy, and to crush Prussian militarism out of existence, and establish democracy; and

WHEREAS, We have enemies here, as well as "over there," and it is our duty to enact laws to force those grafters and profiteers to be law-abiding citizens; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we ask that the Legislative Committee draw up a form and introduce it to Congress as a bill, to govern all prices and profits, throughout the country, or as far as possible. First, that all shoes, clothes and factory made garments, all canned goods, packages, bundles, boxes and crates, and all articles that are put up at factories or shops, shall bear factory and shop prices; second, that all dealers, before it reaches the consumer, shall have a license to handle same, and that there be a profit set for the wholesaler and retailer, and that the wholesaler shall be forced to sell to the consumer the same as to the retailer, and that to violate these orders, the same shall have his license revoked with fine and imprisonment.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 183—By Delegates Matthew Woll and Peter J. Brady.

WHEREAS, The national war indebtedness of our country is of a magnitude requiring the raising annually of large sums of money in taxes; and

WHEREAS, The tendency is to constantly increase the number and scope of Governmental activities entailing increasing expenditures of public moneys; and

WHEREAS, The liquidation of the national indebtedness of a problem which vitally affects the life and welfare not alone of this generation, but of generations yet unborn; and

WHEREAS, It is essential that the financial systems of our national Government be placed on a sound basis and that its obligations of operation shall be regulated and controlled by sound principles; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention requires its approval of the principle of a Federal budget system to efficiently administer the financial affairs of our Government, and that the incoming Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be authorized and directed to investigate the Federal budget systems proposed and to approve and support that budget system, which in its judgment, is best designed and devised to safeguard the interests of the workers and all our people, and calculated to minimize our national expenditures without interfering or retarding the legitimate and helpful activities of our national Government.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 184—By Delegates Luther C. Steward, William E. Junker, Martin J. Leonard, Florence Etheridge, National Federation of Federal Employees.

WHEREAS, Under the present system of conducting the Federal Service thousands of low-paid employees are outside the classification laws and are consequently subject to dismissal upon any change of administration; and

WHEREAS, This system is equally unjust to the supervisory officers of the United States service in that most positions which are executive in character, yet subordinate in rank, such as assistant secretaries of departments and assistant bureau heads, are outside the classified service, and for that reason political in character, so that individuals occupying them are invariably required to resign with every change of administration, to the detriment of departmental work and the discouragement of capable executives from undertaking the Government service as a career; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the civil service should be so extended as to guarantee to all officials and employees of a rank lower than cabinet officers, permanent tenure during efficient service; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States, the Chairman of the Reclassification Commission.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 185—By Delegates Matthew Woll, Peter J. Brady, International Photo Engravers' Union; Marsden G. Scott, T. W. McCullough, William Young, John W. Hays, International Typographical Union; George L. Berry, International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union; Charles Sumner, International Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union; Walter M. Reddick, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders.

WHEREAS, The United States Postal Service was created and designed to perform a great public service and promote the public good and was not intended as a money-

making institution or profit-making venture; and

WHEREAS, Under the mad administration of Postmaster General Burleson, these original and helpful purposes of our postal service have been perverted by a mad desire to subordinate public service, humane treatment of employees, and a just, fair and indiscriminatory charge for the delivery of second-class mail to the realization of a profit-showing ledger sheet; and

WHEREAS, A demoralized condition exists in our postal service under which efficient operation and high degree of service to the public are well nigh impossible; and

WHEREAS, The treatment accorded employees of the service is archaic and despotic, unwaveringly imperialistic and Prussianistic, and in complete opposition to the ideals, hopes and aspirations represented by America; and

WHEREAS, The postal zone system of rates on second-class mail is unjust and un-American and is but a contemptuous overthrow of the sound postal principles established by President Lincoln that the postal service is an educational and social function of vast benefit to our entire nation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor again expresses its disapproval of the zone-rate method of charging for the delivery of second-class mail and it petitions Congress to annul this obnoxious legislation enacted under pretense of a war revenue measure and that it request a thorough investigation of the entire postal service and postal rates, and that pending such investigation that all former rates be re-established; therefore, be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention petition the President of these United States in the interests of the many thousands of public employees and in the interest of the public dependent on an efficient postal service to select as a new postmaster general a man sympathetic to the original intent and purposes of this great service and one who is in harmony with the newer concepts of the rights of labor and the rights of a free people so eloquently expressed by the President on so many occasions.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 186—By Delegate Duncan McDonald, of the Illinois Federation of Labor.

Substitute for Resolution No. 43, submitted by Delegates and Members of Federal Union No. 15984, Streator, Illinois:

WHEREAS, Members of Federal Labor Union No. 15984, located at Streator, Ill., are engaged in the industry of manufacturing wire glass; and

WHEREAS, The above-named union has a wage agreement with The Western Glass Company, of Streator, Ill., who are compelled to place their product in the open market in competition with concerns in the same industry, whose workers are compelled to work under deplorable conditions, longer hours, and less pay than Federal Labor Union No. 15984 is now receiving for the same class of work; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegate from this body of the A. F. of L. Convention be instructed to introduce resolution whereby action may be taken to organize the work-

ers in this particular industry, so all concerns may be placed upon an equal basis of competition.

Referred to Committee on Organisation.

Resolution No. 187—Delegate Harry W. Fox, Wyoming Federation of Labor.

Be it resolved by the American Federation of Labor in Thirty-ninth Annual Convention assembled that we recognize the valiant services to the labor movement by the various local and state central bodies; that we deem their continued existence and operation as important to the welfare of the union movement; that we deprecate the indifference and antagonism on the part of local unions that withhold their affiliation from such central bodies chartered by this Federation; a spirit that is alike destructive of our movement and its usefulness and again urge national and international unions to instruct their subordinate locals to effect an affiliation with their respective local and state central bodies where such exist and operate under a charter from the American Federation of Labor.

That it is the sense of this convention that where central bodies or departments have been chartered it is the duty of all eligible organisations to affiliate themselves with these to the end that the best interests of the union movement be conserved.

Referred to Committee on State Bodies.

Resolution No. 188—By Delegates Edgar S. Hurley, Alameda, Cal., Central Labor Council; C. F. Grow, International Association of Machinists; William Schoenberg, Machinists; H. W. Brown, International Association of Machinists; Julius Deutelbaum, Detroit Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Thirty-eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor at St. Paul reiterated its sentiment in favor of new trials for Thomas J. Mooney and Warren K. Billings, and instructed the executive officers to forward our request to the President of the United States and to the Governor of California; and

WHEREAS, Since our last convention the Governor of California has commuted Mooney's death sentence to life imprisonment, an act which in itself is strong evidence that Mooney has been a victim of perjury as claimed by the defense; and

WHEREAS, The demand for a new trial has found supporters in the trial judge, the attorney general of California, the President's Federal Mediation Commission, the Secretary of Labor, the President of the United States and millions of workers throughout the country, but still new trials are denied the defense; and

WHEREAS, The delegates to this convention are firmly convinced that a great injustice has been done to Thomas J. Mooney and Warren K. Billings; now therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention authorize and direct the incoming Executive Council to appoint a special committee whose duty it shall be to proceed to Washington D. C., after the adjournment of this convention and lay the entire Mooney case before the Federal authorities with the request that they find some legal way either

by Federal intervention or otherwise to right this wrong; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed and empowered to request the international unions affiliated with this Federation to submit to their membership a referendum vote for a 24-hour general protest strike immediately after Labor Day in the event that Thomas J. Mooney and Warren K. Billings shall be definitely denied a new and fair trial.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 189—By Delegate James A. Duncan. By instructions of the Seattle Central Labor Council.

WHEREAS, The workers of Russia are endeavoring to establish in their country a government of, by, and for the workers; and

WHEREAS, We find the capitalists of the whole world seeking to annul their efforts by every conceivable, underhanded method known to them, such as starving the people of Russia to a blockade, intervention by Japanese, our allies, and U. S. troops without the consent of Congress, and assisting financially the counter-revolutionists of the old Czar regime; all of which methods are out of harmony with justice, progress, civilization and democracy; and

WHEREAS, We believe the workers of America have the power to prevent the capitalists of the United States from carrying out their part in the plan for the destruction of the new workingmen's government of Russia; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the Steam and Marine Fitters, Local Union No. 478, of Seattle, Wash., urge the Seattle Central Labor Council and the Washington State Federation of Labor to call upon Congress to immediately order the withdrawal of United States troops from Russia and give recognition to the Soviet government of Russia; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the above-named labor bodies be requested to join in calling upon the A. F. of L. at its June, 1919, convention to request all internationals affiliated to immediately prepare and send out ballots to all local unions to ascertain the sentiment of the membership upon the question of recognition by the United States Government of the Russian Soviet government; such ballot to contain nothing pertaining to the subject except the plain question—

"Are you in favor of the United States Government giving recognition to the Russian Soviet government?"

With the usual provision for noting the expression, the result of such referendum to serve as a guide to the conduct of all labor officials and unionists generally regarding this question.

Respectfully submitted,

STEAM & MARINE FITTERS LOCAL
UNION, NO. 478,

JOHN YOUNG, President.
H. E. REES, Secretary.

(Seal.)

Adopted by the Central Labor Council of Seattle and vicinity at its regular meeting, May 28, 1919.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 190—By Delegate Harry W. Fox, of the Wyoming Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Secretary of Labor William B. Wilson caused to be created as a war necessity, certain bureaus or services in the Department of Labor, that have been found in peace time as well as in war; and

WHEREAS, The Appropriation Committee of the last Congress failed to recommend an appropriation to carry on the work in an effective manner, of certain of these services; to-wit, the Woman in Industry Service, and the Working Conditions Service, and so limited the appropriation for the Employment Office Service that this was first seriously crippled and threatens to suspend operation; and

WHEREAS, In our opinion the continued operation and conduct of these various services are essential to the best interests of the industrial population of this country; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in Thirty-ninth Annual Convention assembled, that we heartily endorse these various services and the splendid work performed by the Federal Department of Labor and demand that the present session of Congress enact such legislation as will make these a permanent part of the Labor Department and pass the necessary appropriations for their maintenance.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Resolution No. 191—By Delegates Edward J. Gairnor, National Association of Letter Carriers; Thomas F. Flaherty, National Federation of Postal Employees; Edward J. Ryan, Railway Mail Association.

WHEREAS, President Wilson in his message to Congress made this declaration: "The question which stands at the front of all others, in every country amidst the present great awakening is the question of labor. The object of all reform in this essential matter must be the genuine democratization of industry, based upon a full recognition of those who work, in whatever rank, to participate in some organic way in every decision which directly affects their welfare or the part they play in industry;" and

WHEREAS, Postmaster General Burleson has pursued a labor policy in direct conflict with this enunciation of principles, and in answer to President Gompers, of the American Federation of Labor, has characterized as "silly" the right of collective bargaining.

WHEREAS, Mr. Burleson has ruthlessly invaded the rights of the employees and has interfered in defiance of law with the proper functioning of their organizations; and has not only refused to recognize the accredited representatives, but has also sought to have repealed the employees' constitutional right of direct petition to Congress,

WHEREAS, This labor policy—a policy fastened upon every governmental agency under Burleson's supervision—is in utter defiance of the wishes of the people and in complete opposition to the expressed words of President Wilson; and

WHEREAS, Burleson's archaic and autocratic attitude has resulted in a demoralized

service, discontented and resentful employees, confused and choked industrial processes, and a people wrathful and indignant at a long series of administrative blunders; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, speaking directly for four million organized wage-earners and firm in the belief that this reflects the sentiments of the vast majority of the American people, request President Wilson to remove Postmaster General Burleson from office.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 192—By Delegate Patrick J. Cahillanne, of the City Employees Local, No. 15,951.

WHEREAS, Political democracy is essential to human progress and the civilized nations of the world, have just concluded the most terrific struggle in all history in order that democracy might become universal; and

WHEREAS, Those nations after having beaten the armed hordes of autocracy are to form a League of Nations which is to be founded on the basis of allowing each of the peoples of the world the right of self determination and to guarantee to those smaller nations immunity from attack at the hands of any other nation; and

WHEREAS, There can never be real democracy so long as one group of people are held under the control of another nation against their will and so long as this condition obtains with regard to one of our allies without protest from us, our declarations for democracy are a snare and delusion; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that we renew our declarations that all people shall be free to determine for themselves the government under which they shall exist; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we place ourselves on record as favoring self-determination for Ireland and urge to this end that Great Britain renounce her control over these subject people and allow them to work out their own destinies; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we pledge our unfaltering support to the Irish people in their struggle for freedom from the control of Great Britain.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 193—By Harry W. Fox, Wyoming Federation of Labor

WHEREAS, Certain employing interests have resorted to the importation of Mexican laborers in an effort to beat down wage standards in sugar beet raising States; and

WHEREAS, These laborers are being encouraged to accept employment in different lines of effort, to the detriment of labor standards and with the avowed intention of breaking down these certain established wages that have obtained as a result of the war; and

WHEREAS, This practice is detrimental to the best interests of the nation and can only result in hardship to American workers in this and other callings; be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in Thirty-ninth Annual Convention assembled, that we condemn this practice and urge upon the immigration officials that the closest watch be maintained over the granting of permits for the importation of alien laborers to the end that the interests of American laborers be safeguarded.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Resolution No. 194—By Delegates A. R. Linn, George Bechtold, International Brotherhood of Foundry Employees.

WHEREAS, Splendid results have been attained during the past year by general and local organizers of the American Federation of Labor, in organizing and instituting federal trades and labor unions, and notwithstanding these splendid results, considerable difficulty has been encountered by some of the internationals, due to the existing rate of initiation fee and dues, now provided for these federal trade and labor unions, in the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That Article 13, Section 12, of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor be amended by striking out the words "sixty cents per month" and in lieu thereof inserting "one dollar per month" and, be it further

RESOLVED, That Section 14 of the same article be amended by striking out the word "one dollar" and in lieu thereof inserting "two dollars."

Referred to the Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 195—By Delegate James A. Duncan, by instructions of the Seattle Central Labor Council.

WHEREAS, To the deep regret of the workers of the State of Washington, President has recommended the repeal of the national dry law, which is to go into effect on July 1; and

WHEREAS, Several thousand workers represented in this body have been, like President Samuel Gompers, of the American Federation of Labor, anti-prohibitionists for forty years, but, unlike Mr. Gompers, have had their minds changed by first knowledge of the beneficial results of dry laws; and

WHEREAS, We believe it is practically the unanimous view of the workers of Washington that the right to manufacture and sell booze is neither worth fighting for nor worth having when won; and

WHEREAS, Prohibition in the State of Washington has raised the standard of living by diverting a large percentage of wages formerly wasted in drink to the purchase of better food, better clothing and better shelter, giving the workers additional fighting power in the struggle with employers for the full product of their toil, and has cleared the brains of the workers to meet the problems which confront them; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That after four years of experience with prohibition, the Central Labor Council of Seattle and vicinity is convinced that the best interests of labor will be conserved by the prohibition of the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors; that we protest against the repeal of the national

dry law, and urge organized labor in all its branches to aid in its enforcement; and, further, be it

RESOLVED, That this Council's delegate to the A. F. of L. convention be instructed to introduce this resolution and urge its adoption.

Adopted by the Central Labor Council of Seattle and vicinity, May 28, 1919.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 196—By Delegate James A. Duncan, Seattle Central Labor Council.

WHEREAS, The efforts of certain Hindoos to gain for millions of their fellow countrymen a greater measure of freedom and democracy has resulted in a number of these people being compelled to serve prison terms in this country; and

WHEREAS, Some of these men, now in danger of deportation with the likelihood of execution facing them upon arrival in their own land have appealed to various branches of the American labor movement for aid in their plight, believing us to be their friends, and which appeal should not fall upon deaf ears; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor enter a vigorous protest to the United States Departments of Justice and Immigration against the deportation of these men when deportation might be the equivalent of pronouncing their death sentence; and further, be it

RESOLVED, That the President of the Federation appoint a committee to investigate the exact status of these cases and render such assistance as the merits of such cases deems necessary.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 197—By Delegate Harold C. Kingsley, of the Newport, R. I., Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, As the Constitution of the United States was intended to guarantee full political rights to all citizens; and

WHEREAS, This right has in the case of Government employes been to a large extent abrogated by executive order in that all Government employes are prohibited from participating in political activities of any kind whether local, State or National; and

WHEREAS, Such Government employes are, therefore, desired the right to ask support for legislative measures and actions intended for the adjustment of any unjust condition from which they may by political action be seeking relief; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as opposed to the policy of denying Government employes the privilege of participating in political activities and; further, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor respectfully represent to the President of the United States that these executive orders be withdrawn.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 198—By Delegate T. M. Daly, New York Central Federated Union.

WHEREAS, The United States Employment Service was of very great benefit to the unemployed workers of the country for more than a year; and

WHEREAS, It brought many thousands

seeking work into contact with employers seeking labor, to the mutual advantage of both; and

WHEREAS, The Department of Labor was compelled to reduce this very necessary public service through the failure of the Senate of the United States to pass the appropriations for the continuance of the United States Employment Service; Therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor do earnestly request the present Congress to grant the appropriations asked for by the Secretary of Labor for the continuance of the Free Employment Bureau before the beginning of the next fiscal year; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of these resolutions be forwarded to the President of the United States, to the Secretary of Labor and to members of both Houses of Congress.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Resolution No. 199—By Delegate J. Mahlon Barnes, of the Cigar Makers International Union of America.

WHEREAS, Thousands of American citizens, by reason of prosecutions under the espionage act—a war time measure—are now incarcerated or under sentence, or prosecution for conscience sake, or for exercising their constitutional rights of free speech, free press or free assemblage, or for industrial activities in behalf of the working class.

WHEREAS, Public meetings are yet being broken up, speakers jailed, the press muzzled and personal letters rifled.

WHEREAS, It was claimed and popularly understood that the espionage law was adopted to protect the United States against enemies of the country and particularly against spies.

WHEREAS, These men and women are not criminals, but are victims of the alleged spy law, upon which the Supreme Court has repeatedly sidestepped a decision. A law under which no spy was ever brought to Court.

WHEREAS, Federal Judges have acquired the habit of saying ten years, twenty years or more, in many cases practically life sentences.

WHEREAS, These Court sentences upon civilians, in the aggregate, amount to about 24,000 years, more drastic than that of any modern civilized nation, and this is exclusive of the extra severe and vicious sentences imposed by military court-martial upon selective drafters, mostly religious conscientious objectors.

WHEREAS, Political prisoners in a democracy is an innovation and a tragedy, many other countries having already freed their war-time political and industrial prisoners, and that organized labor is demanding in every country the release of those yet in bondage; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we demand from the Federal authorities the re-establishment and maintenance of American political and civil rights, free speech, free press and free assemblage; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we demand the immediate release of all persons in the United States, prosecuted or now in prison for political opinions, industrial activities or religious belief.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 200—Atlantic City, N. J.,

June 10, 1919. To Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor.

Dear Sir and Brother:

On behalf of the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen, as president of that organization, I herewith appeal through you to the officers and delegates of the Thirty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled against the action of the Executive Council in suspending the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen.

This appeal is based on the grounds that the report of Committee on Executive Council's Report, of St. Paul Convention, relative to Resolution No. 54, as adopted by St. Paul Convention, did not authorize the Executive Council of A. F. of L. to suspend either organization for failure to accept the plan of amalgamation as submitted by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

I, therefore, request that this appeal be given proper consideration. Fraternally yours, International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen.

W. M. WELSH,
General President.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Resolution No. 201—By Delegates John G. Owens, Cleveland Federation of Labor, and Henry W. Raisse, Lorain Central Body. Introduced by request of the National Committee for Organizing the Iron and Steel Workers.

WHEREAS, Many steel corporations and other industrial institutions have instituted in their plants systems of collective bargaining akin to the Rockefeller plan; and

WHEREAS, Extensive experience has shown that while the employers are busily carrying on propaganda lauding these company unions to the skies as a great improvement over trade unions, they are at the same time just as actively enforcing a series of vicious practices that hamstring such organizations and render them useless to their employes. Of these practices the following are a few:

1. Unfair Elections and Representation—The first essential for the proper working of a genuine collective bargaining committee is that it be composed entirely as the organized workers may elect and altogether free from the company's influence. Only then can it be truly representative of the men and responsive to their wishes. Upon such committees, bosses, representing as they do the antagonistic interests of the company, are so much poison. Not only is it impossible for them personally to represent the men, but they also negate the influence of the real workers' delegates. Knowing this very well, the steel companies, through campaigns of intimidation and election fraud, load their company union committees with bosses, usually to the point of a majority. So hateful is this practice that, were the company unions otherwise perfect, it alone would suffice to entirely destroy their usefulness to the workers.

2. No Democratic Organization Permitted: It is common knowledge that, in order for the workers to arrive at a uniform understanding through the systematization and formulation of their grievances and demands, it is necessary for them to enjoy

and practice the rights of free speech, free assembly and free association. They must conduct an elaborate series of meetings under their own control, and generally carry on their business in a democratic, organized way. But with the company union system this is impossible. All independent organization and meetings are prohibited on pain of discharge. Consequently the workers are kept voiceless and destitute of a program. They are deliberately held down to the status of a mob. Under such circumstances, intelligent, aggressive action by them is out of the question.

3. Intimidation of Committeemen—As part of the general plan to keep their company unions from being of any possible service to their employees, it is customary for the companies to summarily discharge committeemen who dare to make a stand in behalf of the workers. The records show a multitude of such cases. Being unorganized, the men are powerless to defend their representatives. The natural consequence is that the committee soon degenerate into groups of men supinely subservient to the wishes of the company and deaf to those of the workers.

4. Expert Assistance Prohibited—When dealing with their employees in any manner, employers always thoroughly safeguard themselves by enlisting the aid of the very best brains procurable. The only way the workers can cope with this array of experts is to have the help of experienced labor leaders, but under the company union system this is impossible. All association with trade union officials is strictly prohibited. The company reserves to itself the right to expert assistance. As a result the green workers' committee, already weakened in a dozen ways is left practically helpless before the experts upon the company's side.

5. Company Union Lacks Power—In establishing wages, hours and working conditions in their plants, employers habitually use their great economic power to enforce their will. Therefore to secure just treatment, the only recourse for the workers is to develop a power equally strong and to confront their employers with it. Unless they can do this their case is hopeless. In this vital respect, the company union is a complete failure. With hardly a pretense of organization, unaffiliated with other groups of workers in the same industry, destitute of funds, and unfitted to use the strike weapon, it is totally unable to enforce its will, should it by a miracle have one favorable to the workers. Weak and helpless, all it can do is to submit to the dictation of the company. It can make no effective fight for the men.

6. Company Diverts Aim—As though the foregoing practices were not enough to thoroughly cripple the company unions, the employers make assurance doubly sure by seeing to it that their committees ignore the vital needs of the workers and confine themselves to minor and extraneous matters, such as fake safety-first movements, problems of efficiency, handing bouquets to high company officials, etc. Discussions of wages, hours and working conditions are taboo on pain of discharge for the committeeman who dares insist upon them. Thus the company unions complete their record of deceit and weakness by dodging the labor question altogether.

WHEREAS, In view of the foregoing facts, it is evident that company unions are un-

qualified to represent the interests of the workers, and that they are a delusion and a snare set up by the companies for the express purpose of deluding the workers into the belief that they have some protection and thus have no need for trade union organization; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we heartily condemn all such company unions and advise our membership to have nothing to do with them; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we demand the right to bargain collectively through the only kind of organization fitted for this purpose, the trade union, and that we stand loyally together until this right is conceded us.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 202—By Delegates E. C. Scott, Stenographers, Bookkeepers and Assistants' No. 11778, Washington, D. C.; Patrick J. Cahillane, City Employees' Local No. 15951, Harry L. Fincke, Counter Timekeeper and Clerks' No. 16599; Thos. O. Spacey, Stenographers, Bookkeeper, Typist, Office Assistants' Union No. 14491, Denver, Colo.

WHEREAS, There are approximately forty locals of office workers in various cities throughout the United States; and

WHEREAS, A large number of these locals, involving approximately 80 per cent. of the membership are petitioning for the issuance of a charter for an international organization of office workers; and

WHEREAS, The field of organization in this class of work is as large, if not larger, than that of any organization now affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, No material progress can be made without the aid of an international organization, and all organizations must start on a small scale, as is evidenced by the fact that there are now approximately thirty national and international unions with a membership of 1800 or less; and

WHEREAS, Approximately 75 per cent. of the members of the above locals are not employed in labor union offices, and it is totally inconsistent and at variance with trade union principles and policies for the officers of any labor union employing office help to put any obstacles whatsoever in the way of the advancement of fellow unionists and thus prevent the formation of an international and its subsequent undoubted growth; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled at Atlantic City, N. J., issue an international charter to the local unions throughout the United States, with the jurisdiction now assigned to these various local unions.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Resolution No. 208—By Delegate E. C. Scott, Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers & Assistants, 11778, Washington, D. C.

WHEREAS, The President and Secretary of the American Federation of Labor have rendered long and faithful service to the cause of labor and humanity, and have, by their untiring efforts, been instrumental in materially increasing and strengthening the position of the laboring classes throughout the United States; and,

WHEREAS, The salaries of the officers of

many of the affiliated organizations to the American Federation of Labor have been increased beyond that paid to the President and Secretary of the A. F. of L.; and,

WHEREAS, It is the consensus of opinion that the present salaries are not commensurate with the efforts put forth and services rendered by these officers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention authorizes the following increases in salary: The President of the American Federation of Labor salary to be increased to \$10,000 to \$12,000 per annum, effective August 1st, 1919, and the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor salary be increased to \$7,500 to \$10,000 per annum, effective August 1st, 1919, at the discretion of the delegates herein assembled.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Resolution No. 204—By Delegate E. C. Scott, Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers & Assistants, 11773, Washington, D. C.

WHEREAS, The office employees of the United States of America are among the poorest paid of all crafts, and are compelled to work longer hours than any trade; and,

WHEREAS, The cost of living has increased by leaps and bounds, making it impossible for such workers to decently support their families on the wages now paid by the various labor organizations; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention go on record as favoring the minimum wages now paid in the offices of the President of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, Washington, D. C., namely, \$30.00 per week for clerks, and \$35.00 per week for stenographers who qualify after thirty to sixty days' probation for permanent positions, and that this Convention use its good offices in having the American Federation of Labor and all affiliated national and international unions adopt these minimum wages for their office employees.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Resolution No. 205—By Delegate E. C. Scott, Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers & Assistants, 11773, Washington, D. C.

WHEREAS, There are over 500,000 unorganized office workers in the United States and Canada who are greatly in need of organization; and,

WHEREAS, The Conventions of the A. F. of L. have recognized, in the past, these conditions, as is borne out by the following resolutions: Resolution No. 22, Pittsburgh, Pa., concurred in; Resolution No. 98, St. Louis, Mo., referred to the Executive Council; Resolution No. 20, Atlanta, Ga., concurred in; Resolutions Nos. 127 and 142, Philadelphia, Pa., referred to Executive Council; Resolution No. 153, San Francisco, Cal., concurred in, providing funds of the A. F. of L. permit, and Resolution 161, Buffalo, N. Y., referred to Executive Council; and,

WHEREAS, The lack of comprehensive and systematic organization of these workers has been due to the conditions of the funds of the American Federation of Labor, as is shown by referring to the foregoing resolutions; and,

WHEREAS, The funds of the A. F. of L. as shown to this Convention by the Secretary are now in a better condition than ever before; be it, therefore,

RESOLVED, That this Convention hereby

authorizes and directs the President to instruct, or cause to be instructed, such organizers as are in his judgment best fitted to carry on an extensive campaign or organization among the office workers coming under the jurisdiction of the locals of this class of workers as are now in direct affiliation with the A. F. of L.; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the initial efforts of such organizers shall be in a city or cities, as is deemed best, where an organization of this kind already exists; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Central Labor Unions and locals of office workers in such city or cities as may be selected be notified to cooperate with such organizer or organizers to the end that the conditions of these workers may be ameliorated and their condition in the industrial field made more secure; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That if such organizer or organizers are not available, that an organizer be appointed to devote his entire time to the organization of this class of workers, and that if such appointment is made, it be preferably from the ranks of our membership.

Referred to Committee on Organisation.

Resolution No. 206—By Delegate E. C. Scott, Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers & Assistants, 11773, Washington, D. C.

WHEREAS, For the past several years there has been considerable friction and misunderstanding existing between the several organizations in the District of Columbia composed of members of the employed in commercial offices, labor offices, railway offices and government departments, due in a large measure to a similarity of work and question of classification; and,

WHEREAS, It is believed that these conditions can be satisfactorily adjusted and a more harmonious spirit prevail between these several organizations by reaching a mutual understanding as to the rights and jurisdiction of the several organizations; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in this Convention assembled create a department of the A. F. of L. to be known as the Department of Office Workers, and have affiliated with that department all locals of the Federal Employees, Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers, Railway Clerks and all organizations composed of office employees affiliated with the A. F. of L.; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor call a preliminary conference of the above-mentioned organizations for the purpose of creating this department within (90) ninety days after the adjournment of this Thirty-ninth Convention.

Referred to Committee on Organisation.

Resolution No. 207—By Delegate E. C. Scott, Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers & Assistants, 11773, Washington, D. C.

WHEREAS, For sometime past the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks has been seeking and securing for membership in that organization all office employees in the executive offices of the Southern Railway Company, Washington, D. C., notwithstanding the fact that Section 78, Constitution, for the government of lodges under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, contains the following clause: "All white persons,

male or female, of good moral character, who have had at least three months' actual experience as clerks, freight handlers, baggage-men, station helpers, switch tenders, or callers in the service of a railroad, steamship or other freight transportation company, and who, at the time of making application, are in the employ of such a company, shall be eligible to membership"; and,

WHEREAS, It is the consensus of opinion Section 78 in nowise indicates jurisdiction over stenographers, typewriters or bookkeepers; and,

WHEREAS, The charter and jurisdictional rights of Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers & Assistants' Union 11778, granted in 1904, gives autonomy to this organization over stenographers, typewriters, bookkeepers and office assistants; and,

WHEREAS, The above irrefutable facts indicate unqualifiedly a trespass by the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks upon the legitimate jurisdictional claims granted the Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers & Assistants' Union 11778; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention go on record as instructing the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks to transfer to the Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers & Assistants, 11778, within sixty days, all stenographers, typewriters and bookkeepers within the folds of that organization who are now employed in the executive offices of the Southern Railway Company, Washington, D. C.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Resolution No. 208—By Delegate Martin T. Joyce, of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

WHEREAS, The insurance agents have made many attempts to organize, to shorten their hours of labor, and better their working conditions, but every attempt has been met by wholesale discharge; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as instructing the Executive Board to take up the matter of granting the insurance agents a charter.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Resolution No. 209—By Delegate E. O. Scott, of the Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers & Assistants, 11778, Washington, D. C.

WHEREAS, The residents of the District of Columbia have for years been disenfranchised notwithstanding they have been compelled to bear all the burdens of citizenship without the enjoyment of the full rights and privileges incident thereto; and,

WHEREAS, The said residents of the District of Columbia have shown their loyalty to our country by sending their manhood to the front, as well as oversubscribing on every occasion to all loans, Red Cross, Y. M. C. A., Salvation Army and other patriotic occasions; and,

WHEREAS, A concerted movement is now in progress in the District of Columbia for its residents looking towards a constitutional amendment enfranchising the residents of the District of Columbia; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention go on record, as has been done by previous conventions, as favoring votes for voteless Wash-

ington, and that the Secretary be instructed to send a copy of this resolution to the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That every delegate to this Convention is requested to write a letter to his respective representative in both branches of Congress, urging their support to the fullest extent of any measure or bill that may be introduced or now pending in Congress having for its purpose the enfranchisement of the residents of the District of Columbia.

Referred to Committee.

Resolution No. 210—By Delegate Harry L. Spencer, of the Texas State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There are thousands of skilled mechanics and laborers engaged in the construction and repair of wooden ships in the United States; and,

WHEREAS, In order that matters of vital interest concerning those employed in wooden shipbuilding and repairing may be given adequate attention, it is deemed advisable that a department covering all these workers be created; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Texas State Federation be instructed to have this matter brought before the Thirty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, by its duly elected delegate, urging the creation of a department for those employed in the construction and repairs of wooden ships; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the creation of this department shall in nowise affect other trades departments of the A. F. of L. already in existence.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Resolution No. 211—By Delegates Luther C. Steward, W. E. Junker, Martin J. Leonard, Florence Etheridge, of the National Federation of Federal Employees.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, on this 9th day of June, 1919, is not unmindful of the revelations recently made before two committees of Congress on the control of the food interests of this country; and,

WHEREAS, This control is of great danger to the future welfare of this country, since increasing masses of people are unable by honest toil to live in health and comfort; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor support the Federal Trade Commission in its efforts to secure remedial legislation in the meat-packing industry. That the American Federation of Labor especially call the attention of Congress to the extension of the control of the meat packers over the preparation and sale of unrelated food products, which has proceeded so rapidly in recent years that the absolute control of the food of the nation is passing into the hands of the five packers while the legitimate manufacturers and distributors of food products other than meat are in danger of destruction. That copies of these resolutions be sent to all the members of the Senate and House Interstate and Foreign Commerce and Agricultural Committees.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Convention adjourned to meet Wednesday morning at 9.30.

THIRD DAY--Wednesday Morning Session

Atlantic City, N. J., June 11, 1919.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 a. m., Wednesday, June 11th, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Hay, Hayes (F. J.) Mitchell, Donahue, Fenton, Iglesias, Rutherford, Ely, Steward (R. G.), Harlin, Canfield, Mats (Edith S.), Ogletree, Kingsley, Young (O. B.), Bower, Wilkinson (A.), Ashmun, Hannon, Campbell (J. B.), Wilkinson (J.), Simpson, Enright, Cooper, Harte, Burk (H.), Brogan, Grass, McNiece, Bledow, Colvin, Setser, Bauman, Quesse, White (O. L.), Mullen, Johnson (E. D.), Shea, Elliott, Pitts, Coogan, Eklund, Jackson, Weintraub.

Secretary Morrison read the following communications:

Washington, D. C., June 9, 1919.

Samuel Gompers,

President A. F. L.

I have found it impossible to be with you this morning. Hope to be present in the convention on Friday, the 13th inst. Accept my best wishes for a successful convention.

W. B. WILSON,
Secretary of Labor.

Atlantic City, N. J., June 10, 1919.

To the Delegates of the 39th Convention of the A. F. of L.

In the dispute over claims of jurisdiction between the Painters, Railway Car Men and Carpenters, it was agreed, at a conference held between the representatives of said organizations, in Atlantic City on June 10th, 1919, that the matter be referred to the Executive Boards of the said organizations, for the purpose of reaching an agreeable and amicable understanding as soon as possible.

(Signed)

GEO. F. HEDRICK,

J. C. SKEMP,

Painters.

M. F. RYAN,

Railway Carmen.

WM. L. HUTCHESON,

FRANK DUFFY,

Carpenters.

Philadelphia, Pa., June 10, 1919.

Samuel Gompers,

President American Federation of Labor.

Steel, Pier, Atlantic City, N. J.

Greetings to the thirty-ninth convention of the American Federation of Labor. May your deliberations bring the ultimate solution of the labor problem.

WAIST AND DRESSMAKER UNION.

GARMENT WORKERS' UNION,
LOCAL 15.

PHILADELPHIA INTERNATIONAL LADIES.

The Committee on Credentials read a communication from President Hedrick

and Secretary Skemp, Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators, asking that Joseph H. Kelley be seated with their delegate in the place of A. Avans, who has been called to his home.

The committee recommended the seating of Mr. Kelley. The recommendation was concurred in.

Delegate Tracy, California State Federation of Labor, asked the privilege of the floor to deny statements made in the Philadelphia Bulletin to the effect that delegates from some of the Western States, and California in particular, had come to the convention with plans and ideas which they wished carried out, and if they were not carried out, the organizations in those states would secede from the American Federation of Labor. He denied emphatically that the California delegates had any such plan, and expressed their loyalty to the ideals and principles of the American Federation of Labor.

REPORT OF FRATERNAL DELEGATES TO BRITISH TRADES UNION CONGRESS

Delegate Bowen read the following report:

When I was elected to represent the American Federation of Labor in the British Trades Union Congress I had as my associate Brother Joseph Franklin. It was not until almost the last minute I learned that a change was to be made, that Brother Franklin could not act as delegate by reason of the position he had taken with the United States Government. President Gompers telegraphed me that he had been appointed by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to act in Brother Franklin's stead.

It was an enthusiastic little group, deeply conscious of the importance of its mission, that gathered one evening in President Gompers' hotel in response to his telegram, shortly before we sailed. There were many details to discuss, passports to be secured, little "last things" to be done in perfecting our arrangements. It was on the morning of August 11, 1918, that we finally took the initial step on our trip, our departure from New York to Hoboken. It did not prove to be a real start, however, for because of some hitch in the plans, we were put aboard a tender and brought back to the New York side to take passage on the "Missanable," a vessel which

carried us over in safety but which was tragically sunk in the Irish Sea on her return trip.

At four in the afternoon of the day of our departure we left the dock, and proceeded to Gravesend Bay, where we dropped anchor and spent the night. On awakening we found our ship surrounded by a fleet of fourteen troopships, carrying forty thousand soldiers, who had assembled during the night and who were to be conveyed across the dangerous Atlantic.

There was a thrill of adventure, yet with a menace of danger that made the smile on our lips fade for awhile into sternness, when at noon we weighed anchor and with our flotilla slowly churned our way out to sea. The aeroplanes, and dirigibles, like gigantic birds in the air, and the grim destroyers and submarine chasers steaming near us, added to the picturesqueness of the diabolic submarines at that time terrorizing the Atlantic Coast. When well out at sea that evening, long after the Statue of Liberty had faded and become lost to our vision, we were joined by two battle cruisers which accompanied us all the way across until they surrendered their guardianship to the British escort of destroyers that met us at the head of the Irish Sea.

Our first night out was insufferably oppressive. The ship carried 2800 soldiers; every room was packed to double capacity. The heat was stifling, sticky, humid and unbearable, yet it was made worse by the closing and darkening of every port hole and the boarding up of all the windows and doors, so that no slightest speck of light might betray us to the keen eyes that might be watching for us off in the darkness. The ship was one big sweat box, guaranteed air-tight, and it was with a sense of joy, when the second night the convoy steering a northern course, that we were carried into cool winds that brought refreshing new life.

Boat drills twice a day livened things up a bit, and sometimes a false alarm of a submarine gave a somewhat startling semblance of what the reality might be. But these, after all, gave a tingle and thrill, to what would otherwise have been a monotonous voyage. The members of our delegation visited every part of the ship. From stem to stern, from the bridge to the quarters of the troops, through kitchen and mess halls, we explored, down to the "stoke hole," where the fires in the great boilers were fed by our boys. These boys, fresh from the comparative ease of civil life, were putting into this drudging, tiring labor as their immediate duty, the same fine spirit of enthusiasm, devotion and thoroughness that was being shown by their brave soldier comrades on the blood-soaked soil of France.

It was a pleasure to meet these boys and to talk to them and to the members of the crew in the truest and simplest democracy in the world—life aboard a ship carrying the American flag. Many of these boys were members of various labor unions in America, proud of their "card." Speeches were made to the troops at mess and on the aft-deck of the ship, and to the warmly expressed

pleasure of officers and civilians, President Gompers responded to their invitation for an address, in his characteristically simple and effective way.

Entering the Irish Sea, every one on the ship was tense, alive and alert. We were to pass through dangerous waters; we were in the nesting place of the enemy submarines. In any direction, and at any moment, there might be a sudden rising of a periscope, and in a few minutes it might be all over—this thought filled all hearts, brave though our lips might be.

One morning, with overcast sky, clouds hanging low and threatening and a drizzling rain falling, a sudden alarming flash from a gun of one of the vessels of the escort, brought us all to our feet. There was instant tumult, off bounded a number of destroyers, firing as they raced through the heavy seas, until mist and rain shut them from our view. We did not learn whether they really got a submarine or whether it was an impromptu exhibition for the entertainment of the passengers aboard the convoy.

On reaching Liverpool, we were welcomed by the Lord Mayor, the American Consul and his attaches, a Commander of the United States Navy, officials of the British Government and railway officials. They made our brief stay in Liverpool most delightful and some of them accompanied us to London, where we were met by Hon. George N. Barnes, a member of the British Cabinet, and other labor leaders. Under their kindly care, we were taken to the Hotel Savoy, which was made our headquarters during our stay in London. Conferences were held daily preparatory to our departure for Derby to attend the British Trade and Labor Congress.

When we had any free time at our disposal we visited the American Hospital at Dartmouth, the American Embassy, the headquarters of the American army in England, and the headquarters of the American naval forces. The serious illness of Ambassador Page prevented our seeing him, for this was but a short time before his return to America and his death here, but those associated with him at the Embassy welcomed us most cordially and were zealous in their efforts to make our stay in England delightful and memorable.

Major-General Biddle, commanding the United States Army in England, and Admiral Sims, gave us a good, hearty American welcome, and Mrs. Page, despite the illness of the Ambassador, gave a luncheon in our honor, which ushered in many other luncheons and dinners, perhaps the most notable of which was one where Premier Lloyd George and the Cabinet Ministers were present. With glowing memories and cordial words, we left London on a beautiful Sunday, that showed England at her best, to attend the opening of the British Trade Union Congress at Derby. There we arrived at night and were met by a delegation of labor leaders, among whom was the Hon. J. R. Thomas, a member of Parliament, who made a graceful and gracious speech of welcome.

Derby was crowded to overflowing because of the invasion of the town by

delegates to the Congress; there was not a single room to be had in any of the hotels and it would have gone badly with us had it not been for the foresight and kindness of Mr. Webber, United States Consul at Nottingham, who came to our rescue. He presented the facts to the Lord Mayor of Derby, who courteously insisted that our party be his guests. The home of his Lordship, however, not proving to be as large as his hospitable spirit, some of us were invited into the homes of his neighbors, through his kindly initiative. The cordial, hearty, welcome, and generous attention shown us by the Lord Mayor, his beautiful, charming wife and their neighbors, will ever remain with us as a golden memory of fine English hospitality, made simple by the sincerity of its spirit.

The jubilee meeting of the British Trade Union Congress was opened at the Central Hall, Derby, England, September 2, 1918. The gathering was the largest in the history of the Trade Union movement, some 881 delegates attending as the representatives of 4,532,085 members, the previous largest convention having represented but 3,082,352 members. Mr. J. W. Ogden, president, was in the chair, supported by the Parliamentary Committee, Mr. C. W. Bowerman, M. P., General Secretary, and most of the Labor Ministers and members belonging to the Trade Union section of the Labor Party. Among the fraternal delegates were representatives from the French Confederation Generale du Travail, the Co-operative Congress, the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, and the two fraternal delegates from the American Federation of Labor, President Samuel Gompers and myself.

The Mayor, Councillor E. J. Hulise, attended the opening of the session and offered the Congress a civic welcome.

The President, in his inaugural address, congratulated the delegates on the Congress having attained its jubilee under circumstances that, in spite of difficult, disheartening and uncongenial industrial and economic influences and conditions associated with four years of a world war, found them numerically stronger than they had ever been since the trade union movement was initiated. He hoped their jubilee year would mark a bold and vigorous step towards the building of International Trade Union organization. He endorsed the view that internationalism had not yet failed, believing that fully representative internationalism had not yet been tried. In this connection attention was called to the fact that the Parliamentary Committee had within recent months taken active steps with the object of making the Trades Union Congress Parliamentary Committee the Central Bureau for British Sections of International Trade Union Federations, a function heretofore exercised by the General Federation of Trade Unions.

The President then proceeded to deal with the political labor position as affected by the proposal for an exclusively trade union labor party. "The interests of our members are such," he proceeded, "that it is a matter of life and death to us that the political machine, as represented by the Labor Party, and

the industrial machine, as personified in this Congress, should operate in unison."

A phase of their movement demanding early attention was the innumerable cases of complaints of societies overlapping in their membership and activities. He felt that this trouble was bound to increase as time passed. It seemed to him that the true solution would come with the establishing of one trade union only, embracing all classes of workers, with officials and departments devoted to the special work for which they were most fitted by occupation and training.

Dealing with the war, he said: "The sword, with all its attendant horrors, had been tried for four terrible years and surely it was not too much to claim that we, who ought to be free to suggest supplementary methods of settlement (which the soldiers and active belligerents on each side are not allowed to do, although making the greatest sacrifices of us all), should be on the alert to discover some method of bringing the world back to peace and righteousness.

"It is the duty of all of us to take advantage of every opportunity that may present itself for terminating the awful tragedy that has enveloped us for four years." Continuing, he said, "I firmly believe that whatever may have been the causes of the outbreak of this war, the peoples of Europe who are necessarily the chief sufferers from its horrors, had themselves no hand in it.

"All war is cruel and inhuman in a greater or lesser degree, and our aim should be to get the peoples of the world to reason together, rather than slaughter each other, as a means of settling their disputes. This is why I advocate internationalism between the workers of the world."

The President formally moved a resolution heartily congratulating the Army, Navy and Air Forces on their magnificent devotion and courage and expressing confidence that the bravery shown and suffering endured will in the near future secure a lasting and triumphant peace for the peoples of the world. The motion was unanimously affirmed, and it was decided to wire it to the commanders of the British Naval, Military and Air Forces. Replies were received from Field Marshal Haig and Admiral Sir David Beatty, expressing hearty appreciation of the message.

The first day's session closed with the adoption of resolutions asking the Government to effect legislation to guarantee an adequate allowance to all widows and dependents sufficient for their maintenance and education necessary for creating efficient citizens on the principle of the scheme for mothers' pensions now in operation in a number of the States in this country; also, that the State should at once make adequate provision free from the taint of pauperism for the support of all widows and fatherless children under the age of sixteen years; and in favor of the direct taxation of land values.

We attended a luncheon party during the noon recess arranged by the British Empire Merchant Seamen's League in a great marquee in the market place. The more than one thousand guests assembled were addressed by Mr. W. M. Hughes, the Prime Minister of the Australian

Commonwealth, and Mr. Samuel Gompers, and Mr. Havelock Wilson of the Seamen's Union, whose vigorous and militant appeal aroused much enthusiasm.

The following day, the Trade Union Congress by a unanimous vote demanded the practice of allowing the Army and for service to accept musical engagements for private speculators at a time when every available man is required at the front and while civil musicians up to fifty years of age were being called from their employment as musicians.

A motion was passed unanimously declaring that the House of Commons should be authority in all matters of national legislation and finance and that a hereditary body such as the House of Lords should be abolished.

Another motion unanimously adopted instructed the Parliamentary Committee of the British Trade Union Congress to endeavor to secure full measure of civil freedom for all civil service employees.

The Congress placed itself on record as favoring the internationalization of railways, mines and minerals.

The subject of the amalgamation of all trade unions was introduced through a motion "That the Parliamentary Committee be instructed to take action on the question of the amalgamation of all trades in Great Britain with a view to the organization of all workers under one heading, having for its Executive Committee the Parliamentary Committee and giving to all districts local autonomy in all district matters." No roll-call was taken, the proposition being defeated by an overwhelming viva voce vote.

One of the most spirited debates during the convention arose over the question of establishing a trade union labor party, i. e., a distinct political labor party composed of trade unionists only and controlled by the British Trade Union Congress. The debate indicated that some of the trade union officials were opposed to the action of the labor party in opening still wider the doors of membership so as to include all menial and brain workers. Their opposition seemed to be based upon the thought that accretion in membership secured through this policy would interfere to a considerable degree with the trade unionists' control of the program of the Labor Party and the trade union representation in Parliament. Their opinion seemed to be that a labor party composed exclusively of trade unionists, though having a smaller representation in Parliament, might more truly represent trade unionists and might more exclusively labor for their interests. The Congress was opposed to the establishment of a purely trade union labor party, and there was also in evidence a strong sentiment that regardless of the merits or demerits of the proposition, it would be most unwise, while war was in progress, to take any step which would tend to divide the ranks of labor politically, or weaken the effectiveness of the Labor Party.

Much of the work of the Congress consisted of considering and debating instructions to the Parliamentary Committee relative to legislation which was de-

sired or relative to instructions to the Parliamentary Committee to assist in securing adjustment of questions arising through the Government's administrative activities.

Owing to a great increase in the membership of affiliated unions, a motion was adopted that in the future representation should be based upon one delegate for each 4,000 members or a majority thereof.

A resolution "Urging upon the Government the danger of introducing legislation having for its object the imposition of tariffs upon imports either as a means for raising national revenue or for the purpose of preference to Dominions or Allied countries or for so-called protection of industry under the policy of reconstruction" was adopted.

A resolution was moved recording the condemnation of the brutal murders and robbery of British and neutral seamen on the sea by the commanders and crews of German U-boats, and expressing the opinion "that there can be no peace by negotiation with a nation that attempts to justify such abominable crimes as those committed on the high seas; be it therefore, resolved, that for a period of five years to have no intercourse with the German nation unless the people take full parliamentary control over the Kaiser and Government, and make full reparation for the crimes committed." Upon vote, the resolution was lost by a proportion of about 8 to 1.

On Thursday afternoon the Congress was addressed by the fraternal delegates. Mr. Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, received a rousing welcome when he arose to speak. He said in part: "I have not always been in accord with the Government of Great Britain. I was not with the British Government in the Boer War. I could not agree with the old Governments with regard to their conduct towards Ireland, but the Albion of old days was not the Britain of today. The fact that a few short years after conquering the Boers they had helped them to be a self-governing people, and a few short years thereafter these men gave their lives and their wealth for the mother country was a great tribute to Great Britain. (Cheers.)

"In this world crisis our movement has stood unwaveringly from its beginning for international peace. But how any of us could believe in international peace when a ruthless marauder let his hordes loose upon peace-loving peoples, aiming at the destruction of democracies and desiring world domination—how any one could long hold the ideas of international peace without victory when that was going on, is far beyond my ken.

"Labor is in this war not because of the love for it. The men in uniform in Great Britain and France are not representatives of militarism. (Cheers.)

They are civilians taken out of their daily avocations. My heart is wrung when I hear of, or see a human being hurt even in the slightest degree. I hate the thought of killing, but unless we defend our wives and our children, unless we are worthy to fight in defense of the ideals and the democracy and the free-

dom for which the men of long ago and the men of the recent past have dared to do and to suffer and die, we would be unworthy of the great heritage placed in our hands and unfit to enjoy the blessings of a free country. (Cheers.)

"I would not prolong this war one minute longer than necessary to make the world a safe and decent place to live in; but I may say this, that I would be unwilling to shorten it one hour if it meant that autocracy and militarism shall be spared and revived to bring on us another war in the next decade. (Cheers.)

"As for my part, my address was mainly in the direction of conveying to the workers of Great Britain the unalterable attitude of American labor to stand 100 per cent. behind the Government to win the war for freedom, justice and democracy. I made it plain that it was the belief of the American workers that America entered the war to end war for all time."

We returned to London from Derby to await the opening of the Inter-Allied Labor Conference to convene on September 17th. With a little leisure time on our hands, some of the party visited the Grand Fleet and Scotland, and Brother Kennedy, the delegate from the Canadian Trade Union Congress, and myself, visited Ireland, the land of our ancestors. The details of the Inter-Allied Labor Congress, which later held its sessions, will be given in a separate report.

On these sessions being over, we went from London to Southampton by automobile, stopping on the way at Winchester, where was located the mobilization camp of the American Army. Here we were received by the commanding officer in charge, and after spending a few hours studying the immense preparations under way which were destined to be a vital power in freeing the world from the imperialistic menace of the Kaiser and militarism, we left for Southampton to take a vessel for France.

When we left Southampton the night was dark, pitchy dark. Silently, stealthily and with every light shut off, we steamed down the salient into the English Channel. The stillness was tense, painful, almost uncanny. Not a loud word was spoken, life-belts were hurriedly attached. Everything else was done that human wisdom could devise for safety, for we were in a most dangerous submarine zone. When the weary night had nearly worn itself away, just before the dawn, a sense of glad relief came to us when we saw the welcome lights of La Havre, France. Shortly after making the harbor in safety we took a train for Paris to begin the work of the American Labor Mission, which later carried us to other parts of France and to Italy.

WILLIAM J. BOWEN.

The report was referred to the Committee on International Labor Relations.

President Gompers: The Fraternal Delegates from the British Trades Union Congress will address the convention Thursday morning.

Delegate Frey (J. P.), read the following report:

REPORT OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR MISSION TO GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE AND ITALY.

The St. Paul Convention of the American Federation of Labor convened during the most crucial period of the stupendous world conflict. After four years of privations and horrors of war, a certain degree of pacifism in the European allied countries, no doubt the outgrowth of "war weariness," and encouraged by enemy propaganda, began to cause some apprehension.

The report of the American Federation of Labor Mission just returning to the United States with first-hand information from war-ridden Europe, pointed out and stressed the importance of impressing upon the workers of the allied countries American Labor's pledge to work, sacrifice and fight until German militarism and autocracy were overwhelmed, and also conveyed an invitation to President Gompers from representative labor and government officials of England, France and Italy to visit their countries.

The convention approved the report with the result that President Gompers was authorized and instructed to proceed to as many of the allied countries as possible with such assistants as he deemed necessary.

Recalling the many expressions of regret because of the impossibility on account of insufficient notice for a delegation of the American Federation of Labor to attend the inter-allied conference in London in February, 1918, President Gompers cabled Mr. Arthur Henderson that an American Federation of Labor delegation was coming to Europe and could attend an inter-allied conference if one was called. The result was the speedy decision of the joint committees of the labor party and the Parliamentary committee of the British Trade Union Congress and the Confederation General du Travail to call an inter-allied conference to be held in London about the middle of September to which the American Federation of Labor was invited to send delegates.

Guarding all arrangements with the utmost secrecy on account of the submarine peril which was then at its height, the commission was finally made up as follows:

Mr. Samuel Gompers, President, American Federation of Labor.

Mr. John P. Frey, Editor, International Iron Molders' Journal.

Mr. C. L. Baine, Secretary, Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.

Mr. Edgar Wallace, Editor, Journal of the United Mine Workers.

Mr. W. J. Bowen, President, Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union.

Passage was secured on the troop-ship "Missanable" and the Mission sailed from an "Atlantic Port" to an "English port" (New York to Liverpool). Lower New York Bay served as a rendezvous for thirteen other artistically camouflaged troop-ships carrying forty thousand American fighting boys, and the fleet, under heavy convoy, started its uncertain zig-zag course August 15th. The anti-submarine precautions, such as closing all doors and port-holes during the intensely hot nights, wearing on deck and carrying at all other times the regulation life preservers and frequent life-boat drills, caused

much discomfort and served as a constant reminder of the murderous under-sea pirates.

Many courtesies were shown our mission while aboard by the captain and other officers—the purser placing his room at our disposal for our almost daily conferences. These officers had brought us safely through the submarine infested sea, the dangers of this passage being visibly impressed upon us when we were informed a few days later that the good ship "Missanable" was torpedoed and sunk with a loss of many lives eight hours after she left Liverpool for the return trip to the United States.

We were welcomed at the dock by the Lord Mayor of Liverpool and the United States Consul, after which we proceeded directly to London.

Enroute, Mr. Gompers prepared the following statement for the press:

"The American Labor Mission has come to Great Britain and expects to go to France and Italy to bring a message of good will, co-operation and determination to the workers of the three countries to aid in strengthening the bonds of unity that we may all stand behind our respective democratic governments to win the war for justice, freedom and democracy."

The conditions which had developed in Great Britain and which were causing both anxiety and hope at the time of our arrival, are herewith submitted from a British viewpoint as expressed in an editorial:

"The decisive part which the United States is playing in the war would not have been possible without the loyal cooperation of the labor organizations. From the moment that the President adopted an active policy against Germany, they entered heartily into his plans and in every branch of war work they are rendering services of vital importance. Mr. Gompers, the President of the American Federation of Labor, and several colleagues, arrived in London yesterday on a mission to the trade unionists of Great Britain, France and Italy, and we are sure that their enthusiasm and determination will have a stimulating effect. The great majority of the working classes in all the allied countries are sound, but there is also in all of them a small but noisy and troublesome minority of Bolsheviks and Pacifists who want the war ended on almost any terms. Many of the leaders of this minority are not working men, but professional agitators who are exploiting the workers for their own advantage. In the United States, however, Bolshevik principles are energetically repudiated and the American Labor Mission may do something to stamp them out of the allied countries. Mr. Gompers states that he has come to meet all the accredited representatives of the trades unions to learn their point of view, and also to press upon them the view which prevails in the United States. There is no wavering on the other side of the Atlantic, no longing for an indecisive peace, no fear of humiliating Germany too much. Mr. Gompers says: 'We are unalterably determined to stand by the position maintained by our Republic and that of the Allies until the very end—until the war is won'—and he added the assurance that this is the unanimous decision of the organized labor movement, as well as of all ranks of the American people. He agrees with the Presi-

dent that force to the utmost must be used until Germany acknowledges defeat and submits to conditions which will atone to some extent for her monstrous crimes, and ensure a permanent peace. Mr. Gompers showed wisdom and patriotism in refusing to give any countenance to the proposals made by certain Labor leaders in England and France for a conference with the Socialists of the Central Powers to discuss war aims. Such informal negotiations could only create misunderstanding, encourage Pacifism, and embarrass the allied Governments. So far as the German Socialists are concerned, there is no substantial difference between them and the Pan-Germans. They have given their rulers constant support throughout the war. They have never condemned the invasion of Belgium nor called for its evacuation. On the contrary, Herr Scheidemann has endorsed the view that Germany, while evacuating Belgium, must retain economic and military control of it; and as regards the compensation for the terrible losses and suffering inflicted upon it, he proposes that it should come out of an international fund, as if all the belligerents were equally responsible—Great Britain, which came to the defense of Belgium, as much as Germany which wantonly invaded and devastated it. The German Socialists have also approved of the infamous terms dictated to Russia at Brest-Litovsk, and Roumania at Bucharest. Yet, Mr. Arthur Henderson, misled by his friend Mr. Troelstra, asserted that the German Socialists had accepted the Labor Party's Memorandum on War Aims. Mr. Troelstra is a tool of Germany and our Government acted wisely in refusing to issue passports to Labor delegates to meet him in Switzerland. If Mr. Gompers and his colleagues can urge British and French Socialism of the Bolshevikism and Pacifism which are enfeebling and corrupting it, they will add to the debt which all the Allies owe them for their strenuous support of their Government in the great efforts that it is making to hasten victory."

Arriving in London we were met by a number of prominent trade union leaders. The day following we were guests of the British Government at an official reception luncheon at which more than one hundred of Great Britain's most representative men from all ranks were present. In proposing Mr. Gompers' health, Prime Minister Lloyd George said in part:

"My task is to offer welcome to our eminent guests. I do so for two reasons, one is for the country which they come from and which they represent at this moment,—a great country, a country cradled in freedom and nurtured in freedom, a country which has been the refuge of millions in many generations who have fled from political and economic servitude in many lands and a country which is true to its great traditions; the protector of freedom in the undertaking which it has taken upon itself to place the whole of its resources at the disposal of this great struggle for liberty, the greatest the world has ever seen. We welcome them for the great country they represent. We salute the flag of their glorious country.

"We welcome them for their own sakes. They are the official leaders of the great labor community of America. Samuel Gompers is one of the few international names, one of the few names which is as well known

in foreign countries as it is in his own country. If I may say so, he is as well known as the Mississippi. I think I may claim him almost as a kindred spirit. He is one of the very few people who approved of me before the war. For me his presence is doubly welcome. He and I had very largely the same ideas. We conceived that we were fighting the same battle, and he and I, when the war came, in the true Christian spirit, have forgiven the people who disapproved of us and we are fully prepared to cooperate with them for the attainment of the ideals we have always fought for.

"He has devoted his life and his great abilities to democratic progress. He is fighting the same battle now in this war as he was fighting before it. It is not that he has changed his mind; it is not that he has changed his direction; it is not that he has altered his purpose; it is not that he has started a new career. He is pursuing the same purpose. He is climbing toward the same ideals. He is struggling for the same aims that he devoted his honorable career to before the war.

"In this war men of all classes have contributed. They have contributed in sacrifice. They have contributed in suffering. There has been no distinction of class in this land during the war. For all that I say without hesitation that victory in this war (and here I may say Mr. Gompers will agree with me) means more for those earning their bread by the sweat of their brow than any other class."

One of our first requests was that arrangements be made to visit the hospital at Dartmouth where a number of wounded American boys from the front were being cared for.

The trip was arranged for the day after our arrival. Those wounded boys, able to do so, assembled on the lawn to hear messages of praise and cheer from the members of the mission and to receive American flags, Red Cross packages, cigarettes and so forth, which we brought. We then visited the various wards giving words of sympathy and encouragement from "Home."

The week of September 1-7 was spent in Derby, where the British Trade Union Congress was in session and which President Gompers and Mr. William J. Bowen attended as fraternal delegates from the American Federation of Labor.

In the interim between the adjournment of the Darby Conference and the convening of the Inter-Allied Labor and Socialist Conference, the Mission took advantage of the opportunity to visit Scotland. It was impossible to do more than visit Edinburgh and Glasgow. At Edinburgh, the assurance of our coming was conveyed but a few hours prior to our arrival. Yet we found a splendid meeting prepared for us. Usher Hall, the largest convention hall in the city, was crowded to the doors. Each of the members of the Mission delivered addresses. It was truly a representative audience, all sections and interests in Edinburgh being represented. The Lord Mayor presided, assisted by the officers of the city corporation wearing their full official regalia. The President of the Edinburgh trades council was the official speaker, closing the meeting by the submission of a resolution which was unanimously adopted expressing the complete accord of Edinburgh's trade unionists with the war program of the American Federation of Labor.

Before leaving Scotland we were taken to where the Grand Fleet lay at anchor. After viewing the fleet we paid our respects to Admiral D. Rodman, U. S. N., on board his flagship, the New York. Later we were received by Admiral Sir David Beatty on board his flagship, the Queen Elisabeth.

The Inter-Allied Labor and Socialist Conference convened at Central Hall, Westminster, London, September 17, 1918. Eighty-two delegates were seated, among whom was the delegation from the American Federation of Labor.

The following proposals were submitted to the conference by your delegates:

"Proposals of American Federation of Labor Delegates to Inter-Allied Labor Conference, London, September 17, 18, 19, 1918.

We recognize in this World War the conflict between autocratic and democratic institutions; the contest between the principles of self-development through free institutions and that of arbitrary control of government by groups or individuals for selfish ends.

It is therefore essential that the peoples and the governments of all countries should have a full and definite knowledge of the spirit and determination of this Inter-Allied Conference, representative of the workers of our respective countries, with reference to the prosecution of the War.

We declare it to be our unqualified determination to do all that lies within our power to assist our allied countries in the marshalling of all of their resources to the end that the armed forces of the Central Powers may be driven from the soil of the nations which they have invaded and now occupy; and, furthermore, that these armed forces shall be opposed so long as they carry out the orders or respond to the control of the militaristic autocratic governments of the Central Powers which now threaten the existence of all self-governing people.

This conference endorses the fourteen points laid down by President Wilson as conditions upon which peace between the belligerent nations may be established and maintained, as follows:

(1)

Open covenants of peace openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind, but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view.

(2)

Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas outside territorial waters alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants.

(3)

The removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to peace and associating itself for its maintenance.

(4)

Adequate guarantees, given and taken, that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.

(5)

A free, open-minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all Colonial claims, based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the Government whose title is to be determined.

(6)

The evacuation of all Russian territory, and such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia as will secure the best and freest cooperation of the other nations of the world in obtaining for her an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development and national policy, and assure her of a sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing; and more than a welcome assistance also of every kind that she may need and may herself desire.

The treatment accorded Russia by her sister nations in the months to come will be the acid test of their good will, of their comprehension of her needs, as distinguished from their own interests, and of their intelligent and unselfish sympathy.

(7)

Belgium, the whole world will agree, must be evacuated and restored without any attempt to limit the sovereignty which she enjoys in common with all other free nations. No other single act will serve, as this will serve, to restore confidence among the nations in the laws which they have themselves set and determined for the government of their relations with one another. Without this healing act the whole structure and validity of international law is forever impaired.

(8)

All French territory should be freed and the invaded portions restored, and the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine, which has unsettled the peace of the world for nearly 50 years, should be righted in order that peace may once more be made secure in the interest of all.

(9)

A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognisable lines of nationality.

(10)

The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the first opportunity of autonomous development.

(11)

Rumania, Serbia, and Montenegro should be evacuated, the occupied territories restored, Serbia accorded free and secure access to the sea, and the relations of the several Balkan States to one another determined by friendly counsel along historically established lines of allegiance and nationality, and international guarantees of the political and economic independence and territorial integrity of the several Balkan States should be entered into.

(12)

The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities

which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development, and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guarantees.

(13)

An independent Polish State should be erected, which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea, and whose political and economic independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant.

(14)

A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small States alike.

The world is requiring tremendous sacrifices of all the peoples. Because of their response in defense of principles of freedom the peoples have earned the right to wipe out all vestiges of the old idea that the government belongs to or constitutes a governing class. In determining issues that will vitally affect the lives and welfare of millions of wage-earners, justice requires that they should have direct representation in the agencies authorized to make such decisions. We, therefore, declare that—

In the official delegations from each of the belligerent countries which will formulate the Peace Treaty, the Workers should have direct official representation;

We declare in favor of a World Labor Congress to be held at the same time and place as the Peace Conference that will formulate the Peace Treaty closing the War.

We declare that the following essentially fundamental principles must underlie the Peace Treaty:

A league of the free peoples of the world in a common covenant for genuine and practical cooperation to secure justice and therefore peace in relations between nations.

No political or economic restrictions meant to benefit some nations and to cripple or embarrass others.

No reprisals based upon purely vindictive purposes, or deliberate desire to injure, but to right manifest wrongs.

Recognition of the rights of small nations and of the principle, 'No people must be forced under sovereignty under which it does not wish to live.'

No territorial changes or adjustment of power except in furtherance of the welfare of the peoples affected and in furtherance of world peace.

In addition to these basic principles there should be incorporated in the Treaty which shall constitute the guide of nations in the new period and conditions into which we enter at the close of the war, the following declarations fundamental to the best interests of all nations and of vital importance to wage-earners:

That in law and in practice the principle shall be recognized that the labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce.

Involuntary servitude shall not exist except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted.

The right of free association, free assem-

blage, free speech and free press shall not be abridged.

That the seamen of the merchant marine shall be guaranteed the right of leaving their vessels when the same are in safe harbor.

No article or commodity shall be shipped or delivered in international commerce in the production of which children under the age of sixteen years have been employed or permitted to work.

It shall be declared that the basic work-day in industry and commerce shall not exceed eight hours per day.

Trial by jury should be established.

SAMUEL GOMPERS,

JOHN P. FREY,

CHARLES L. BAINE,

WILLIAM A. BOWEN,

EDGAR WALLACE,

Delegates."

The American delegation was represented upon each of the committees and their activities accomplished so much toward shaping the final policies of the conference that some pacifists and semi-pacifists present asserted that it was "a Gompers conference." It was apparent, however, that the soundness and the righteousness of the policies advocated by the American Federation of Labor were the deciding factor. This became especially evident after the American delegation had won its contest to have the conference open to the press. It was the first inter-allied conference since the war began to which the press was admitted.

All of the proposals submitted by your representatives were adopted by the conference, though not without considerable effort on their part. In addition to this your representatives were able to prevent the adoption of resolutions which in effect urged the acceptance of a "peace-without-victory" proposal which had just been advanced by Austria. The knowledge that the American trade union movement was united in supporting its government in the winning of the war coupled with the knowledge that the war policy of the American Federation of Labor had been adopted by the inter-allied conference unquestionably contributed largely to weakening the morale in enemy countries and hastening the day of their collapse.

Upon leaving London Mr. W. H. Buckler, of the American Embassy in London, was assigned to our mission and accompanied us during our visit to Belgium, France and Italy. He proved of great assistance in procuring the necessary permits to travel through the battle area and visit the different cities in France and Italy where your mission deemed it advisable that meetings and conferences should be held. After returning to America we learned that Mr. Buckler submitted a report to the American Embassy covering the results accomplished by your representatives. We have secured permission to reproduce this report believing that, coming as it did from a representative American who was not a member of our mission, it would indicate more effectively, perhaps, the value of our activities than if we ourselves should endeavor to sum them up. Mr. Buckler's report was as follows:

"On September 23, acting under instructions, I started from London with Mr. Gompers and his five colleagues of the American Labor Mission who were about to visit France and Italy. I was their escort dur-

ing this journey and on October 21 I took leave of Mr. Gompers and three members of his party on the U. S. transport anchored in Brest Harbor which was to convey them to the United States.

"At Mr. Gompers' request, I remained in France one week longer with Messrs. J. P. Frey and Charles L. Baine, two members of the Mission designated by Mr. Gompers to represent the American Federation of Labor at an executed inter-allied conference called by Mr. Arthur Henderson to meet in Paris on October 26th. This conference, however, was made impossible by the seamen's union embargo on October 25 and did not after all take place.

"On October 27th at 8 p. m., I left Messrs. Frey and Baine on the train which was to take them from Paris to Brest and on the same evening I started for London, which I reached yesterday afternoon.

"As to the details of the Mission's activities during the two weeks spent in France and the ten days in Italy, Mr. Gompers himself will doubtless give information as soon as he arrives in Washington this week. I will therefore merely summarize here such impressions as I have been able to gather, respecting the results accomplished by the mission.

1. Honors Paid to the Mission Unique

"As a token of the respect paid to labor and its representatives in European countries the reception everywhere given to this Mission was absolutely without precedent. No group of non-official persons has ever before been received with such public honors and high official marks of distinction as were lavished on Mr. Gompers and his colleagues. A list of them would be tedious. It is enough to mention that they included an informal open-air luncheon on the battlefield of Cambria with Sir D. Haig, the British Commander-in-chief; a State luncheon at the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs and a luncheon at the Elysees with the President of the French Republic; a dinner with General Diaz, the Italian Commander-in-Chief, and a dinner with the King of Italy at the Royal Villa near Padua. Wherever the Mission went it was received by the highest personages almost exactly as though it had been officially representing the Government of the United States.

"These facts are likely to be of no little importance in the future, since labor men will not soon forget that in these political times they have even without credentials been recognized as representatives of a great democratic state. It was indeed evident that French and Italian Socialist Labor Leaders appreciated the honors paid to the American Labor Mission as reflecting upon themselves and their own class. When the American delegates went from luncheon at the Quai D'Orsay Palace of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to confer with the Confederation Generale du Travail at its offices in the working class quarter of Paris, the French laborer naturally felt that he was receiving a share of the honors paid to his American colleagues.

2. Direct Results Achieved.

"The good effects produced by the Mission were partly, perhaps mainly, indirect and of a kind not susceptible of being catalogued. Among its direct achievements, however, the following are conspicuous:

"(a) Proof that organized labor in the U. S. is solidly supporting the Government.

"This was particularly valuable in France and Italy where pacifist labor and socialism have declared in favor of President Wilson's policy. The fact that American Labor said 'we support the President and we are with him in pushing the war to complete victory' made it difficult for the pacifists to criticize the American labor attitude, since to do so would have stultified their own claim to being loyal supporters of the President.

"The same good effect was produced in England especially during the Inter-Allied Conference which met at Westminster on September 17-19. There can be no doubt that by securing publicity of the proceedings and moving their declaration on war aims, which included an endorsement of the President's '14 points' coupled with the vigorous prosecution of the war, the American delegates forced Henderson, Thomas and other British delegates to assume a vigorous pro-war attitude, and do disassociate themselves from the views of men like Longuet, leader of the French majority socialists. Had Henderson and Thomas not assumed a distinctly anti-pacifist attitude, they would have placed themselves in the foolish position of openly antagonizing Mr. Gompers, the ardent supporter of President Wilson whom Henderson and Thomas are constantly upholding.

"(b) Attacking the policy of the 'official' Italian socialists and contradicting their misrepresentations of the American Federation of Labor.

"In several of the Italian speeches, notably at Rome, Milan and Turin, Mr. Gompers denounced the false statements issued by the 'Avanti' regarding himself and the policy of the American Federation of Labor. He showed that the 'official' socialists were afraid to meet the American mission at a conference which had been arranged in Turin, and attacked their tyrannical dictation under which the Mayor of Milan, the Confederazione Generale del Lavoro of Milan and three labor representatives in Turin had been compelled to avoid all contact with the mission. Mr. Gompers' speeches received wide publicity through the Italian press.

"(c) Establishing friendly relations with the French Confederation Generale du Travail, with the French socialists, and with the pro-war labor and socialist groups in Italy.

"The mission made it clear that, while strongly opposed to internationalism of the German type, they look forward eagerly to promoting after the war cordial international relations between all organizations of workmen which sincerely endeavor to improve the conditions of labor. The mission showed itself ready to confer with all the socialist members of the French chambers or even with the anti-war socialists in Italy. These latter, however, did not have the courage to face such a meeting.

3. Indirect Results Achieved

"(a) Strengthening the hands of the pro-war socialists and labor men in France and Italy at the critical moment when the possibility of peace came suddenly into view and when firmness among the allies was of special importance.

"In this respect the mission performed in France and Italy the same function which it had already carried out in England, especially at the Inter-Allied Labor and Socialist Conference on September 17 to 19, 1918; that is, it gave backbone and encouragement to the pro-war socialist and labor elements which are

prepared to back their respective government in insisting upon complete victory over militarism.

"Signor Bissolati, the socialist member of the Italian cabinet, on three occasions expressed his personal feeling of gratitude to Mr. Gompers and to the mission for having come to Italy at precisely that moment. The same thought was voiced in different ways on many occasions within my hearing and there can be no doubt that although no pacifists may have been actually converted by the mission, its visit had a most valuable effect in upholding the hands of pro-war Italians and in determining doubters to assume a pro-war attitude. It is a remarkable fact that at none of the mass meetings addressed by Mr. Gompers was any dissent expressed among the audience. The only exception was at Turin (the center of Italian pacifism and 'gioitism') where about 1,500 people listened to Mr. Gompers in an open gallery similar to the London 'Burlington Arcade,' because all theaters and halls had been closed on account of the 'grippe.' Even in this audience, to which hostile pacifists might easily have had access, there was only a slight outburst of hissing, which lasted not more than a minute, and the audience, which stood patiently for over an hour closely packed together in the gallery, cheered all the pro-war sentiments uttered by Mr. Gompers and Mr. Frey. It is also remarkable that the official associations were so afraid of the mission that they forbade their supporters, as mentioned above, to have any contact with Mr. Gompers or his colleagues. These facts show with what salutary respect the mission was regarded by pacifist elements in Italy.

"The news of the first German note, requesting an armistice and intimating an agreement with the President's '14 Points' reached Rome at noon on October 6, the very day on which the mission arrived there. From that moment Mr. Gompers devoted an important part of all the speeches which he delivered in Italy to warning the Italian public against showing weakness or undue anxiety for peace. The fact that the mere announcement on October 6 of the German peace move produced strikes and disorder in Milan, Turin and Florence, shows that these warnings of the American Mission were much needed.

"(b) Demonstrating that the attitude of vigorous and militant labor leaders need not necessarily be hostile to the government of their own country.

"Colonel Grossi, head of the press section of the Italian General Staff, remarked to me that in his opinion one of the most permanent and valuable results of the mission would be to show in a striking way to the Italian working man that representatives of labor, who had achieved great victories for the class which they represented, were sufficiently broad-minded and statesmanlike to support the government of their country when they believed its policy to be sound. He said that to Italian labor, which was apt to believe only in revolutionaries, iconoclasts and enemies of its own government, this demonstration could not fail to be extremely instructive.

"(c) Showing that the U. S. Government honors the representatives of its labor organizations and regards them as worthy of every official support.

"The fact that the mission was not only accompanied by a diplomatic agent sent by the Embassy in London, but everywhere re-

ceived the most marked assistance and courtesies from the American diplomatic missions and from representatives of the U. S. Army and U. S. Navy, was doubtless one of the reasons for the honors paid to the mission by foreign governments as described above under the first heading. It had also, however, a wider importance than this as was several times remarked to me by representative Italians. In view of the confidence felt among Italians in the influence of the U. S. Government upon the coming peace settlement, said that it was most valuable to have it thus publicly advertised at the American Mission although unofficial, had the fullest approval and backing of the U. S. Government. A favorite device among the Italian pacifists had been to suggest that the mission did not agree with the views of President Wilson and that the fact of this official support was the best means of scotching that lie."

"I find that the views above expressed, as to the achievements of the mission in France and Italy, resemble those set forth by Captain W. S. Sanders (British officer attached to the mission) in his report to the war cabinet on the visit of the mission to Great Britain. While I have not seen that report, I gathered yesterday in conversation with him that it makes several of the points above outlined."

While in Paris en route to Brest to sail for home a cablegram was received from Mr. Arthur Henderson requesting that a conference of the committee appointed by the Inter-Allied Labor and Socialist Conference of September be called. The following Saturday, October 26, at Paris, was suggested and Messrs. Frey and Baine remained in Paris to attend. The balance of the delegation sailed from Brest in the United States Transport "Tenadores" October 21. The proposed conference did not materialize, however, on account of the seamen refusing to man the ship upon which Mr. Henderson had secured passage, and Messrs. Frey and Baine then returned to the United States on the steamship "Agamemon," arriving at New York November 6, 1918.

In each of the countries visited we were welcomed by the highest government officials who extended every possible courtesy. We were entertained at state, municipal and civic dinners and luncheons in each of the four countries visited—England, France, Belgium and Italy. We were upon several sections of every battle front, at times in the front line trenches and under shell fire.

On two occasions, once while passing through Dunkirk and again while leaving the battle field of Cambria large shells exploded so close to us that it was fractions of a second and inches instead of yards that saved us. However, our mission was to the workers. No opportunity was overlooked to meet and greet them wherever possible, at public meetings and conferences in London, Derby, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Paris, Rome, Milan, Genoa, Venice, and Turin we explained the basic principles and policies of the American Federation of Labor and its determination to stand with our government and the Allies until victory was achieved for the democracies of the world.

The Mission believes that it succeeded in accomplishing definite results toward the winning of the war by exposing the sinister fallacies of the pacifists and peace-by-negotia-

tionists, by strengthening the hands of those who were courageously supporting their governments and their armies, and by bringing the spirit and purpose of America closer to the minds and the hearts of the citizens and the soldiers of the allied countries. Our convictions as to what was accomplished are strengthened through the assurances given to us by the governments of the allied countries relative to the results which our presence and our activities had accomplished.

Respectfully submitted,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
JOHN F. FREY,
CHARLES L. BAINE,
EDGAR WALLACE,
WILLIAM J. BOWEN.

The report was referred to the Committee on International Labor Relations.

President Gompers: I think it is but due to you and me to say that I assisted in the report on the mission made by the five members of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. The other reports were prepared without consultation with me. I want you to understand that.

The Committee on Resolutions has asked Mr. Frey to present a resolution for the consideration of the convention at this time.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

Delegate Frey, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

RESOLUTION NO. 5, BY BREWERY WORKERS' DELEGATION:

WHEREAS, The President of the United States has, by Executive Order, given instructions to stop all brewing of beer, as well as near-beer, on December 1st, 1918; and

WHEREAS, The War Emergency Prohibition Bill, as passed by Congress, both houses agreeing, and signed by the President on November 21st, 1918, provides that the manufacture of beer as well as its sale, must be discontinued July 1st, 1919, and until the demobilization of troops has taken place; and

WHEREAS, The National Constitutional Prohibition Amendment, passed by Congress, both houses agreeing, has been ratified by the necessary number of States to make National Prohibition a part of the organic laws of the United States, and

WHEREAS, All the foregoing is principally intended to deprive the workers of America of the means to secure legally a glass of beer after their day's labor, and

WHEREAS, All this restrictive and sumptuary legislation has the effect of destroying part of the American Labor Movement and is seriously crippling many International Organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in Atlantic City expresses its disapproval of war-time prohibition and that a strong protest from the delegates at this convention be forwarded to the government at Washington, setting forth in a most emphatic manner the opinion of the delegates to this convention that the present mild beers of 2 3-4 per cent. alcohol by weight should be exempted from the provisions of the eighteenth amendment to the Constitution and

also from the provision of the war Prohibition Measure; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be and is hereby instructed to convey these expressions through a Committee to the President of the United States and to the Congress, and to do everything in its power to preserve to the people of the United States their freedom, liberty and democracy.

Michael F. Greene, President, United Hatters of North America.

Martin Lawlor, -Secretary-Treasurer, United Hatters of North America.

Sara A. Conboy, Secretary-Treasurer, United Textile Workers of America.

B. A. Langer, Secretary, United Garment Workers of America.

Wm. L. Hutcheson, President, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America.

Frank Feeney, President, International Union of Elevator Constructors.

Thomas J. Curtis, Tunnel and Subway Constructors.

Edward Hannah, International Union of Pavers, Rammermen, Flag Layers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters.

James H. Hatch, President, Upholsterers and Trimmers' International Union of North America.

Milton Snellings, General President of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers.

Benj. Schlesinger, President, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

Wm. McCarthy, Int'l. Sec'y, International Alliance of Bill Posters and Billers of America.

Wm. J. McSorley, Gen. Pres. Wood Wire and Metal Lathers' International Union.

Dominick D'Alessandro, President, International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America.

John J. Hynes, General President, Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance.

M. F. Garrett, Gen. Organizer, United Association of Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada.

Wm. J. Spencer, Secretary-Treasurer, Building Trades Department, A. F. of L.

O. L. Shamp, International Secretary-Treasurer, International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen and Oilers.

John H. Donlin, President, Building Trades Department, A. F. of L., Chicago, Illinois.

George F. Hedrick, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

Ed. J. McGivern, President of Operative Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada.

Chas. A. Cullen, 3d Vice President, Brotherhood Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

John A. Voll, President, Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada.

Jacob Fischer, Secretary-Treasurer, Journeymen Barbers' International Union.

Daniel J. Tobin, Gen. President, Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chaudfeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America.

Jas. G. Hannahan, Chicago, Illinois.

T. A. Rickert, General President, United Garment Workers of America.

W. E. Bryan, General President United Leather Workers' International Union.

James Lord, President, Mining Department, A. F. of L.

Louis Weyand, Boilermakers and Iron Ship Builders of America.

James O'Connell, Pres. Metal Trades Depart. John Scott, Sec-Treas. Railway Employees' Dept., A. F. of L.

Chas. J. MacGowan, International Brotherhood of Boilermakers and Iron Ship Builders of America.

J. V. Ryan, Copper Smiths' International Union.

Wm. H. Johnston, President, International Association of Machinists.

Wm. A. Smith, Secretary-Treasurer, International Association of Fire Fighters.

A. A. Myrup, International Treasurer, Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America.

John Coefield, Act. Gen. Pres., United Association Plumbers and Steamfitters.

E. W. Leonard, Gen. Org., United Association of Plumbers and Steam Fitters.

Chas. Dold, President, Piano and Organ Workers' Union of America.

E. N. Nockels, Secretary, Chicago Federation of Labor.

Dennis Lane, Secretary-Treasurer, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America.

W. D. Mahon, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America.

John J. Manning, Secretary-Treasurer, Union Label Trades Department.

J. B. Etchison, International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers.

A. O. Wharton, International Association of Machinists.

John J. Connolly, International Association of Machinists.

Martin F. Ryan, Brotherhood, Railway Carmen of America.

Wm. Green, Secretary-Treasurer, United Mine Workers of America.

Thomas L. Hughes, General Secretary, International Brotherhood of Teamsters of America.

James C. Shanessy, Gen. Org. Journeymen Barbers Int'l U. of A.

Frank J. Hayes, Pres. United Mine Workers.

P. J. Morrin, President, Int'l. Ass'n. of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers.

Harry Jones, Sec'y.-Treas. Int. Ass'n. of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers.

Sam Griggs, President, Journeymen Stone Cutters Association of N. A.

John Golden, President, United Textile Workers of America.

James Duncan, Quincy, Mass., General President Granite Cutters' Association and Vice President, American Federation of Labor.

John Frey, Editor, International Molders' Journal.

James Wilson, President, Pattern Makers.

H. J. Conway, Secretary-Treasurer, Retail Clerks' International Protective Association

Frank Duffy, General Secretary, Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners.

H. W. Brown, International "Association of Machinists."

R. M. Comerford, International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers.

E. L. Edgerton, International Union Steam and Operating Engineers.

Albert Peterson, International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers.

Robert C. Schneider, Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union.

Peter Beisel, Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union.

James J. Doyle, Coopers' International Union.

Andrew C. Hughes, President Coopers' International Union.

H. B. Perham, Past President, Order of Railroad Telegraphers.
 Matthew Woll, President International Photo Engravers' Union.
 C. L. Baine, General Secretary-Treasurer, Boot and Shoe Workers.
 Jos. W. Morton, Vice President, International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen and Oilers.
 Joseph V. Moreachi, International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers Executive Council of Chicago and Vicinity.
 W. F. Dwyer, of San Francisco, International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers of America.
 J. M. Gaviak, Cleveland, Ohio, General Secretary-Treasurer International Slate and Tile Roofers' Union of America.
 Alex. W. Russell, Granite Cutters' International Association of America.
 Walter M. Reddick, President, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders.
 George L. Berry, President, International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America.
 H. C. Diehl, Metal Polishers' International Union.
 Chas. C. Shay, International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees.
 Thomas S. Farrell, Emanuel Koveleski, Edward Flore, Jere L. Sullivan, John J. McDevitt, representing the H. & R. E. I. & B. I. L. of A.
 John M. Gillispie, International Brotherhood of Teamsters.
 Albert Adamaki, United Garment Workers of America.
 O. F. Foley, J. B. I. U. of A.
 John Sullivan, International Union United Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America.
 John Rader, International Union of United Brewery, Flour, Cereal, Soft Drink Workers of America.
 Joseph Obergfell, International Union of United Brewery, etc.
 Joseph Proebstle, International Union of United Brewery, etc.
 A. J. Kugler, International Union of United Brewery, etc.
 J. L. Wines, Central Labor Council, St. Joseph, Mo.
 R. G. Knutson, Central Labor Council LaCrosse, Wis.
 John T. Smith, Central Labor Council, Kansas City, Mo.
 E. G. Hall, President, Minnesota State Federation of Labor.
 John A. Banz, Baltimore Federation of Labor, Baltimore, Md.

Henry Ott, Ohio State Federation of Labor.
 Grant Fink, Dayton Ohio, Central Labor Union.
 John B. Colpoys, Washington Central Labor Union.
 John Hoehn, Pittsburgh, Pa., Central Labor Union.
 Petter Bollenbacher, Pennsylvania Federation of Labor.
 P. W. Flynn, Trades and Labor Assembly, St. Paul.
 E. H. Metz, C. L. U., South Bend, Ind.
 Jeane E. Spielman, Central Labor Union, New Ulm, Minn.
 Wm. E. Neu, Central Labor Union, Indianapolis, Ind.
 Chas. Fox, President, Indiana State Federation of Labor.
 J. W. Wagner, C. L. U., Lake County, Ind.
 Frank Hoffman, Trades and Labor Assembly, Minneapolis, Minn.
 Jas. P. Holland, President, New York State Federation of Labor.

Secretary Frey: Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

Delegate Sullivan, J. L., moved the adoption of the recommendation of the committee. Seconded by several delegates.

Delegate Duncan, Seattle, opposed the recommendation of the committee and urged the defeat of the resolution.

Delegate Birch, Seattle, also opposed the recommendation of the committee.

Secretary Frey, of the Committee, defended the recommendation and urged the adoption of the resolution.

Delegate Lennon, J. B., opposed the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Shay, Theatrical Stage Employees and Delegate Walker, Mine Workers, supported the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Strickland, Portland, Ore., opposed the recommendation of the committee.

President Gompers, inasmuch as his name was mentioned in connection with an article written by him and printed in McClure's Magazine, explained his position as outlined in that article.

A motion to close debate was adopted.

Delegate Lennon requested a roll call on the motion to adopt the recommendation of the committee. A sufficient number of delegates supported the request and the Secretary was instructed to call the roll.

Delegate Green, Mine Workers, moved that the rules be suspended, an adjournment taken to 2:30 P. M., and that the roll be called immediately upon convening.

The motion was seconded and carried and at 12:15 the convention was adjourned to 2:30 P. M.

THIRD DAY---Wednesday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:30 o'clock, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Hay, Hayes (F. J.) Mitchell, Donahue, Fenton, Iglesias, Rutherford, Ely, Stewart, (R. G.), Harlin, Bryan, (F. L.), Caniffeld, Mats (Edith S.), Ogletree, Kingsley, Young (C. B.), Bower, Wilkinson (A.), Ashmun, Hannon, Campbell (J. B.), Wilkinson (J.), Simpson, Enright, Cooper, Harte, Burk (H.), Brogan, Grass, McNiece, Bledow, Colvin, Seter, Bauman, Quesse, White (C. L.), Mul-

len, Johnson (E.D.), Shea, Elliott, Fitts, Coogan, Eklund, Jackson, Weintraub.

President Gompers: By direction of the convention at this morning's session the roll call of votes upon the pending resolution will be taken now. Preceding that the secretary will read the resolution for the information of the delegates.

Delegate Frey, for the committee, re-read Resolution No. 5.

The secretary called the roll, and the vote resulted as follows:

Yeas—Mullaney, Myrup, Beisel, Schneider, Noachang, Fischer, (Jacob), Shanessy, Foley, Anderson (Ed.), Harvey, Powiesland, Franklin, (J. A.), Weyand, MacGowan, Scott, Reddick, Biebler, Collins, Lovely, Baine, Ferry, La Couture, O'Byrne, Proebstle, Sullivan (John), Kugler, Rader, Obergfell, Bowen (W. J.), Dobson, Jones (George), Greeley, Price, Murphy (T. J.), Kasten, Morrin, Tobin (S. P.), Barry, Cunnane, Ryan (Martin), Hutcheson, Duffy (Frank), White (Bob), Ross, McCarthy, (P. H.), Van Duyn, Hemsell, Woodbury, Perkins, Gompers, Barnes, Sexton, Campbell (W. A.), Baker, Conway, Schukte, Hughes (A. C.), Doyle (J. J.), Oliver, McNulty, Noonan, Joyce, McAndrews, O'Connor (Julia), Evans (E. J.), Boyen, Brown (W. S.), Goelet, Snellings, Comerford, Edgerton, Peterson, Woll, Brady, Junker, Leonard (M. J.), Etheridge, Oden, Healy, Shamp, Morton, Brennan, Linn, Bechtold, Rickert, Larger, Manning, Daley (M. C.), Doyle (F.), Schlesinger, Heller, Gorenstein, La Porta, Friedman, Feinberg, Voll, Call, Donnelly, O'Brien (J. B.), Hasenauer, Reynolds, Mair, Duncan, Squibb, Russell, Lawlor, McCue, Humphrey, D'Alessandro, Etchison, Moreschi, Carley, Dwyer, Marshall, Broening, Flore, Sullivan (Jere L.), Farrell, McDevitt, Kovelski, Tighe, Sullivan (John J.), Mahoney, Edwards (Philip), McSorley, Duty, Morrison (Harry L.), O'Keefe, Gainer, Mugavin, Duffy (Charles D.), Swartz, Bock, Gehring, Bjorklund, Johnston (Wm. H.), Wharton, Connolly, Brown (Harvey W.), Grow, Schoenberg, Hogan, Pruett, Devlin, Hart (John F.), Lane (Dennis), Schmidt, McCreash, Kennedy (John), Guest, Hynes, Redding, Moriarty, Pattison, Moyer, Cannon, Roberts, Langdon, United Mine Workers Delegation, (2706 votes); Valentine, Frey, Stevenson, Hayden, Dillon, Musicians delegation (491 votes), Evans (R.E.), Sheehan, Hedrick, Guerin, McKee, Lynch, Keeley, Wilson (James), Gernon, Forrest, Hannah, George, Donlin, Allen, Carroll, Kearney, Anderson (Charles), Rau, Leonard (E. W.), Britton, Leary, Diehl, Flaherty, Menge, Hutchins, Heintz, Clark (Wm. D.), Berry, McHugh, Orr, Edwards (E. W.), Martin, LaBelle, Quinlan, Cahill, Mylan, Rooney, Hurley, Gavlak, Furuseth, Olander, Pryor, O'Brien (Patrick), Hylen, Helt, Cone, Shay, Dolliver, Barry, Ryan (P. J.), Griggs, Funder, Burk, Connors, Gashen, Bolander, Sillinsky, Tobin (D. J.), Hughes (T. L.), Gillespie, Neer, Decker, Perham, Golden, Conboy, McMahon, Reagan, O'Donnell (D. J.), McAndrew, Evans (E. Lewis), International Typographical Union delegation (589 votes), Hatch, Gorman, Fitzpatrick, Russell (John J.), Koch, Mordecai, Whitaker, Fox (Charles), Hale, Brelsford, Anderson (Stanley), Hall, Cooney, Kavanaugh, Holland, Ott, Bollenbacher, Murphy (John F.), Gann, Spencer, Weber, Fox (Harry W.), Evans (Cyrus R.), Nolan (J. M.), Gramling, Putnam, Banz, Jones (E. E.), Fisher (A. E.), Hohen, O'Donnell (Michael J.), Kimball, Lacey (Robert G.), Mahoney, Myers, Darr, Niemeyer, Yarrow, Tucker, Dill, Hooper, Carrick, Mason (Harry H.), Fink, Wessel, Deutelbaum, Block, Griffith, Murphy (J. E.), Carroll (John J.), McClintic, Wagner, Hemsley, Galloway, Tracy (D. V.), Nue, McKeown, Argo, Smith (John T.), Gregson, Noble, Knutson, Richter, Evans (Milton G.), Gildas, Sims, Ingles, Raise, Gorman, Keavney, Gilbert, Ganey, Hoffman (Frank), Frampton, Turner, Franca, Hilfers, Barnes (Walter), Ornburn, Spielman, Daly

(T. M.), Lacey (John A.), Giles (J. J.), Hurley, Orain, Draper, McGuire, Cathrall, Hohen, Hartford, Bradley, Jacobs, Maloney, Broderick, Curran, Wines, Woracek, Flynn, Sullivan (J. J.), Murphy (Daniel C.), Hourigan, Boyle (C. J.), Metz, Doyle, Woodmansee, Scanlan, Wood Chandler, Lemke, Colpoys, Donahue (James P.), Kromelbein, Sauter, Guilfoyle, McGeory, Tinney, Stehmeyer, Reardon, Turner, Boyle (J. P.), Cabillane, Mezzacapo, Fincke, McDugal, McGill, Oplinger, Crawford, Watson, Patterson, Clark (E. E.), Price, Badgett, Goldsmith, Brinston, Houston, Burford, Worthey, Carter, Williams, Lewis (Matt), Morris, Schultz, Middleton, Hastings, Weinstock, Richardson, Leonard (Oliver L.), Chambers, Rice, Campbell (M. I.), Vaughan, Gallagher, McKinnon, Helgesen, Rincker, Sharon, Spacey, Scott (E.), Holm, Witashkin, Brown (Geo. M.), Teitelbaum, Abramson, Walsh, representing 26,476 votes.

Nays—Kline, McKillop, Shoemaker, Thompson, Steward, O'Connor (T. V.), Chlopek, Gahagen, Keavy, Barker (A. E.), Fljorodal, Crook, Pegg, Kennedy (L. T.), United Mine Workers delegation (1232 votes), Musicians delegation (163 votes), Skemp, Bergstrom, Launer, Sultor, Ryan (E. J.), Strickland (H. W.), Plymale, Fleming, Freel, Sumner, Sweeney, Stillman, Manion, Gorman (O. D.), Braun, Atkins, International Typographical Union delegation (108 votes), Burton, Johnson, (A. J.), Grafton, Boncer, Rogers, Howard, Lennon, Fitchie, McFadden, Franklin (H. L.), Nuzum, Clinedinst, Hall (John H. Jr.), Barbour, Rynerson, Duncan (James A.), Burns (T. F.), Strickland, Staley, Mason (T. H.), Miller (Annie), Birch, Esleek, Lane (R. J.), representing 3,997 votes.

Not voting—Kramer, Boyer, Hyland, Forrester, Odell, Shurtleff, Hay, Nelson, Emery, Meyer, Feeney, Clarke (Wm. P.), Greenstein, Beardsley, Bryan (W. E.), Maloney, Dold, Burke (John P.), Heberling, Thomas (Percy), Prender, Curtis, Croaf, Tracy, McDonald (Duncan), Wrenn, Donoghue (M. M.), Fenton, Iglesias, Rutherford, Schildt, Harrison, Ely, Coughlin, Stewart (R. G.), Davis (E. F.), Hoffman, Harlin, Owens, Bryan (Frank L.), O'Donnell (Stephen), Canfield, Woodman, Taylor (C. O.), Moran, Willis, Priestly, Breslin, Newmyer, Metz, Ogletree, Kingsley, Thomas (Louis N.), Young (C. B.), Bower, Wilkinson (Adam), Ashmun, Barr, Hannon, Campbell (James B.), Wilkinson (John), Simpson, Dawson, Enright, Lawson, Cooper, Harte, Pette, Burk (H.), Canady, Ringer, Brogan, Grass, McNiece, Bledow, Colvin, Setzer, Bauman, Queese, White (Chas. L.), Mullen, Johnson (E. D.), Tourison, Shea (C. P.), Gould, Catterson, Berger, Ellicott, Herbert, Fitta, Coogan, Eklund, Jackson (S. A.), Thompson, (Charles), Clarke (Dalton T.), Weintraub, Bondfield, Finney, representing 1,503 votes.

The Railway Clerks' delegation asked to be recorded as declining to vote on the question.

Delegate McCullough, Typographical Union, stated that he had been requested by Delegate Tracy, California State Federation of Labor, to record his vote in favor of the recommendation of the committee, Delegate Tracy being unavoidably detained from the afternoon session.

President Gompers: That cannot be done. Delegate MacDonald, Illinois State Federation of Labor: In view of the fact that the Illinois State Federation of Labor has taken no action in this matter, I therefore decline to vote.

Delegate Rogers, West Virginia State Federation of Labor, said he voted in the negative because the State of West Virginia had voted for prohibition by an eighty per cent vote.

President Gompers: The chair desires to state that the delegates are required to vote, not to give their reasons for voting either one way or the other.

During the calling of the roll Delegate Fitzpatrick, White Rats Actors, asked why Motion Picture Players' Union No. 16377 was operating under a Federal Labor Union charter.

President Gompers: That question is not now up for an answer.

Delegate Fitzpatrick: I will waive my objection, provided this delegation is not permitted to vote.

President Gompers: The delegate has been admitted to this convention by reason of the fact that the organization he represents holds a charter issued by the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Fitzpatrick: I appeal to the convention on a point of order.

President Gompers: The delegate will please take his seat.

Delegate Fitzpatrick: I will bring the matter up later.

President Gompers announced that the official convention photograph would be taken immediately upon the adjournment of the afternoon session.

Delegate Walker, (John H.): During the noon adjournment Mrs. Rena Mooney, wife of Thomas Mooney, took up with me the matter of getting an opportunity to say a word to the delegates in reference to her husband and his colleagues who are now in jail, convicted of having perpetrated the bomb outrage in San Francisco. I don't think it would be out of place for me to say that I have had some connection with the situation, and I believe as firmly as I believe that I am on the floor of this convention that he had no more connection with that matter than I had myself. Whatever other things may have injected themselves into the matter, I feel that we ought to leave nothing undone that might get the thing that is right for a man who, as I see it, is being penalized by the enemies of labor for what he has done for labor in the time prior to that situation. I therefore want to make a motion that Mrs. Mooney be given the privilege of the floor to address the convention briefly.

The motion was seconded and carried.

President Gompers: By direction of this convention I have the pleasure of presenting to you Mrs. Thomas Mooney.

ADDRESS OF MRS. MOONEY

Mrs. Mooney said in part: Friends, I am not an agitator, I am not an orator, I am not even a speaker. I am just a little human being like yourselves. I am here because they did not dare use the same witness against me that they used to convict my husband, Frank

C. Oxman. Mr. Weinberg was acquitted for that reason. I was acquitted because we found out the character of the other witnesses. I was held nineteen months in jail, and after nine months I was given a farce of a trial. After I was acquitted I was immediately thrown back in prison again for nine months more. After several exposures had been had the union men of the country demanded that I be released on bail. Bail was granted for \$15,000.00. It was war-time and you men had put your money into liberty bonds, so \$15,000.00 was brought forward in liberty bonds for me. District Attorney Fickert said they were no good. That was done so the union men would have to put up property bonds, which meant they would have to double the amount. This they did. The union men owned houses in various parts of the city and these were put up with some cash.

Immediately I started to come east to make a tour of the country and tell of this frame-up against us, but I was stopped in Seattle and told to return immediately. After I arrived in San Francisco they told me Fickert had made the boast that he was going to make the union men refund that \$30,000.00 and put me back in prison, so that is the reason I didn't come here one year ago.

The Denamore report showed that the District Attorney was "framing" on me in November, because my husband was to be hanged on December 13th. This report showed that they were trying to frame a good witness this time. We had learned all about their other witnesses, and this time they were going to frame Mrs. Judd, a woman of good character.

Friends, the Denamore report was published, not by the sanction of the government, but it was given out by one of Denamore's aids, and I believe that on account of that report Tom Mooney's life was saved. That is why I am with you today, worth only \$2000.00. That report made them reduce my bail to \$2000.00.

Poor Billing was convicted on the testimony of Estelle Smith, a girl of the underworld. This is something the reporters may not have printed before, but Estelle Smith and her Uncle were arrested for murder in Los Angeles in 1913 and this is in the court records at Los Angeles.

(At this point in her address Mrs. Mooney reviewed at some length the history of the case from its beginning and referred in detail to the witnesses who she said had perjured themselves at the instance of the District Attorney. She also exhibited photographs calculated to prove her and her husband's innocence and told of their movements and their actions on the day of the parade. How the pictures were taken over by the District Attorney and photographed and re-photographed until they could scarcely be recognized was also related.)

Continuing, she said: Why did District Attorney Fickert do these things? Nine years ago you remember there was another scandal in San Francisco, at the time of the earthquake, when the city burned down, and there were no trolley cars, and a big corporation bribed fifteen of the supervisors. Did the man who did the bribing go to prison? No. Why didn't he? Because two hundred thousand dollars of that corporation's money elected District Attorney Fickert. His first duty was to dismiss the indictments against Patrick Callahan, the head of this corporation. When my husband was organizing the street car men, against whose head the indictment was dismissed by District Attorney Fickert, I helped

him as much as I could. That is the reason I was arrested; to make you think that I am not what I am, but as they would like to have me. As soon as this corporation knew we were organizing the street car men they put detectives in front of my music studio, headed by Martin Swanson. He had been a detective for this corporation, and this same Swanson was put in the District Attorney's office to plan the frame-up against us.

They tell me that President Gompers has gone to the President of the United States personally three times to ask for a new trial for my husband. I want to say we appreciate it. We don't want pardon for something we didn't do. A new trial will convict Fickert, and that is why they are fighting it. You will hear of this case as long as my husband and Mr. Billings are in prison; you can't get away from it. Every one is incensed over it, because everything we have is based on governmental reports, police court records or absolute pictures. The President of the United States has sent commissions—the very judge that sentenced my husband to death asked that he be brought back into his court.

I hope you will go on record to do something and do it effectively. Please don't attack any one who is trying to do all he can. Edward D. Nolan is at the bottom of this move right now, but he was charged with making a bomb out of epsom salts. He laid in prison nine months without bail because they wanted to get him, too. He is heart and soul with us, although he is sick in bed, and although his indictments have been dismissed, he is still fighting for us. These men could not be dearer to me if they were my own brothers.

I thank you.

Delegate Colpoys, (John B.): Representing the Washington Central Labor Union, I desire to state that they are going to hold a demonstration from the plaza of the Capitol on Saturday, June 14th, Flag Day. The purpose of the demonstration is two-fold: first, to pledge our fealty and devotion to the Flag of our country and for all that it stands symbolical—freedom, opportunity and liberty, and secondly, we are going to ask the Executive Council to present from the steps of the Capitol the report which has just been adopted by this convention by a vote of 29,475 to 4,005. For that reason we are inviting this entire delegation to come to Washington as the guests of the Central Labor Union, without any expense to the delegates.

The statement has been made that brewers' money is paying for the transportation. That I want to deny. I don't want anybody to labor under the impression that the Washington Central Labor Union is in position to finance the bringing of this delegation to Washington. It is no secret who is financing this proposition. The Brewery Workers' Union, whose interests are at stake, are financing this proposition, and not the brewers. Organized labor is financing this proposition, so I want to correct that statement.

I therefore move you that this convention do not hold a session on Saturday, June 14th, and that the delegates accept the invitation of the Washington Central Labor Union.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Delegate Grow, Machinists: I would like to have the floor for a few moments to correct a false impression and a statement, as a matter of personal privilege. My friend from San Francisco, Brother Tracy, this morning rose to speak about an article that appeared in the Philadelphia Bulletin relative to aspersions or reflections that had been cast upon delegates from the Pacific Coast. I at that time did not consider it worth while to consider any statement made by the press that attempted to cast reflections upon the organized workers of the Pacific Coast, because we have had sufficient experience on the Pacific Coast, and in particular in the part of the Coast that I come from—Los Angeles. We have had newspapers in that city that have attempted for years to cast reflections upon the organized workers, but I do take exception to statements made on the floor of this convention and by the chairman of this convention to the effect that the Seattle district contains within the labor movement Bolsheviks. I say that we of the Pacific Coast are as loyal to the trade union movement as the members and delegates from every other part of the country, and the statement made by the chairman within this convention room would not affect me so badly as to have the press quote the statement, and especially so on the Pacific Coast, where false statements have been made and the men in Seattle who were fighting for economic improvement in the shipyards of Tacoma, Seattle and Aberdeen have been charged by Ole Hansen, Mayor of Seattle, and by the press of Seattle and of the Pacific coast and of this country of attempting to start a revolutionary action through the Soviets and Bolsheviks, which is absolutely and unqualifiedly false.

I resent the statement made by any delegate to this convention that will impugn the motives of the men from the Pacific Coast. In the future I hope the merits and the value of the question will be discussed, and that aspersions will not be cast upon any part of this country because of the views any delegate may take upon the question.

President Gompers: That is a flash from a clear sky. The chairman of this convention has no knowledge of having cast any reflection upon any one on the Pacific Coast or of referring to the Pacific Coast. I referred to resolutions introduced in this convention, and my answer to the statement of Delegate Grow is that he read some of the resolutions introduced in this convention as verification of what I said this morning.

Delegate Furuseth, Seamen: I rise for the purpose of asking that I may be recorded as voting against going to Washington.

President Gompers: That request comes too late.

Announcements as to time and place of meetings of the various committees were made and at 4:30 P. M. the rules were suspended and the convention adjourned to 9:30 A. M. Thursday, June 12th.

FOURTH DAY--Thursday Morning Session

The convention was called to order at 9.45 o'clock a. m., Thursday, June 12th, Vice-President Valentine in the chair.

Absentees—Hay, Hayes (F. J.), Mitchell, Donoghue, Iglesias, Ely, Harlin, Canfield, Metz (Edith S.), Ogletree, Young (O. B.), Bower, Wilkinson (A.), Hannon, Campbell (J. B.), Wilkinson (J.), Simpson, Harte, Brogan, Grass, McNeice, Bledow, Colvin, Setzer, Bauman, Quesse, White (C. L.), Mullen, Johnson (E. D.), Shea, Ellicott, Fitts, Jackson.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS.

Atlantic City, N. J., June 12, 1919.

Your Committee on Credentials recommends the seating of the following delegates:

International Brotherhood of Paper Makers—J. T. Carey, George J. Schneider—57 votes.

Central Labor Union, Pittston, Pa.—I. N. Cathrall—1 vote.

International Fur Workers of the United States and Canada—Morris Kaufman, Samuel Leibowitz, — votes.

Respectfully submitted,

CHARLES F. SCOTT, Chairman,
WALTER V. PRICE,
E. W. EDWARDS, Secretary.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Delegate Clark, Plate Printers, asked unanimous consent for the introduction of a resolution. The delegate of the Die Stampers objected and the resolution was not introduced.

Delegate Hayes, M. F., Typographical Union, desired to be relieved from service on the Label Committee.

The request of Delegate Hayes was granted, and Delegate Barber, of the United Garment Workers, was substituted in his place.

Address of Miss Margaret Bonfield, Fraternal Delegate from British Trades Union Council.

Mr. Chairman and Fellow Workers: I feel it a very great honor to be here this morning as a fraternal delegate to this immense convention from the British Trades Union

Congress. It is perhaps significant of the times in which we live that the Trades Union Congress should for the first time have sent a woman to represent them. It is symbolic too, I think, of the fact that in our country women have not merely risen to the point of asking for rights; they have got far beyond that and they are now saddled with responsibility in the workshop, in the administrative work of our country. And because the men of our country recognise that the women are in industry, that they are coming into industry in increasing numbers, they desire that the same education, the same experience, and the same responsibilities which have developed them shall in turn develop the women workers of our country. There is, therefore, a very strong feeling of the importance of organising the women into the unions and in helping them to understand the tremendous influence that they will bear upon industrial conditions.

It has been hoped by certain sections of the employing class that women would be an easy prey to the pressure of economic conditions, and that women would be able to displace men because they were cheap. On the contrary, experience has shown in the last four years that when the women are organized they are able to fight for conditions of employment, for the minimum standard of conditions, and they are not prepared to be used as tools to injure and destroy the standards which men have been striving to build up for the last hundred years.

In reading the history of your Congress, that amazing publication which has just appeared, I was delighted to learn that as far back as 1894 your convention laid it down that you were going to demand the same compensation for women and men for equal work performed. In that you are entirely in line with the policy of the British Trades Union Congress. It is very vital, indeed, that these two great bodies, the American Federation of Labor and the British Trades Union Congress, should understand each other and should have the closest possible working agreement. We are more and more impressed with the fact that no country alone can work out its economic and industrial salvation, and those two great English-speaking countries will have a very important and a very responsible part to play in building up the new world. It would be absurd for me to attempt to suggest that the methods which we find adapted to our country are methods which you ought to copy, and I hope in nothing I say this morning will it be understood that I am making such an inference. We are all profoundly convinced that each country must find the method best suited to its soil, its temperament, its problems, and so on.

What we have to do is to see to what extent we can learn from the different methods and the opposing methods which other countries are endeavoring to adopt. I want, if I can, in the time at my disposal, to tell you what we believe is the best way of developing for Great Britain.

We have been for four and a half years in the shadow of death. We have been moved to the depths of our souls by the tragic sorrow of our time. The sense of something immense is upon us. We feel that we have come to the end of a civilization. We feel that we are in the travail of the birth of a new world and that it will depend, to a large extent, upon the clear-mindedness, the clear-sighted vision of the labor forces of our country whether that new world is going to be better or worse than the old one. We are confident that in passing through this period of suffering we have secured a wider vision; we have, we hope, prepared to make newer claims on life, we are prepared for a fiercer recoil from the competitive old world we knew before the war.

There is grown up in our midst such a hatred of war, such a hatred of the things that caused war, that we are confident that spirit will carry us on in the reconstruction of a world in which war will have no place whatever. Out of this dark night we are looking towards a very grey dawn at present. Many people are concerning themselves in our country about who won the war. Last December our placards, about ten feet high, informed us that Mr. Lloyd George won the war. Numbers of other people are claiming they won the war. As far as the British labor movement is concerned we at this moment are terribly anxious to know when we will win the peace, and we are looking forward to know what is coming tomorrow, and the day after that. The fundamental thing at the present time is to know how the labor forces can use their powers to win a just and a lasting peace. That feeling has had an immense effect upon the structure of our movement.

During the war, when we were working under great disadvantages, when we were subjected for the first time in our history to the Defense of the Realms Act, Military Service Acts, Munition Acts, and all these other repressions put upon the liberties of the people, we found this had an intensifying effect upon the spirit of the rank and file. The trade union movement was second to no movement in the world in helping the Government prosecute the war with all the vigor it could represent. I wish to make that perfectly clear. I belong to the Left. I am not in sympathy with the war policy of the trade unions of Great Britain; but I want to make it clear here, as their delegate, that at no time during the war was there any hesitation or doubt on the part of the trades unionists of our country in their support of the Government and their desire to prosecute the war to a victory.

Having said that, I want to say at the same time that during the whole period of the war we never lost the sense of the importance of holding to those things that stood for liberty and for the old, precious traditions our country has built up, and always whenever we felt that the spirit of unity was being taken advantage of, was being exploited by those who were more concerned about profiteering than they were

about winning the war, whenever we felt the spirit of patriotism was being used for selfish and personal ends, then immediately there was a flare-up of revolt on the part of the workers of the country.

When under the repression, as I say, of these Acts, the national executives were more or less put out of action, when our funds were threatened with confiscation, then it was that the shop stewards and the rank and file in the workshops stepped into the breach and defended the liberties of the people. The resourcefulness and the daring of people who were obscure, and suffering in defense of civil liberties is a thing that will go down in our records. They fought against industrial conscription, they built up the trade unions in the workshops and factories and mills, they made for the community and solidarity of labor through all these years of war. Over and over again, when reason and argument were treated by the Government with stony indifference, the unofficial strikes led by the shop stewards won their demands for the workers.

Let us take the classic case of a group of 10,000 women employed by a large armament firm in the north of England. They happened to be a group in my own trade union, so I know personally about the negotiations. These women were being paid the scandalous wage of from one penny-three farthings to tup-pence-halfpenny an hour, and they were being asked to work twelve-hour shifts—night and day shifts. Women were so overcome and exhausted they were dropping down at their work. A demand went in that there should be an increase in wages and payment for overtime and night work. That demand was played with, it was put on one side, and they waited for two months for any sort of recognition by the Government Department concerned.

Then one day at nine o'clock in the morning the whole of those 10,000 on the Tyne-side stopped work simultaneously. They took out of their pockets knitting and sewing and started knitting socks for soldiers. The management was in a fearful state. They said: "What is the matter with you?" The women said, "You go to the boss; he knows what is the matter with us." They went to the boss, and of course the boss knew exactly what was wrong. He telegraphed to the Minister of Munitions and they, in turn, telegraphed to us. We said, "We cannot interfere; we have been asking you for two months to give those girls justice and you have done nothing." The claim was put through in twenty-four hours and the girls' wages were raised from one penny-three farthings to tup-pence halfpenny to five pence, with overtime and night payment arranged for, as a result of the twenty-four-hour strike.

When you are told that agitators stirred up strife in our country don't you believe it; it was the Government that caused most unionism during the last four years. Take, for instance, the National Union of Railway Men, which had 132,000 members in 1914, and at the end of 1918, 402,000, an increase of 270,000 in that one body. The General Labourers' Union had 82,000; this sprang up to 312,000, an increase of 230,000. The Postal Clerks were very poorly organized in 1918, only 11,000; they sprang up to 26,000, an increase of over 15,500. And so I could go on reading all through the list, so that at the end of 1918 the figures presented

to the Congress showed enormous developments in certain clearly defined groups. The General Laborers' at our last Congress made up a group of 902,570. The greatest single group is the miners, with 680,000. Although they were one of the most highly organized trades before the war they added 50,000 members during the war. This illustrates what I said when I spoke of unity and concentration of labor in the workshops, the factories, and the mills.

Most of you have heard about the very wonderful development of our trades union structure and the extent of grouping together of interests in industries. The miners, the railroad workers and the transportation workers have formed themselves into a defensive alliance, known as the Triple Alliance. It may be appropriate at this moment to refer to a development which created a great deal of interest on this side as well as on the other side. At the time when the Triple Alliance was negotiating with the Government there was a certain amount of apprehension in the country as to what was going to happen. The Prime Minister decided to call an industrial conference. Some people had the idea—and I am not going to say it is a true idea, it probably isn't true at all—that this industrial conference was called to stave off the demands made by the Triple Alliance. Others went so far as to say it probably was an attempt to split the trade union movement by trying to array all the other trades against the Triple Alliance. I don't think there is anything in that; if there is it did not come off.

Some of the largest employers of labor, and the most representative groups of trades unionists were called into consultation. At the first conference the proceedings were opened with a speech by the Prime Minister, and both the leaders on the employers' side and the leaders on the workers' side agreed to the appointment of an interim council, to prepare an agenda for a subsequent conference to be called. I had the honor to be one of the two women selected to prepare the report for the Government. It was there stated also that the Triple Alliance would not come into this conference because they would not have their negotiations now pending interfered with. They wished the conference well, they hoped it would go ahead and get things for the other trade, but for their part they stood outside. The rest of us concurred very largely with the decision of the Triple Alliance; we felt that such a conference as this had nothing to offer them and that the value of this conference would be for the semi-organized and the unorganized trades.

We sat for a fortnight and produced this document, which is printed as a Government Report. We had a most interesting time. We met in three main committees with the leading employers of the day. We hammered out the differences between us and arrived at a moderate program which was consented to by both sides. Both employers and workers agreed we were not willing to recommend this to our constituent bodies unless we had a guarantee from the Government that they meant business. If we recommended it we must have the guarantee from the Government that they would give us the legislation we asked for.

One clause in the report dealt with what we know as recognition. Both employers and working people were unanimous, and

this represents some of the biggest employers in our country in the engineering trades, the textile trades, the sugar and confectionery trades, and so on. This clause is as follows:

"On the subject of methods of negotiation between employers and work people, the committee recognized the importance of establishing an understanding on the question of 'recognition.' Their opinion is as follows:

(a) The basis of negotiation between employers and workpeople should, as is presently the case in the chief industries of the country, be the full and frank acceptance of the employers' organizations on the one hand and trade unions on the other as the recognized organizations to speak and act on behalf of their members.

(b) The members should accept the jurisdiction of their respective organizations.

(c) The employers' organizations and the trade unions should enter into negotiations for the purpose of the establishment of machinery or revision, if necessary, of existing machinery, for the avoidance of disputes, and the machinery should provide, where in any question at issue there are more than one employers' organization or trade union representing the same class of employers or workpeople, a representative method of negotiation, so that settlements arrived at will cover all parties concerned."

Now, that means, in effect, that whereas miners and railroad workers had long ago received recognition, had long ago got such a position in our country that no Government would dare ignore the direct consultation of these representatives in any questions affecting their trades; nevertheless, we have many miscellaneous and unorganized trades, and we have the petty little employer, who is a tyrant in his workshop. We still have the employer (in diminishing quantity), who refused to recognize the trade union official. This document, once and for all, lays it down that no employer in our country will be considered respectable if he refuses to meet the proper trade union official for the group representing his trade.

The moral effect of this report is infinitely greater than the immediate practical effect. As a matter of fact, there is no immediate practical effect, because when we met in a conference just before I left England, we were not satisfied with the reply received from the Government and they were negotiating for further legislative guarantees on the proposals we made. This report does contain the possibility of setting up what we are going to ask for, an Industrial Parliament. In our country there are employers who are prepared to work wholeheartedly—and I am not saying that in any sense of humbug or camouflage—for a drastic change in the methods of production, distribution, and exchange. They are bringing their strength to bear on our side to bring about this better system of a co-operative commonwealth.

When we met in conference the employers' side was very concerned about increasing production, and we said: "Very well, go ahead. You write a memorandum on increasing production and show us how you want it done. Put that memorandum in as a memorandum from the employers. We, on our side, will submit a memorandum showing what we believe to be the causes of industrial unrest and the cure for that unrest. We won't ask you to agree to our

memorandum, and you needn't ask us to agree to yours." Well, we came up to scratch and put our memorandum in, but the employers could not agree among themselves as to how they were going to increase the output and what they wanted us to do in order to get it done, so they have put in no memorandum, while we have the splendid propaganda of our memorandum in a Government document.

The summing up of our memorandum is: "The fundamental causes of labor unrest are to be found rather in the growing determination of labor to challenge the whole existing structure of capitalistic industry than in any of the more special and smaller grievances which come to the surface at any particular time.

"The root causes are two-fold—the breakdown of the existing capitalist system of industrial organization, in the sense that the mass of the working class is now firmly convinced that production for private profit is not an equitable basis on this to build, and that a vast extension of public ownership and democratic control of industry is urgently necessary. It is no longer possible for organized labor to be controlled by force or compulsion of any kind. It has grown too strong to remain within the bounds of the old industrial system and its unsatisfied demand for the reorganization of industry on democratic lines is not only the most important, but also a constantly growing cause of unrest.

"The second primary cause is closely linked with the first. It is that, desiring the creation of a new industrial system which shall gradually but speedily replace the old, the workers can see no indication that either the Government or the employers have realized the necessity for any fundamental change, or that they are prepared even to make a beginning of industrial reorganization on more democratic principles. The absence of any constructive policy on the side of the Government or the employers, taken in conjunction with the fact that labor, through the Trades Union Congress and the Labor Party, and through the various trade union organizations, has put forward a comprehensive economic and industrial program, has presented the workers with a sharp contrast from which they naturally draw their own deductions.

"It is clear that unless and until the Government is prepared to realize the need for comprehensive reconstruction on a democratic basis, and to formulate a constructive policy leading toward economic democracy, there can be at most no more than a temporary diminution of industrial unrest to be followed inevitably by further waves of constantly growing magnitude.

"The changes involved in this reconstruction must, of course, be gradual, but if unrest is to be prevented from assuming dangerous forms an adequate assurance must be given immediately to the workers that the whole problem is being taken courageously in hand. It is not enough merely to tinker with particular grievances or to endeavor to reconstruct the old system by slight adjustments to meet the new demands of labor. It is essential to question the whole basis upon which our industry has been conducted in the past and to endeavor to find, in substitution for the motive of private gain, some other motive which will serve better as the foundation of a democratic system. This motive can be no other

than the motive of public service, which at present is seldom invoked save when the workers threaten to stop the process of production by a strike. The motive of public service should be the dominant motive throughout the whole industrial system, and the problem in industry at the present day is that of bringing home to every person engaged in industry the feeling that he is the servant, not of any particular class or person, but of the community as a whole. This cannot be done so long as industry continues to be conducted for private profit, and the widest possible extension of public ownership and democratic control of industry is therefore the first necessary condition of the removal of industrial unrest."

Of course, that document has been treated in various ways, according to the type of mind which reads it. That and other documents issued by trade union organizations have been met in some quarters of the capitalist press—not all. I am glad to say some have shown sense and sanity, and some have given constructive criticism, which we are glad to have and will make use of—but a section of the press seems to think they can destroy that sort of thing by virulent abuse of the most violent character. They overdid it and there is a reaction. The other day one of our weekly papers had a gross attack upon Robert Smillie, who is probably one of the best beloved leaders in our country. He was called a Bolshevik and all sorts of things like that. This is what happened:

I went down to a meeting in the East End and heard some of the very rough dock workers talking. One said: "I saw in the papers today that Bob Smillie is a Bolshevik and he is a follower of Lenin." "Oh," said the other, "If Lenin is anything like Bob Smillie he is a damned good sort."

The program on immediate reforms, of course, you probably know as much about as I can tell you. The movement for the forty-seven-hour week by trade negotiation is going on apace, and it is interesting to know that both the strongest organizations and the weakest sections of the community are being helped. We have the great engineering and allied trades sweeping into their forty-seven-hour week by negotiation with the employers, and a very sweated trade like the women rope makers, many of whom are married and many of whom are elderly, have organized and are getting a minimum wage through the trade board method, and now have secured by negotiation a forty-seven-hour week.

I would not be too optimistic; we still have large tracts of industrial areas in our country where they are not anywhere near the forty-seven-hour week, and that is why we are trying to get the bill through Parliament. If there is any group that is particularly interested I should be very happy to explain the difference between the Whitley Councils and the Trade Board methods, and so on. We are trying anything and everything in our country that will help us get a decent standard for every trade in the country.

The new Trade Boards we have set up in the country in the last three months are for the workers on women's clothing, aerated water, flax spinning, laundry, brushes and brooms, and so on. We feel that everything we can do to bring the sweated workers up will help to aid the unity and solidarity of the whole of the labor movement.

I was very glad to see we are keeping neck and neck race with you in the classes of

workers that are organized into the trade unions. We have our national organization of police officers. The psychological effect of that has been very immense, and in our processions and demonstrations, and in connection with our open-air meetings we find a brother and a comrade in the man in blue, always prepared to lend a helping hand when it does not interfere with his official duties.

The latest recruits to trade unionism were the college bed makers in Cambridge and Oxford. These were women of sixty; they organized and demanded a living rate of wages from the Dons. We have also improved organization in the higher branches of the civil service employees, what I think you would call the Federal Employees. It is of immense help to us to get these men of ability and experience inside the trade union movement. Actors and actresses formed a strong trade union. They are protesting against certain very bad methods of employment. They have already secured great reforms, and they, too, are affiliated to the British Trades Union Congress. We hope in the pageantry and the light and color of our conferences we shall have immense help from that branch.

We have a union of journalists. In our last Congress when we made a vote of thanks to the press for their courtesy during the week, we had the pleasure of having the reply made by a trade unionist. That national union has already proved its worth in protecting the integrity of the reporter. In our country we have the type of politician who, when he gets a little loose in his talk and says something a little indiscreet, throws it back on the shoulders of the press. The last time it was tried on the National Union of Journalists I took the matter up with vigor and demonstrated the integrity of the reporter, very much to the embarrassment of the politician.

One of the most important subjects we are discussing in our trade unions is the subject of education. Here we have a very strong policy and we believe it is vital to pursue this policy by every means at our disposal. We have had a very direct effect upon molding the Education Act, and we have made it a part of our policy to run educationists as candidates for the administrative bodies of the County and Borough Councils.

The Rt. Hon. C. W. Bowerman, our Congress Secretary, is the Labor Member for the Deptford division; this time the Deptford Labor Party ran Margaret McMillan, one of the finest educationists in our country. They got her returned to the London County Council so that she would be placed on the Education Committee and will influence the educational policy of the London schools. In Northumberland and Glamorgan-shire we have returned a sufficient number of labor men to completely control the County Council. We feel it so important, because in reading history when we try to discover what changed the German nation into a militarist state we have traced the cause to the Rescript of 1889, when the Kaiser addressed a command to the teaching faculty of Germany, and when they subordinated the whole educational machine to turning out types in the schools who would be the willing servants of a militarist autocracy. We want to safeguard our children from anything like that creeping into our country. And so the Trades Union Congress decided upon this resolution:

(a) "That it be made obligatory upon all local education authorities to make adequate provision for medical and dental treatment for all children attending the public elementary schools.

(b) That it be made obligatory upon all local education authorities to make adequate provision for special training at organized games, including school playing fields and school baths.

(c) That the Board of Education inform local education authorities that physical training given in the elementary and secondary or continuation schools must not be of a military bias or intention, and that no grant be paid on account of time spent in training which is military in intention or character."

And we are determined to watch this very closely, because we know that if we allow the system to grow up that grew up in Germany they will take our children from us and we will have very little control over the type of mind that is growing up today.

I must refer again to international action, because it is most important that none of you should misunderstand the position of our movement on that matter. We know how difficult it is, because we have not been able to get news of you except through garbled press reports, and we know how easy it is for those who desire to misrepresent us to give a wrong color to what we are trying to do. The Trades Union Congress in England is what the American Federation of Labor is in America, and it represents four and one-half million workers. The decision of the Blackpool Congress was that we should put our house in order and take up the duty we had badly neglected during the last seventeen years, and that was that the Trades Union Congress should take its place in the international trade union movement.

Owing to our default a very much smaller organized group, known as the General Federation of Trade Unions, stepped into the breach and attended international conferences in the name of the British trades union movement. This group was formed by conference for the purpose of raising a strike insurance fund to help the little unions in case of strike. It has attached to it something like 1,082,000 members. They are affiliated for strike purposes to the General Federation of Trades Unions. The most considerable group are the textile workers. Of the members in the General Federation only 90,000 of them are not represented at the Trades Union Congress; that is to say, there are only 90,000 organized workers that are not included in the trade union congress figures of four and one-half millions. In a copy of "The Federationist," which came to our country just before I left England, there was an article on this question and a statement had been made that the Labor Party had endeavored to oust Mr. Appleton from the councils of the national body. Whoever gave that information must have been ignorant of the situation or must have been misinformed. It was the Trades Union Congress itself that decided this duplication should cease, and it was by the Trades Union Congress, upon a motion by the miners, that the Council was dissolved.

The decision of the Blackpool Congress was confirmed at Derby last year. We regretted that there was a strained relation between the officials of the Federation and

the Parliamentary Committee, because the former did not want to accept the decision. While we thank Mr. Appleton for stepping into the breach when we neglected our duty, we feel Congress must use its influence as a whole instead of allowing a small portion—less than a fourth—to represent it. We of the British Trades Union Congress will have to take a very large part probably, on account of our size, with you in molding the future of the international trade union movement.

Another very important point which must be cleared up is in relation to the attitude of the Trades Union Congress with regard to the Labor Party. I have explained the attitude of the Congress toward the General Federation of Trades Unions. The latter will go on with perfect liberty to develop its own line, but we take over the work for the international. I have watched your press carefully, and there seems to be a section of it which desires to give the opinion that the Trades Union Congress and the Labor Party are antagonistic and are fighting each other. That is an entirely erroneous impression. The position is this: There are certain trades unions affiliated to the Congress that do not belong to the British Labor Party. The two most prominent are the Brass Workers' Union, whose secretary is Mr. Davis, and the Seamen's Union, whose secretary is Mr. J. Havelock Wilson. They brought forward in the Trades Union Congress a resolution to the effect that a trade union labor party should be formed which should be under the control of the Trades Union Congress. The London Society of Compositors then moved an amendment, which was, in effect, to declare that the Congress would loyally co-operate with the Labor Party and strongly deprecating any attempts at disruption.

Mr. Havelock Wilson, when he saw the tide was flowing stronger against him, tried to modify that resolution, but the Congress insisted on a vote on the straight issue, with the result that when the voting took place the vote for the London Society of Compositors' amendment was 3,815,000, against the amendment, 567,000. So you see the decision of the Congress was of such an overwhelming nature that the vote scotched that misrepresentation on the head for all time.

Now I am coming to what I consider the most revolutionary structural change in our country. I rejoice in the great, splendid spirit of our trade union movement, I rejoice in the fact that the labor movement in our country has become economically and politically united, but I also rejoice that the trade unionist as a producer has not forgotten that he is a consumer, and so we have what we call the third wing of our movement, the great co-operative movement. In this third wing we have the union of forces between the Trades Union Congress and the great co-operative societies. The Trades Union Congress has entered into a very definite alliance with the co-operative movement. We realize that we must not only safeguard our interests in the House of Commons, but we must safeguard our interests in getting hold of the raw material and the processes of production.

We have in the co-operative societies 4,000,000 members; have a share and loan capital of \$350,000,000; we have a trading turn over of \$1,125,000,000; a net surplus of \$90,000,000, and a wage bill of \$60,000-

,000. We pay not only the highest trade union wages, but in excess of trade union wages. The employees number over 162,000.

In the old days there was between the mass of producers and the mass of the consumers a whole wilderness of private trade desolated by competition, and we have now decided that we are no longer content that every wage advance shall be swallowed up by an increase in the cost of living.

Thanks to our co-operative movement we have nothing to learn from the employers as to how to manage great industrial concerns. When the Government was in a hole about how it was going to feed the troops, how it was going to get commodities distributed and check profiteering, they turned to the laboring people, organized in their co-operative societies, and they got our help. And how did they repay us? The first food controller put into office was a man concerned with the private interest of the grocery trade, and he diverted the raw material and supplies from the co-operatives. Oh, we have learned our lesson! We believe in self-reliance. We believe in the united independence of labor; we believe that we have got to look after our own business.

We have our own banking, our own insurance, our own factories, mills, bakeries, ships, carriage-building works, tobacco factories, clothing, tea plantations, and mines. We have got international trade relations. We believe by these three movements we are going to develop a working class of brain workers and hand workers on these lines; as producers through our trade union organizations, as consumers through the check we have on production and distribution through our great trading concerns, and as citizens through our control of government, both legislative and administrative.

I hope in this country when you are told tales about the disruption of the labor movement you will understand that those disruptive forces are on the fringes. Of course we have got them! We have an extreme Right that cannot say foul things enough about the forces that are getting things done. We have an extreme Left that calls us labor fakers, and all that sort of thing—language I think they have more or less developed on this side of the Atlantic. They use a lot of new words we as labor leaders never heard of before!

But these things don't count; what counts is that there is amongst us a group representing about 8,000,000 souls, who with their families represent a large part of the population, including the wives, the children and the old people. We are full of the community spirit, we are recognizing that we have responsibility, not merely to myself as a shop assistant, not merely to John Jones as a carpenter, but we recognize the responsibility that rests upon us towards the whole community, those that are just coming into the world as well as those that are going out of it. We want to develop the broad, tolerant spirit that will look everywhere for ideas and assimilate those ideas; to secure justice for the great masses of the people and to do injustice to none.

I bring you the most cordial greetings from our trade union movement as a whole, and I wish you God-speed in building up, on this side of the Atlantic, the bulwark for labor that we are trying to build on our side.

President Gompers in the chair.

Address of Fraternal Delegate S. Pinney:

Mr. Chairman and Fellow Workers—I regard this opportunity as according to me the greatest honor of which I have been the recipient during the whole of my life. I have been in the trade union movement the largest part of my life; it has been one of the proudest boasts that I make to myself and my friends, sometimes, that I have never worked for an ordinary employer for nearly the last forty years. I have always been in the employ of my fellow workers, and of course, coming after that length of service as this does, I feel myself greatly honored and greatly indebted to my fellow trade unionists who decided that I should be their representative here today, and to you people who have so kindly received me since I arrived. I am bound to say that I shall carry back very pleasant recollections of the great kindnesses that have been shown to me by your representatives here and by all the people with whom I have come in contact.

Mr. Chairman, I am pleased to see you in your position there as chairman of this great convention. After your visit, your third visit to our Trades Union Congress last year we were all proud to see you there, and we were very sorry to learn through the papers that some mischance had befallen you, and we rather expected that the "shake" would have been too much. So I am glad to find you here in your position, looking well and strong, almost entitling us to say that you are renewing your youth. We hope that health and strength will remain with you and that you will continue in your service for many years to come as the director and leader on the great questions that must confront us in the very near future.

Mr. Chairman and fellow workers, I think you will agree with me that if Miss Bondfield is the first woman delegate to this great convention, I expect you will say you hope she will not be the last. I rather gather that you are willing that she should come again, or I was rather beginning to gather a feeling of suspicion that you wanted to keep her. I don't think, Mr. Chairman, that our people on the other side would agree to that. However, I am very proud and pleased that Miss Bondfield, as the first woman fraternal delegate, has led us through the great questions that confront us so efficiently and so well and so clearly, so enthusiastically and so convincingly that everybody here is satisfied that she has done more than her best. We hope that she will live to come again and repeat to your satisfaction the speech or something like that which she has so well delivered this morning.

A man is always at a disadvantage when a previous speaker succeeds excellently, if he be a fellow, a mere man like himself, but if it happens to be a lady who precedes him and excels everything that is expected, there is a great disadvantage. All the same, Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates, I repeat I am pleased that the speech that has been delivered has carried with it to your minds conviction and satisfaction that the great labor movement in Britain is

proceeding on right lines and that along with yours we hope that in the future greater achievements will be met than have been met up to the present time.

Now, Mr. Chairman, labor, trade union labor, deserves to win and deserves to be recognized, and what is more it means to be recognized. I believe that one of the great services the war has rendered to the working classes of the world, especially those of them who had through long years of thought and service given their best to trade union principles, the war has proven that they were right in every particular, and that had their motives, their suggestions and their recommendations been adopted years ago it is not likely that we should have had any war. Therefore, I hold, Mr. Chairman, with yourself, that organized labor, trades union organizations have proven their right to exist and to be recognized as part saviours of the race and civilization.

I want to say a word or two, with your permission, on one or two aspects of this question that Miss Bondfield has not touched upon. I am a miner, a working man, a labor representative. I rather like to think that I am. All the food that I have ever consumed, or all the drink that I have drunk, or all the clothes that I have worn have been paid for by money earned by work, either by myself or somebody else. You say: "We knew that before you told us." The point in that with me is this: that I am the son of a working man consequently there has never been any food put in my mouth but what was worked for either by myself or by those who were responsible for me coming into the world and who reared me.

There are some folks in the world who can't say that. I don't like any man or woman who looks down on a laboring man, whether he be black or white, if he is a human being, and we are agreed, I should very likely say, on the race question; at any rate I hope we are. I won't follow it, but I am trying to make the point that "a man's a man for all that," and deserves to be treated as a man. Trades unionism has preached that doctrine all along and has practiced it, and we are out for great, humanitarian principles, to see that the worker has his due and that those dependent upon him shall have their chance in life to make the best of themselves by giving honest service to the community. We say, let us have a standard of living while we are settling the other great questions, let us have a standard of living by means of which the man who works for his living shall live in decency and in comfort and shall have proper leisure and the chance of making the best of himself, body, mind and soul.

Now that is the doctrine that the Miners' Federation of Great Britain has preached and practiced. I stand before you today as one of the founders of that great and mighty institution. I was there when the constitution was drawn up, when the rules were made, when we started out to save our miners from the poverty in which they were engulfed at that time. In 1889 we started out to raise the standard of living for our people. We said: "If work is worth any-

thing it is worth paying for." As a matter of fact there is only one place for wealth to come from, there is only one way of wealth being produced, and certainly the men and women that produce the wealth have a right to live out of it and to live well. We said: "We want a living wage, shorter hours, better working conditions, we want our unions recognized, we want our representatives honored and we want our resolutions carried into effect, and whatever method will do it that is legitimate and honorable, we are prepared to follow that method." They started a sliding scale, some of them did, to regulate wages according to the price of the coal, the market price, consequently when the price of coal went up in the market wages were expected to follow in certain proportions, and when the price of coal went down in the market, wages went down in certain proportions with it. But we found out that it went down oftener than it went up. There was no bottom in it, and we got past the bottom sometimes, and men were going on with no money at all. We said: "This has got to be altered," and some of you will remember that in 1893 our people entered the list with a determination to die or to win this principle of the right to a living wage for the working people. And men and women did die in it. For over four months our people, at the point of starvation, held the contention until the government was forced to bring in some force of pressure and see that justice or something like it was done to the people.

That was in 1893. In 1912 we said: "We want this improved; we want it to be now understood that this shall be an individual living wage." The single man—I mean by that that for every day a man worked, if he was facing the difficulties of his work and it was no fault of his that he was below a certain standard of wage, that it should be made up to that standard.

We had to go on strike for that and we struck until the government of that day was forced to enter in, and you remember that on that occasion the government said: "Well, we will try to fix this up by legislation." And on that occasion we got a bill through the House of Commons giving the miner, under certain conditions, the right to a minimum wage, a living wage, if through no fault of his own he was not able to get wages at the ordinary prices. And we established the Wages Board, a thing the other trades have been hankering after ever since we set it up, for the purpose of regulating, finding out and fixing up minimum rates for every man and lad that was employed in the pits. That was accomplished.

This year again we started out to do another thing. We said: "The cost of living has gone up enormously; our people's wages now are not what they were before the war. We want it understood that we have a right, in the face of all the profiteering that is going on, to a further advance in wages." The government again has had to step in because our people balloted in such numbers in favor of forcing this to an issue that the government felt that they must step in in

order to fix up an arrangement. And I want to remind you that on this occasion we had fixed up an arrangement with the Railway Workers and the Transport Workers. It may be of interest to you to know this: That years before when we went on strike, sometimes when the railway men went on strike the miners did not, and when the miners went on strike the railway men did not, but they were both out of work and the transport workers were out of work. The consequence was they had to use their funds in paying out-of-work benefits. The same was true with the Miners when the Railway men were fighting. We said: "If there is going to be a forward movement let us all move forward together; if you have a program that you want carried out and we have one that we wish carried out, let us try at the same time to go at our employers and see if we cannot fix up this business without any strike at all, but if we must strike, then let it be understood that it shall be a strike of the miners, the railway workers and the transport workers all at once." That was the position this time. The consequence was that the government again stepped in to find out what was the matter. Out of it all the railway workers have their hours, not more than eight hours per day; the transport workers have their eight-hour day, not an eight-hour day, but 47 per week. They have had an advance in wages, and out of it also the miners have had an advance in wages and a reduction in hours which takes place next month.

Leading up to this, friends, we want you to see that the government on this occasion fixed up a Commission of Inquiry; they passed a bill through Parliament providing for the setting up of this Commission. They asked the miners whether they would take part in it and allow their case to be considered by this Commission. We said we would on certain conditions, and one condition was this: That we should have the right to nominate or approve half of the Commission, that we must have somebody on that Commission that we had faith in, that knows what working class conditions are. It was agreed that we should have part of the Commission at our disposal in that sense; that we could nominate or approve those appointed by the government. Another thing was that we wanted our reports on the position within a certain time; this Commission must not be appointed to sit and hold this thing up indefinitely. It must get to work, it must investigate the books of the employers, it must have the right to call witnesses, the power to examine them, put them on oath and take their evidence as to what money they were receiving out of this business, whether it was in the form of royalties or in the form of prices per ton, or in weighings, or in anything else. That was agreed to and the Commission sat. Bob Smille, to whom Miss Bondfield referred, was our leading representative on that Commission. In addition to that we had two more of our own people. The secretary of our Federation was also there, and in addition we approved of three others

who represented what we considered the point of view of the workers.

The outcome if it was that the report was in favor of the miners receiving an immediate advance of two shillings per day, every miner over sixteen years of age, and those under sixteen one shilling per day, and that was to date back to the 9th of January, when we first made application. In addition to that we asked that our hours should be reduced to six per day. The Commission has already agreed that one hour towards it shall come off in the next month, on the 16th of July, and the other hour shall be considered with a view to taking effect in 1921.

Now, Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, I want to say that whatever has come about in the great industrial commission that Miss Bondfield has referred to, it is right that the people who have taken this thing into their hands for all the years I have referred to should have the credit at any rate of starting this question of fixing up a minimum living standard for the workers. Unless you put the word "living" in there I don't agree with you. You can put in the minimum any time and make it anything, but we say let it be qualified by "living"—a full living for ourselves and our wives and our families, and we want it to be gained so that we can have leisure hours in which we shall have the opportunity to recoup and take part in the social and political activities of the times.

I want to refer to the fact that we are a political movement as well. You can call it an additional movement or the same movement under an additional name. We believe in the labor movement having two ends; that is what we have been preaching and what we are preaching these days. We found out that sometimes you can send a man to Parliament, and after that you find out it was like the geese that sent the fox to make laws for them, and we found that wouldn't do. When they are expected to receive something, it is something that is expected of us. Now if you give us the right to vote at elections, let us have the right also to pick our own candidate, not some one foisted upon us whom we know nothing about except that he has been to college or that he is the son of a noble lord, or he belongs to some great and distinguished house. Let us know what we are doing from the start, and if we have the right to vote we have the right also to select our man. I am glad to say, Mr. Chairman, that it has got to the point that we can select a woman if we like. Now then, we have done it. We are not always agreed in England any more than anywhere else. Everybody has the right of free speech as well as free thought. He may say what he thinks, so long as he says it respectfully, so long as he respects the rights of other people as well as his own. But we don't always agree. Up to now we have tried to propose this: That the majority shall rule, and we have followed the majority, and in these days the majority said: "We ought to have representatives of our own in the House of Parliament, men on the floor of the House who have been at their place in the

mines or at the forge or in the mills, or anywhere doing honest labor. If he shows aptness, intelligence and loyalty to the principles of labor, let us send him to the House of Commons to speak for us."

We have spent thousands of dollars in sending deputations to the House of Commons. We used to send deputations to the House of Commons, pay their railway fare, hotel expenses, and so on, and it took thousands of pounds to do it. We finally said: "Instead of sending deputations to the House of Commons we will send one straight in and let him do the voting." We didn't succeed very well at first. The question is whether we can afford to allow our business to pass into the hands of people who have no more sympathy with us than for what they can get out of us. A man who in time of war will seek his own fortune at the expense of other people is not to be trusted to go to the House of Commons. Why shouldn't we recognize the great principles of human nature? Selfishness as it operates today makes it impossible for a man who has been reared with a silver spoon in his mouth to understand a man reared with a wooden spoon, or no spoon at all in his mouth.

There were some people who tried to stop us; they not only argued with us and reasoned with us, but took us into the law courts and told us we had no right to use the money contributed by our members for purposes of that sort. We lost the case. They had injunctions all up and down the country stopping us from paying our members of Parliament that we had sent there. We agreed to pay them out of our own pockets, and they said: "You can't do that; we won't let you." We said: "What?" They said: "No you shall not do it." Well, we found a way of doing it, and that means to say that we had a law carried in 1918 that gave trade unions, after taking a ballot, the right to use the money to promote the return of labor members to the House of Commons, and we have done it. Now that we have proved that we can help ourselves they come along and try to help us by giving us what they call salaries for members of Parliament. Before that we had to work for nothing.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, I am only pointing out the rough road we have gone. Today we have quite a number of labor representatives in the House of Commons. Miss Bondfield reminded us that during the war we had labor representatives in the government, and the most successful food controller during the war was one of our own people, J. R. Clynes, a representative of the General Laborers' Union. If we have done that, I am certain that if America took it up with all the spirit and vigor and determination that they are capable of, they would accomplish greater things than we have. We have today sixty members of our own in the House of Commons, and we are going in for some legislation, I can tell you. Whether we will get it as soon as we would like it is another thing, but we are going to try until we do get it in the interests of the workers of this country—I mean Great Britain. We are expecting that

we are going to have a labor government next time there is a general election. Trades unions are not to be beaten, and you may take it from me that if we will conduct our business in the future on the same lines as we have in the past there is no power on earth that can stop trade unions from getting justice for the people they represent.

Let me thank you once more for your kindness to me and mine. My sweet-heart is with me, I am pleased to say, and I am delighted to find how very much this atmosphere seems to agree with both of us. We hope that ourselves, along with yourselves will be able to enjoy the good things of earth as long as we can, and having done our duty to gather to our fathers and rest with those who have gone before us.

I thank you.

Address of Fraternal Delegate J. M. Walsh:

Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates—It is my good fortune today to bring to you the fraternal greetings of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. We feel in Canada that after four years of sacrifice, after four years of strife, the time has come after fighting for liberty in every part of this world, when we must fight our own battle for ourselves, and this idea is spreading throughout Canada today. Every man, every woman has this idea, that they must join the organization and put up a good battle for their betterment, and it is coming so fast that the organizers and the officers of the international organizations cannot put in enough time in twenty-four hours to handle it.

We have great problems to face. We have our returned soldiers coming by the thousands; we must place them for they have done their share of sacrifice; we must take them back into industry. We have this problem to face, and the eight hour day in my mind is the practical solution of the problem; establish a universal eight-hour day so as to give everybody a chance to work, and when I say the eight-hour day I am not stuck on it. I say the eight hour day is the first step towards the six hour day.

Of course we are divided somewhat in Canada. You have no doubt heard of the "big union" in Canada lately. I might tell you, it might be interesting for you to know that we not only have one, we have two extremes. One is called the National Catholic Organization operating in one end of the country; lately in the other end of the country we have the western "big union," while in the center of the country and a little further we have the international labor movement.

Gentlemen, I believe in fighting for our rights, I believe in organization, I believe in this international trades union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, but we must not go beyond the limit, and I say the limit of our actions should be the limit of common sense. If you ask me, I may say this "big union" of the west has gone beyond the limit of common sense, and the other end, this National Catholic organization, hasn't yet reached common sense. So we are between the two extremes. Still, I think they will wake up some day; one will

find themselves too much advanced for the other, and one will find themselves too far behind us, and the day will come when we will be united again, and this day isn't far from now.

If I were to tell you some of the things that have happened in this extreme—those that haven't reached common sense yet—you would probably be surprised; maybe you wouldn't believe me. We had a difficulty, in fact we had several difficulties in the Province of Quebec last year. We applied to the Dominion Government to grant us a Board of Conciliation for one year. That was in the ship-yards. There were so many difficulties that we applied for a Royal Commission, and the Royal Commission was granted. We investigated the whole situation in the Province, and I happened to be one of the members. We brought a witness before us to see what they wanted. They were divided. There was a group belonging to the international union that wanted more wages, the eight-hour day, better working conditions, time and a half for overtime, double time for Sundays and holidays, and so on. On the other hand there was the National union. Brought before the Commission we asked what they wanted. They said: "Nothing." "You are satisfied with your wages?" "Yes," they replied. And one man in particular was getting \$2.40 per day. He had been increased 40 cents a day for the past three months. I said: "Are you satisfied with your condition?" He said, "Yes." I said, "How long since you have been increased?" He answered, "three months." Are you sure you are satisfied?" I asked. (He had been increased 40 cents). "Oh, yes sir, if I had only got half of it I would have been satisfied just the same." And he was an officer of the National Union. They have a clause in their constitution that they cannot strike; they cannot do anything but work. They are the ones I refer to when I say they have not yet reached common sense.

We have to contend with these two elements but the idea of the international labor movement is coming into that province. We are sweeping everything before us. Three Rivers is another place where they had that kind of an organization, and in one week we swept them out of existence. They reached common sense, and as soon as they did they joined our movement.

Now, gentlemen, I am not going to keep you very long. Of course I am not in the same position as the fraternal delegates from England. I have come here as a member of your own organization; we are members of the same organization, and I am not going to tell you what the international labor movement is doing. You know it better than I do. I just want to call your attention to this fact: that the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress is in better health today than it has ever been before. It will continue, I hope, and it cannot stop with the number of new members we are taking in now. Some industries that we never could reach, industries that would never listen to us before are now coming to us by the thousands. They come after us; they want to organize, they

want to join this movement. Why? They have been starving for years and years, and this war, deplorable as it has been, has awakened them and they are now awake and ready to do something.

We have hopes for the future; we hope that in the very near future we will have the universal eight hour day, we will have minimum rates of wages for men and women—living wages. We are not satisfied to exist; that time has gone by; we don't want to exist any more, we want to live and live well. It reminds me of a little story. We have some very good French Canadian families in Quebec, and one good mother every night used to call the kids around her for prayer, and she would make them say: "Lord, give papa work." He listened to that prayer for several nights and one night he said: "For God's sake, kiddies, pray that he pays me if you want to eat." And they are coming to that idea; they don't want to work any more if there is no pay attached to it.

I will conclude, Mr. Chairman, by wishing you all kinds of success in your convention for the best interests of all concerned.

ADDRESS OF MR. B. SUZUKI Of Workmen's Friendly Society of Labor of Japan.

Mr. President, Fellow Workers for the cause of Industrial Democracy, Ladies and Gentlemen: It is with great pleasure that I stand here again for the third time before the convention of the American Federation of Labor, representing the labor movement in Japan and I appreciate highly the honor of conveying to you the best wishes and fraternal feelings of the toiling masses of Japan.

What an immense change has taken place throughout the world since I addressed you at San Francisco in 1915! Scarcely had a year and a half elapsed when war was declared. Japan had only started her activities for the extirpation of German forces from the Orient and America was not yet in the war. No appreciable change accordingly had been wrought either in economic or social life of the people.

In the course of three or four years, however, we have witnessed a tremendous change in the history of the world. The regime of autocracy had fallen and democracy has been installed triumphantly. We see before us actually the League of Nations which has heretofore been regarded as a dream of Idealists. The time has now come when the world must cast off the old costume and put on the new.

Particularly in the sphere of industrial problems, in spite of the repeated demands and persistent efforts for the international co-operation in their solution, there were difficulties which could not be settled. But now a new order is instituted and a conference of international labor delegates is going to be convoked to meet at Washington in October with a view to establish a universal industrial order.

Gentlemen, we are entering upon a new era in the world history of the labor movements.

However,—Rome was not built in a day. In the realization of ideals, we are always confronted with many and various difficulties,—no more in the establishment of the League of Nations than in the solution of the international labor problems. There we discover defects, imperfections,—the conditions with which we are

far from being satisfied. We can hardly acquiesce in such conditions, for instance, as the fact that there is no reliable assurance whereby war is made impossible. Moreover, too little attention has been paid by the serious thinkers to the problem of racial equality and we have not yet attained any fundamental solution of this problem. Immigration of the laboring population has only been treated superficially in the past and remains unsolved, causing no small irritation among the parties concerned.

Suspicion and jealousy among nations are still smouldering and in some quarters the fire of hatred is still being kindled among the nations, which may ultimately lead the sons of men again into the flames of world conflict and calamity. In short, the form of the League of Nations has been nearly made, but the fundamental spirit of such a league is still to be born, and whether or not, our ideals will be fully realized will depend solely upon our future efforts.

On my way from Paris, on trains and on board the ship, I have been asked by scores of Americans as to the possibilities of war between the United States and Japan. While I can hardly believe that there exists among the intelligent class of people, many who will seriously entertain such a fantastic idea, so long as such questions are at all asked, I am reminded of the lack of mutual understanding between the two nations. Rather I am convinced of the malicious powers of the yellow journals and jingo politicians, which, I apprehend, may ultimately lead to unfortunate circumstances. Certain class of the press in this country, for instance, are eagerly and busily engaged in spreading the "atrocities story" of the Japanese government in Korea. They will publish stories no matter whether they are true or false and deliberate misinformations are spread broadcast as to the real intention of Japan in the Far East. I hear, furthermore, that there are some people in this country who designate Japan as the most militaristic nation in the world and the successor of Germany.

These, however, are as you may easily recognize, not the whole story. Your press reflects only a partial if not a distorted picture.

It is admitted that in Japan the militaristic element is more influential than is desirable. It is also true that the power of conservatives, moneyed interests and of aristocracy, is deeply entrenched, but the people as a whole are far from being the admirers of the militaristic, despotic imperialism.

In recent years, especially during the past two or three years, there has been a marked spread of liberalism among the people, as is illustrated by the number and scope of new movements propagating the international mind and the spirit of democracy.

Consider, for instance, the position of the working people in Japan. Their organized power is still feeble and their social standing is deplorably low but their aspirations are high and they are striving to breathe in the atmosphere of the working classes of the whole world. They are absolutely discontented to live in servitude under any form of militarism, despotism and capitalism. They must be emancipated, and they will free themselves sooner or later.

The labor organization which I represent and for which I have fought these many years, has actually two great claims, which constitute our slogan, namely, the universal suffrage and the legal recognition of organized

labor, including the right to strike. Under the last cabinet, we have received the intolerable suppression, but we have struggled and fought the arduous fight in spite of the suppression.

Friends, we are aware that the lack of knowledge and misunderstanding breed discord, and that is the reason why in 1917 we entreated Mr. Gompers, the President of your mighty organization to come over to our country, and again I make the same appeal. I plead with you, Mr. Chairman, that you respond to our appeal, the appeal of the totling millions of Japan. The word I wish to leave with you, is "come and see." Will you send your representatives and let them see with their own eyes the true conditions of Japan and extend your fraternal, helping hands to us and make the Pacific Ocean true to what its name stands for? I know full well the historic bonds of friendship which exist between the labor organizations of Great Britain and the United States, exchanging their fraternal delegates across the Atlantic Ocean year by year. And I believe their contribution toward the promotion of mutual understanding and friendly feeling between the two countries is beyond measure. Why not transplant the seed of same relation which flourish on the shores of the Atlantic to the shores of the Pacific? Our organization is extremely small, but I have full confidence in your fraternal spirit of helpfulness, and I trust that you know the profound significance which the development of the labor organization in Japan will have to the development of the civilization of Asia.

I am, on my way home, deeply impressed and loftily inspired by the far-reaching idealism and astounding potency of the labor organizations of Great Britain and the United States of America. And I do not doubt that this will prove an immense help for founding new Japan. I firmly believe that the permanent peace of the world should be established by unfeigned friendship and unshaking confidence among the workers of the world, and I sincerely hope that you, workers of America, will co-operate with us in our common endeavor to inaugurate a new age of international amity and labor solidarity.

By BUNZI SUZUKI,

President of the YU-AI-KAI, Japan
June 12th, 1919.

Secretary Morrison read the following cablegram:

(Cable) LONDON.

Gompers,

American Federation of Labor Convention,
Atlantic City.

Your cable suggests that you are mistaken as to date of Amsterdam conference. Particularly fixed for July 25th to meet convenience of American Federation of Labor. We are acting together and desire your co-operation.

BOWERMAN,
APPLETON.

Referred to Committee on International Labor Relations.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EXECUTIVE COUNCIL'S REPORT

Delegate Woll, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Your committee has amended Resolution No. 63 to read as follows:

Resolution No. 63—By Delegates James P. Noonan, James J. McAndrews, Edw. J. Evans, William J. Brennan, George L. Berry, Henry F. Boyen.

WHEREAS, By general referendum vote the general membership of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers instructed its international officers to call a nationwide strike of the electrical workers and telephone operators employed by the telephone systems operating in the United States, and by authority of such instruction the said officers have issued a strike call, setting June 16, 1919, as the day for the strike of the telephone electrical workers; and

WHEREAS, By authority of congressional action the control and management of the telephone systems of the United States were placed in the charge of the Postmaster General of the United States; and

WHEREAS, The officers of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers have earnestly attempted since August, 1918, until this date to secure a working understanding with the Postmaster General in reference to these employees; and

WHEREAS, The Postmaster General has promised to establish a working arrangement but failed to do so and has turned the operation of the telephone lines back to private control, retaining the financial control in the Government of the United States; and

WHEREAS, Prior to the taking over of the said telephone systems by the United States Government the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers had working agreements with various of these companies; and

WHEREAS, The Postmaster General has persistently refused to renew these agreements upon their termination or to make any provisions to care for the electrical employees of said company, the above-mentioned strike vote became an urgent necessity to safeguard the rights of the membership involved; and

WHEREAS, The officers of the International Brotherhood have at all times during the prosecution of the war refused to call or sanction a strike against said telephone companies, attempting at all times to assist the Government in the successful prosecution of the war; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation, in convention assembled, and its affiliations, pledge their moral support in the prosecution of said strike; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor appoint a committee to co-operate with the Electrical Workers and proceed to Washington to take this matter up with the proper governmental authorities with a view of securing a satisfactory adjustment.

Secretary Woll: I move the adoption of the recommendation of the committee.

The question was discussed by Delegate Flaherty, Postal Employees, Delegate Noonan, Electrical Workers, and Secretary Woll.

The motion to adopt the recommendation of the committee was carried unanimously.

Delegate Brown, Machinists, moved that the rules be suspended and the convention remain in session until the partial report

of the committee was completed, and that then an adjournment be taken to 9.30 a. m., Friday. The motion was seconded and carried.

Secretary Woll read the following resolution, amended by the committee by omitting the word "Kenyon."

Resolution No. 113.—By Delegates William J. Bowen, Bricklayers', Masons' and Plasterers' International Union of America; William L. Hutcheson, United Brotherhood of Carpenters; John J. Hynes, Sheet Metal Workers and Coppersmiths; James Wilson, Pattern Makers' League; James Duncan, Granite Cutters' Union; Luther C. Steward, National Federation of Federal Employees; George L. Berry, International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union; Collis Lovely, Boot and Shoe Workers' International Union; E. J. Ryan, Railway Mail Association; Thomas F. Flaherty, National Federation of Federal Employees; Edward J. Gainer, National Association Letter Carriers; J. P. Noonan, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; Martin Joyce, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

WHEREAS, Through the failure of Congress to appropriate funds for the continuation of the United States Employment Service, this most important function of the Federal Government is in danger of dissolution; and

WHEREAS, The wage earners of the United States are entitled to an opportunity to secure remunerative employment without recourse to the fee employment agencies charge; and

WHEREAS, The United States Employment Service established by the Department of Labor has demonstrated the value of a Government agency in the placing of men and women in industry during the war; and

WHEREAS, It has again demonstrated the value in securing employment for the returning soldiers, sailors and marines and other workers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in its Thirty-ninth Convention assembled, hereby indorses the Nolan Bill for the continuation of the United States Employment Service, and the Secretary of the Convention is hereby directed to wire a copy of this resolution to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, the President of the Senate, the Chairman of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, the House Committee on Labor, Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Hon. Frank Mondell and Hon. Champ Clark; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That pending the enactment of permanent legislation looking to the continuation of this most valuable service, it is urged that immediate relief be accorded by means of a deficiency appropriation and such other emergency legislation as will assure a continuance of the United States Employment Service, until legislation can be enacted establishing a permanent service.

Secretary Woll: Several resolutions have been introduced on this subject. Your committee reports on this one at this time because it covers the subject most adequately and most efficiently. In considering this resolution with a number of its introducers

the committee decided to amend the first "Whereas" by striking out the word "Kenyon" following the word "Nolan." Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution as amended.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Deutelbaum, Detroit, in discussing the question, referred to the action of a representative of the Employment Service of the Department of Labor in Detroit in advertising throughout the country that there were five jobs for each returned soldier, when such was not the true condition of the labor market in that city. He stated that while the Employment Service of the Department was an improvement on the private labor agencies, such mistakes should not be made.

President Gompers suggested that the matter be taken up with the Department of Labor.

The question was discussed briefly by Delegate Johnson, Kansas.

The motion to adopt the recommendation of the committee on Resolution No. 113 was carried.

Delegate Brown, Machinists: I move that those who will proceed to the National Capital in the interests of the Electrical Workers make an effort to carry out the intent of Resolution No. 113. (Seconded and carried.)

Secretary Morrison read the following appointments:

Special Committee on Jurisdiction Over Construction of Concrete Ships—William L. Hutcheson, F. J. McNulty, M. F. Tighe, Adam Wilkinson, P. J. Morrin, James Hickey, John Carroll.

President Gompers: Delegate Hutcheson, of the Brotherhood of Carpenters, advises that he will be unable to act on the Committee on Executive Council's Report, and therefore I will appoint Mr. Frank Farrington, of the Mine Workers, to fill the vacancy on the committee.

Delegate Cannon, Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, called attention to an article in the New York "Times," of June 12th, giving an account of an attack that was made upon Mr. Basil M. M. Manly, Joint Chairman of the National War Labor Board, by Kirk Brown, at a meeting of the Manufacturers' Council of New Jersey. He was charged by Mr. Brown with seeking to foment trouble among labor organizations. The Manufacturers' Council of New Jersey also adopted a resolution charging that "by his intemperate utterances at Atlantic City he has shown himself incapable of properly discharging the duties of his important office. His words are a direct incitement to disorder. We respectfully request that you ask his resignation."

This was sent to the Senators and Repre-

sentatives from New Jersey, and cabled to President Wilson.

Delegate Cannon read at length from the article, objected strenuously to the statements made that reflected upon Mr. Manly, and moved:

"That the Committee on Resolutions be instructed to take cognizance of the report and draft a resolution to be presented to this convention Friday morning, in which we will go on record opposing the action of the Manufacturers' Council of New Jersey." (Seconded.)

Delegate Woll, Photo Engravers: If we are going to protect the labor members of the War Labor Board, may I ask that that motion be extended to also take into consideration the vile and most vicious attack

which appeared in the editorial columns of "The Public," which stated that two members of the War Labor Board had "sold out"? I do not know who was responsible for that contribution—I have my opinion. Letters were sent to "The Public" for information, and under the plea of journalistic procedure and courtesy the information was denied.

I move that the motion be extended to include "The Public" for its unwarranted attack upon the members of the National War Labor Board.

Delegate Cannon: I accept that as part of the original motion.

The motion was adopted as amended.

At 1 p. m. the convention was adjourned to 9.30 a. m., June 13th.

FIFTH DAY—Friday Morning Session

The convention was called to order at 9.30 o'clock a. m., President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Schlessinger, Mitchell (John), Hayes (Frank J.), Johnston (Wm. H.), Hannah, Thomas, Curtis, Ely, Priestly, Hannon, Wilkinson, Harte, Patterson, Berger, Ellicott, Thompson.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Edwards, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Your Committee on Credentials recommends the seating of the following delegates: International Glove Workers' Union of A.—Elizabeth Christman, 7 votes.

Stenographers', Typewriters', Bookkeepers' and Assistants' Union No. 14965, Boston, Mass.—Agnus Burns, 1 vote.

Central Labor Union (Trumbull County), Ohio—John F. Ryan, 1 vote.

Monongahela Valley Central Trades Council, Charleroi, Pa.—John O'Leary, 1 vote.

Civil Engineers' Association of Boston and Vicinity No. 15678—John E. L. Monaghan, 1 vote.

The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

Secretary Edwards: In view of the fact that President William H. Johnston, of the International Association of Machinists, cannot attend the convention, we recommend that Mr. Victor S. Gauthier, who has been named as his alternate with full power to act, be seated.

The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

President Gompers: The constitution provides that the President of the American Federation of Labor shall select from the executive officers of three affiliated organizations one delegate from each to act as auditors and also act as a credentials committee. The auditors have been appointed by the method I have attempted to describe, have made an examination of the accounts of the American Federation of Labor and are now ready to submit a report.

Delegate Edwards, Secretary of the Auditing Committee, read the following:

REPORT OF AUDITING COMMITTEE

Atlantic City, N. J., June 9, 1919.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Greeting:

We, the undersigned, having been appoint-

ed according to the constitution of the American Federation of Labor to audit and examine the books and accounts of the American Federation of Labor for the twelve months beginning May 1, 1918, and ending April 30, 1919, herewith submit for your consideration the following report:

The total receipts and expenditures during the twelve months ending April 30, 1919, are given in the following tables:

RECEIPTS

Cash balance on hand April 30, 1918	\$125,320.98
Per capita tax	358,817.96
American Federationist	138,388.89
Defense Fund for local trade and Federal labor unions.....	54,308.19
Initiation fees	36,958.98
One-cent assessment	26,108.86
Supplies	20,485.41
Premiums on bonds of officers of unions bonded through the A. F. of L.	9,626.78
Interest on funds on deposit and from U. S. Liberty Bonds.....	4,600.97
Disbanded and suspended unions and fees for charters not issued	3,745.22
Reinstatement fees	1,651.81
Total	\$780,008.55

EXPENSES

General expenses	\$373,017.01
American Federationist	122,557.25
One-cent assessment	26,108.86
Defense fund, for defense of local trade and Federal labor unions	7,654.50
Premiums on bonds of officers of affiliated unions	8,067.38
Refund of initiation fees.....	118.44
Paid to Trustees for A. F. of L. Building Fund	50,000.00
Total	\$587,518.39
Total receipts	\$780,008.55
Total expenses	587,518.39
Leaving cash balance, April 30, 1919	\$192,490.16

RECAPITULATION

In general fund	\$37,764.27
In Defense Fund for local trade and Federal labor unions (cash)	154,725.89
Loan to Trustees for A. F. of L. Building Fund from Defense Fund	25,000.00
Total balance on hand April 30, 1919	\$217,490.16

Where Funds Are Deposited and Invested

We find the funds of the American Federation of Labor safely disposed of as follows:

Certificates of deposit by Treasurer Tobin in Union Trust Company, Indianapolis, Ind.....	\$100,000.00
On deposit in Indiana National Bank, Indianapolis, Ind., subject to check of Treas. Tobin.....	25,490.16
On deposit in Riggs National Bank, Washington, D. C., subject to check of Secretary Morrison	\$10,317.41
Outstanding checks..	8,317.41
	<hr/>
Invested in Liberty Bonds.....	2,000.00
Invested in Canadian Victory Bonds	50,000.00
Loan to Trustees A. F. of L. Building Fund	15,000.00
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Total	25,000.00
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Total	\$217,490.16

A. F. of L. Building Fund**RECEIPTS**

Balance on hand, April 30, 1918.....	\$65.10
Received during the year.....	73,221.25
	<hr/>
Total receipts	\$73,286.35
Total expenses, May 1, 1918, to April 30, 1919.....	73,284.01
	<hr/>
Balance on hand, April 30, 1919	\$2.34

RECAPITULATION

Total amount borrowed	\$189,240.00
Total amount paid on loans.....	116,740.00
	<hr/>
Balance owed	\$72,500.00

TO WHOM OWED

A. F. of L. Defense Fund.....	\$25,000.00
American Security & Trust Co.,	47,500.00
	<hr/>
Total	\$72,500.00

We have examined the bank record of this account and find same correct, and the balance of \$2.34 deposited in Riggs National Bank, Washington, D. C.

Fund for Promoting and Advancing Co-Operation

Received up to and including April 30, 1919	\$2,384.03
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We have examined the bank record of this account and find same correct, and the amount, \$2,384.03, is deposited in Riggs National Bank, Washington, D. C.

In concluding our report, your committee desires to state that in addition to auditing the books and accounts of the Federation, we carefully examined the equip-

ment and conduct of the Secretary's office. We found the system of checking up on the finances, the keeping of records and the office operation to be most efficiently and capably managed. The equipment is thoroughly adequate and up to date. The warrant, check and voucher system are used, each in a separate department, the accounts of each department being balanced at the close of each business day. The vast volume of business and the ever-increasing responsibilities of the American Federation of Labor makes it imperative that the best of facilities and the most efficient system of office management and operation be employed. Your committee is pleased to report that we found in the equipment and operation of the Secretary's office every thing to be desired in this respect, and take this opportunity of commending the Secretary and his staff for their seal, industry and efficiency. The office force was most courteous in extending every co-operation and assistance to your committee and your committee is pleased to commend their ability and trustworthiness.

Respectfully submitted,
CHARLES F. SCOTT, Chairman,
WALTER V. PRICE,
E. W. EDWARDS, Secretary.

President Gompers: Before asking Mrs. Conboy to submit the report of the Committee on Organization, I take pleasure in stating that inasmuch as the Shipping Board has accepted my suggestion to name the ship, "Afel," the abbreviated name of the American Federation of Labor, I was advised that it was my privilege and right to appoint a lady as sponsor for the ship and to officially christen it. I have designated to the Shipping Board the Secretary-Treasurer of the United Textile Workers of America, the Secretary of the Committee on Organization, Mrs. Sara Conboy.

Mrs. Conboy: Mr. Chairman and Fellow Delegates—I just want to say that I am deeply appreciative of the honor conferred upon me in asking me to baptize the new ship "Afel," and I hope my God-child will make many successful and prosperous trips, bringing always good news and good cargoes to our beloved America.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION.

Delegate Conboy, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 142—By Delegate Henry W. Raisse, of the Lorain, Ohio, Central Labor Union and Edward J. Evans, of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

WHEREAS, Every labor union in America, regardless of its trade or industry, has a direct and positive interest in the organiza-

tion of the workers in the iron and steel industry, because the accomplishment of this vital task will greatly weaken the opposition of employers everywhere to the extension of trade unionism and the establishment of decent conditions of work and wages; and

WHEREAS, The organizing force now in the field working upon this vast project is altogether inadequate in strength to carry on the work in the vigorous manner imperatively demanded by the situation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That President Gompers, of the American Federation of Labor, and Chairman of the National Committee for Organizing Iron and Steel Workers be authorized to call a conference, during the convention of the A. F. of L., of the heads of all international unions affiliated with the A. F. of L., to the end that they make arrangements to lend their assistance to the organization of the iron and steel industry.

Your committee concurs in this resolution.

President Gompers suggested that the resolution be amended by striking out the word "coming," which appeared in the original resolution before the word "convention."

The amendment was accepted by the committee, and the recommendation was adopted as amended.

Resolution No. 8.—By Delegate Peter Bollenbacher, of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Paper Mill Workers of Tyrone, Pennsylvania, were forced to go on a strike against the West Virginia Pulp and Paper Company, twenty (20) weeks ago, for the right to organize; and

WHEREAS, The National War Labor Board has urged employers not to interfere with their employees' right to organize; and

WHEREAS, The West Virginia Pulp and Paper Company has ignored the request of the War Labor Board, and on the imminence of a strike has refused all efforts of conciliation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that we endorse the strike of the workers against the West Virginia Pulp and Paper Company; and, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to this convention do urge upon their various locals that they give all the moral and financial support possible to assist in winning this strike; and therefore, be it further

RESOLVED, That we ask the American Federation of Labor to endorse the efforts of the Paper Mill Workers to secure the fundamental right of collective bargaining.

Your committee concurs in this resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Launer: I am in favor of the adoption of the report of the committee, but I should like to offer an amendment to the resolution, inasmuch as there are other plants of that company in Piedmont and Davis, West Virginia. I move that the words "Piedmont and Davis" be included in the resolution.

The amendment was seconded and carried, and the recommendation of the committee as amended was adopted.

Resolution No. 21.—By Delegate E. H. Metz, South Bend Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The Central Labor Body of South Bend, Indiana, has struggled to organize the workers of various crafts into organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The labor movement in its struggle has not made any progress along the line intended; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor at this convention recommend to the Executive Council the necessity of placing an organizer in the South Bend District, with a view of organizing the unorganized workers at the earliest opportunity.

Your committee refers the subject matter contained in this resolution to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. to comply with if the funds of the Federation will permit.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 29.—By Central Labor Union, Balboa, Canal Zone.

WHEREAS, The Panama Canal Federation of Labor (Central Labor Union) has in the past used its best efforts to protect American workmen on the Canal Zone against constant infringement upon their positions by cheap alien labor; and

WHEREAS, Resolution No. 2, passed at the Metal Trades Convention at St. Paul, Minn., June 6, 1918, was submitted by the Panama Metal Trades Council for this specific purpose; and

WHEREAS, The general conditions complained of in said resolution remain the same, but are now being aggravated by two Organizers, Messrs. Severs and Allen, representing the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way and Railway Shop Employees, who are on the Canal Zone for the purpose of organizing these alien negroes into their International, jurisdiction being claimed by them in the skilled and semi-skilled positions; and

WHEREAS, We believe that by craft organization of these aliens their employment here will become a permanent institution, that they will be secured in the skilled and semi-skilled positions and the situation thus created will be beyond our control and will ultimately reduce the personnel of the Panama Canal to a West Indian basis, and the American citizen will be eliminated from employment, and we will be outnumbered by these aliens about ten to one, there being about 27,000 on the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad; and

WHEREAS, Several cables have been sent both to the President of the United Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way and Railway Shop Employees and the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, and letters have also been written to both the organizations aforesaid, asking for the recall of the two organizers referred to and the suspension of efforts to organize the aliens on the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad, so far no results have obtained; be it, therefore

RESOLVED, That the Panama Canal Fed-

eration of Labor (Central Labor Union) is opposed to the organization of these alien negroes into any of the trades or positions of skill, or semi-skill, by any International affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, that we demand the immediate recall of all organizers from the Canal Zone and that all future organization of aliens in this field be done by and at the discretion and supervision of the Panama Canal Federation of Labor (Central Labor Union) and the Panama Metal Trades Council; and be it further

RESOLVED, That these resolutions be spread upon the minutes of the American Federation of Labor Convention, that a copy be forwarded to the American Federation of Labor, which is to meet at Atlantic City, New Jersey, on June 9, 1919, to be read into the records of said convention, and that request be made that some action be taken by the said convention which will consummate the demand outlined in these resolutions.

Your committee refers the subject matter contained in this resolution to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., for a thorough investigation of the situation, and when report is made the Executive Council shall have power to co-operate with the national and international unions interested and take such action as will deal fairly with the questions involved.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 48—By Delegate D. D'Alessandro, of the International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America.

WHEREAS, The world war has brought the workers of the world into closer relations, especially from an economic standpoint, and has particularly demonstrated the necessity of a better understanding and mutual confidence in the matter of a just peace which shall recognize and safeguard the rights and interests of labor here and elsewhere, therefore; be it

RESOLVED, That as one means toward the accomplishment of the foregoing purposes, we recommend that all national and international unions admit to membership without the payment of an initiation fee all journeymen workers who can show a paid-up working card with a certificate showing they have served the required apprenticeship, provided such workers are members of unions recognized by the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee non-concurs in this resolution, in as much as the A. F. of L., has no power or authority to interfere with the trade autonomy of affiliated National and International unions.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate D'Alessandro discussed the question and stated that the hod carriers and building laborers were interested in the subject dealt with by the resolution. He asked that it be recommitted to the committee in order that his delegation might have a hearing.

The resolution was recommitted to the committee to allow Delegate D'Alessandro to have a hearing.

Resolution No. 53—By Delegates W. W. Britton, George Leary and Chas. R. Atherton, of the Metal Polishers' International Union, and John J. Connolly, C. H. Grow, H. W. Brown and Wm. Schoenberg, of the International Association of Machinists.

WHEREAS, The firm of the Hamilton-Beach Manufacturing Company, makers of electrical products, of Racine, Wis., have locked out all employees of their factory after having previously agreed to submit to and abide by the decision of the War Labor Board; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor grant all moral assistance possible to the locked-out employees of the Hamilton-Beach Manufacturing Company, which includes members of the Metal Polishers' International Union and the members of the International Association of Machinists.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 54—By Delegates John O'Keefe and Harry L. Morrison, of the Laundry Workers' International Union.

WHEREAS, There are about one hundred thousand women workers employed in the laundry industry, the majority of whom have not yet been organized into local unions of their craft; and

WHEREAS, The Laundry Workers' International Union is meeting with determined opposition from the National Association of Laundry Owners in its efforts to organize both the men and women laundry workers; and

WHEREAS, The above-mentioned association of laundry owners have gone on record in their national conventions and in their state convention as being utterly opposed to the right of collective bargaining with their employees, and have pledged their association members to operate and maintain non-union laundries; and

WHEREAS, It is detrimental to the interests of organized labor to have the large laundry industry operated under non-union conditions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be requested to issue during the coming year a special circular letter to all salaried and volunteer organizers of the American Federation of Labor, directing their attention to the great need for organization work that is to be found among the women wage-workers of the laundry industry.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 58—By Delegate A. E. Fisher, of the Trades and Labor Assembly, Beaumont, Texas.

WHEREAS, There are many thousands of workers employed in the timber industry of the South; and

WHEREAS, The majority of these workers are underpaid and are employed by lumber barons who heretofore have manifested an antagonistic attitude toward organized labor and the principles of collective bargaining; and

WHEREAS, Practically all these workers could be added to the ranks of organized labor, were they advised of the proper steps necessary to take to get into the Timber Workers; and

WHEREAS, These workers, so long as they remain unorganized, are unable to better their conditions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed by this convention to give every support to the timber workers in the work of organizing those employed in the timber industry of the South.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Your committee refers the subject matter contained in this resolution to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., to carry out if the funds of the Federation will permit.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 52—By Delegates Wm. J. Schultz, Janitors, 15876, St. Louis, Mo.; I. E. Holm, Supt. Janitors and Assistants, 15923, New York; P. J. Reardon, Janitors, 14936, Boston, Mass.; and Jacob Middleton, Janitors and Helpers, No. 16034, Charleston, S. C.

WHEREAS, The membership of local unions Nos. 15923 and 16156, of New York, N. Y., 14936 of Boston, Mass.; 13152 of Springfield, Mass.; 15925 of Providence, R. I.; 13180 of Cincinnati, Ohio; 15876 of St. Louis Mo.; 15234 of Memphis, Tenn.; 14332 of Chicago, Ill.; 16193 of Des Moines, Iowa; 15508 of Denver Colo.; 10367 of San Francisco, Calif.; 14605 of Seattle, Wash.; 16180 of Aberdeen, Wash.; 16304 of Charleston, S. C., affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, have unanimously decided, after thoroughly studying and canvassing carefully the situation with reference to the building (or institution) cleaning and domestic service employees, that the interests of the said workers in the United States could be best served and advanced by the formation of an international union under the supervision of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, There are at this time sixty locals affiliated with the American Federation of Labor composed of such building (or institution) cleaning and domestic service employees, with a combined membership of approximately 5,000; and

WHEREAS, There is now a temporary international union of building service employees organized and composed of locals throughout the United States that are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, A charter fully stating the jurisdiction of an international union of building service employees, be "persons employed in the cleaning, custodians and domestic service of any institution," that mean-

ing those workers known as custodians, matrons, housekeepers, janitors, janitresses, housemen, maids, servants, porters, watchmen, elevator operators and starters, house and window cleaners; and

WHEREAS, In every city, town and village are these classes of workers unorganized, and that the said locals affiliated with the American Federation of Labor are only in forty-one cities; and

WHEREAS, Experience has taught that the way to organize the workers is to put the work or organization into the hands of specialized organizers experienced in the said callings; and

WHEREAS, The sixty locals now existing are able to finance and promote the organization of an international union in the United States, as is exhibited in the financial report of the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to this, the Thirty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, instruct the President of the American Federation of Labor to issue a call within six months to such local unions of building service employees for a convention, at which convention an international union shall be organized under the supervision and in conformity with the constitution of the American Federation of Labor.

The committee submitted the following recommendation:

In the application for a charter for an international union of janitors, janitor assistants, etc., known as "Building Service Employees," your committee is of the opinion that more time should be given to the consideration of this matter than we have at our disposal during this convention. We, therefore, recommend that the matter be referred to the Executive Council, with the understanding that when this class of workers is sufficiently organized to maintain an international union the Executive Council proceed to form such an organization without further delay, with the proviso that the Executive Council define and determine its jurisdiction, which, however, must not be a trespass upon the jurisdictional rights and claims of existing affiliated organizations. In the meantime the Executive Council is directed to assist in every way possible in organizing these workers.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Flores, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: The international union I represent holds jurisdiction over domestic workers in private families and institutions, and we desire to raise our objections now to granting that jurisdiction to any other international union or to any other organization. I have no objection to the matter being referred to the Executive Council.

Delegate Quesse, Flat Janitors: If the matter is referred to the Executive Council I hope all the locals will be notified so they can appear when the Council takes the matter up.

Delegate McAndrews: I would also suggest that when this matter comes before the Executive Council the various locals of Elevator Conductors be notified.

Delegate Leonard, Plumbers: I also request that when this matter comes before the Executive Council the officers of the United Association be notified.

The motion to adopt the recommendation was carried.

Resolution No. 66—By Delegate Patrick J. Cahillane, of the City Employes' Local, No. 18951, Manchester, N. H.

WHEREAS, The organized labor movement of New Hampshire has been active in efforts to perfect the organization of all wageworkers; and

WHEREAS, In the furtherance of this plan the active union men and women of New Hampshire have been untiring in their efforts and unsparing in their contribution of time and finances; and

WHEREAS, It is believed that greater progress can be made in this work by an organizer of the American Federation of Labor who will bring to his aid the prestige of the whole labor movement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that the Executive Board be instructed to designate an organizer for New Hampshire who shall direct and co-operate with efforts of the existing labor movement to perfect the organizing of its workers.

Your committee concurs in this resolution and refers the subject matter contained therein to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., to be complied with if funds of the Federation will permit.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 68—By Delegate W. V. Ringer, of Federal Labor Union No. 15938, of Waynesboro, Pa.

WHEREAS, The poor state of organizations existing in York, Pa., and Frederick, Md., is a great hindrance to other nearby towns and cities, and that investigation will prove that those two towns can be organized by a concerted effort on the part of all trades through their respective organizers going in simultaneously and remaining for about one week; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. use its influence to have such a crew visit those towns as speedily as possible for the final organizing of the said towns.

Your committee recommends that the subject matter contained in this resolution be referred to the Executive Council to take up with the international unions involved.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 70—By Delegate J. E. Croin, of the Orange, Texas, Labor and Trades Council.

WHEREAS, Owing to conditions created and existing during the war and continuing since the signing of the armistice, many thousands of men have been added to the ranks of organized labor; and

WHEREAS, Many of these recruits, while enthusiastic, are not well informed in regard to the jurisdiction claims and principles laid down in the Constitution and By-Laws of the A. F. of L. for the protection of each organized craft against encroachment by other organized crafts; and

WHEREAS, This lack of information, together with a certain amount of confusion existing on account of some new lines of work being created, and new crafts being organized, has caused serious friction to come up between powerful organizations which threaten to disrupt some local organizations of large membership; and

WHEREAS, If organized labor is to survive and improve the conditions of the wage earners of the United States, it is necessary that every branch and every local of the A. F. of L. be kept alive and working together as harmoniously as possible; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That all necessary steps be taken at the convention whereby authorized representatives of the A. F. of L. shall, as soon as possible, visit the places where friction is known to exist between various locals of the A. F. of L. and use every means in their power to bring about reconciliation between said locals, and to establish harmony and co-operation on the part of all parties concerned.

Your committee recommends that the subject matter contained in this resolution be referred to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. to deal with when such friction is found to exist.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolutions No. 71—By Delegate Wm. Koch, of the Colorado State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Through the persistent efforts of the American Federation of Labor and the unions affiliated, the wage-earners of the United States have firmly established the eight-hour day as a standard that is used as a base when measuring the working day; and,

WHEREAS, There is also need of a fixed standard minimum wage for workers in all lines of occupation and endeavor, to be likewise used as a base when measuring the rate of wages to be paid for eight hours' work or service; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-ninth Convention of the American Federation of Labor that we record our hearty approval of the plan to fix a standard minimum wage for workers not only by action of unions affiliated, but also by action through the legislatures of the various states of the nation; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Officers of the American Federation of Labor be, and they hereby are instructed to carry out, insofar as they are able to do it, the objects and purposes of this resolution.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence in this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 72—By Delegates John O'Keefe and Harry L. Morrison, of the Laundry Workers' International Union.

WHEREAS, A great wave of organization is sweeping the country at the present time, as

witness the fact that the unorganized men and women laundry workers of many different cities appeal every day to the Laundry Workers' International Union for organizers or representatives to assist them in being organized; and,

WHEREAS, The limited financial resources of the Laundry Workers' International Union does not allow them to comply with many of these requests for organizers; and,

WHEREAS, The union men of America are deeply interested in the organization of women wage-workers, and the American Federation of Labor in former conventions has gone on record as being heartily in favor of organizing all women wage-workers as soon as possible into unions of their respective crafts; and,

WHEREAS, A contribution of one cent each from the three million or more of union members would establish a large fund that could be used to facilitate the organization of the women wage-workers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, authorize the Executive Council to levy a one-cent assessment on all affiliated members for the special purpose of organizing women wage-workers; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be requested to devote such part of this fund as they may deem necessary for the purpose of organizing the women employed in the laundry industry.

In view of the special assessment that was levied by the A. F. of L. for the purpose of organizing women workers, of which this organization is largely composed, your committee believes that at the present time it is not advisable to call for the special assessment asked for in this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 74—By Cigar Makers' Delegation.

WHEREAS, The cigar manufacturers of Detroit, employing about 8,000, fully 90 per cent of whom are unorganized, and many of whom are women, foreign-born, or of foreign extraction; and,

WHEREAS, These manufacturers, taking advantage of the unorganized condition of these workers and their lack of knowledge of America and our institutions, have so reduced wages and working conditions that a condition exists which is a disgrace to America and her institutions; and,

WHEREAS, In justification of the foregoing statement, sixteen persons and members familiar with the cigar industry of Detroit, all being duly sworn, have made affidavits, in substance as follows:

Harry Carpenter and Henry Verbonggen: That the Hemeter Cigar Co., of Detroit, fined them 25 cents each for each thousand cigars if not sufficient cigars were rolled out of the tobacco, and compelled each worker to turn in two free cigars on each 1000. Fines amounted to as much as \$1.25 a week.

Tessie McKay: That she worked for the Mazer Cigar Co. and received for a 5½ marble head shape cigar, as a roller, \$5.50 per 1000, the bunch maker, 8.00; total, \$8.50. The

union cigar maker received \$20.00 per 1000 for marble heads.

Anna Politonska: That she worked at the San Telmo Cigar Co., where about 1000 girls were employed, making the Pastora 5½-inch, 10-11 cent cigar; prices paid, 25 cents a hundred, but was compelled to make one free out of each 100; a system of fines prevailed. The union price on same class of cigars is \$1.00 per hundred. This firm takes from the workers, based on the prices union factories pay, at least \$1,500,000 in wages, besides the free cigars.

Dorothy Paradowska: That she rolled 800 cigars a day and made 8 free cigars; that she was fined 10 and 20 cents per 1000 for making less out of tobacco than demanded. Other girls were fined as much as 40 cents per 1000. One girl was fined \$1.60 in one day. Prices paid for rolling, \$4.25 per thousand. Union price, \$10 per 1000. Work is from 6:30 a. m. to 5 p. m., with five minutes for lunch in the factory. Girls who lunch at home are on the run going and coming from lunch.

Marie Lubas, Francis Lubas and their mother, Mrs. Lubas: That they were employed at San Telmo Cigar Co., Detroit. Rollers at this branch receive \$4.40, and bunch breakers \$2.25. Hours from 6:30 a. m. to 5:30 p. m. Girls take from 5 to 10 minutes for lunch; those going out and those going home rush right back. Making one free cigar for each 100 compulsory. On October 1, 1918, an increase of 60 cents for rolling and 25 cents for bunch making went into effect, but the system of fining prevails and the increase in wages did not cover the additional fines.

May Hammond and Stella Ward: That the Wayne Cigar Co. (renamed General Cigar Co.) paid \$8.50 for 1000 made by team, which was equally divided. Girls had to strip own wrappers. Union price for same class of work, \$21.00 per 1000. System of fines prevails. Hours from 7 a. m. to 5 p. m. (Marie Lubas also testified to substantially same statement.) No free smokes or fines permitted in union shops.

Stella Kierzawaka: That the Lillies Cigar Co. pays different prices for rolling and bunch making to different girls. Some receive \$2.50 and others up to 4.00 for rolling the same cigars. The system of rolling one free to every 100 and being fined generously prevails. Hours from 7 a. m. to 5 and 6 p. m. Fines are definite, being \$1.00 a week for failure to keep within the limit on stock.

Thomas Keating: That he received \$2.50 per 1000 making bunches at the Lillies Cigar Co. Union price is \$5.00. Substantiates statement as to free bunches and fines.

Rose Yelinc: Testifies to the same general prices and conditions prevailing at the Lillie Cigar Co. while working there.

David S. Jones and John Dridamne: That Charles J. Spiets, part owner and manager of the Wayne Cigar Co., asserted in their pres-

ence that he would not consent to run a union factory as long as he could get cattle to make them at their own price, and that he'd be a fool to run a union shop, and that David S. Jones was a fool to bother himself about cattle employed by Wayne Cigar Co.

WHEREAS, The action of these non-union manufacturers, especially the Havana American Cigar Co., a part of the cigar and tobacco trust, has defied the Federal Government and the State Government by refusing to recognize the official conciliators and mediators of the Federal and State Governments; and, moreover, have denied the right of collective bargaining, the right to organize, and have refused to recognize in any way the local or international union, or State or city federations of labor; and

WHEREAS, The actions of these autocratic, get-rich-quick concerns, with no thought of anything but the dollar mark, which they place above human rights and human welfare, is calculated to, and has, created a spirit of unrest and a state of mind bordering upon hatred, and a feeling of doubt, in which the employees are asking: "Is there any economic justice in America? Are these arrogant institutions so strong and powerful that they can refuse with impunity to meet and treat with government conciliators and mediators, and deny the right of organization and collective bargaining, a right which has been recognized and conceded by the President of the United States, the Congress, and the State, the War Labor Board, and all just and right-thinking men and women?" and

WHEREAS, These non-union concerns, especially the American Tobacco Company, which employs thousands of men and women in factories in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Louisiana, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Florida, Porto Rico, and other States, make it doubly difficult to organize the workmen, or for the workers to increase wages or shorten the hours of labor, or otherwise improve working conditions, because these employers have the power by closing a local factory or factories where an attempt is made to achieve these things, and then increasing their force on the same brands in other factories not affected; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled at Atlantic City, N. J., respectfully request the Hon. William B. Wilson, Secretary of Labor, to cause an investigation of the wages, hours of labor, and working conditions prevailing in factories owned and operated by the American Tobacco Co. and its subsidiary branches, and the cigar industry generally in Detroit, Michigan; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Officers of the American Federation of Labor are hereby instructed to render the Cigar Makers' International Union all assistance possible through its paid and voluntary organizers in an effort to organize the unfortunate workers now held in bondage by the American Tobacco Co. and its subsidiaries, and other large non-union employers in the cigar industry.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 80—By Delegate Nathan P. Birch, of the Newsboys' Union, No. 15886.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled in Seattle, 1918, adopted a substitute resolution placing the issuance of charters to newsboys and carriers' organizations into the hands of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor; and,

WHEREAS, The time lost in waiting for a meeting is extremely detrimental to the interests of those desiring to organize, and a great handicap to organizers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the power to issue charters to organizations of newsboys be placed in the hands of the President and Secretary of the American Federation of Labor; and, further be it

RESOLVED, That the action of the 1913 Convention of the American Federation of Labor for the further organization of newsboys and carriers may be immediately undertaken.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence in the first "Resolved" of this resolution, as it is in direct violation of Article 14, Section 1, of the Constitution of the A. F. of L., and recommends concurrence in the balance of the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Birch, Seattle, discussed the question and urged that something be done to help the newsboys obtain a charter. He described the condition of the newsboys in various cities of the Northwest, the manner in which they were imposed upon and denied the proper compensation for the work they do, and their great need of an organization to protect them.

The motion to adopt the recommendation of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 102—By the McKeesport Council of Labor.

WHEREAS, The campaign committee for organizing the iron and steel workers have been under great expense in their campaign in this district; and,

WHEREAS, While the campaign is on wonderful results can be obtained by the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated unions in the McKeesport, Pa., district; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That a permanent organizer of the American Federation of Labor be stationed in the McKeesport, Pa., district, with headquarters at the said city.

Your committee recommends that the subject matter contained in this resolution be referred to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. to carry into effect if the funds of the Federation will permit.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 107—By Delegate E. G. Galloway, of the Tri-City Central Trades Council, Granite City, Ill.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, in convention held at Seattle, Wash., adopted a resolution to organize the enameling industry in the United States of America and Canada, and would then form an international union of the enamel workers; and,

WHEREAS, There are thirty enameling industries operating in the United States of

America and Canada at the present time, and only one is organized, and that is the National Enameling and Stamping Company, Granite City, Ill.; and,

WHEREAS, Tin, Steel, Iron and Granite Workers' Local Union No. 10943, Granite City, Ill., have struggled for years to maintain their organization, and when the members of their organization ask for an increase in wages and better conditions, the reply from the employers is that competition of the unorganized enamel industries is so strong, for the fact that the unorganized industries get their work done so much cheaper, that they, the National Enameling and Stamping Company, cannot grant higher wages and compete with their competitors; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor make special efforts to organize the workers in the enameling industries immediately, especially in the Canton (Ohio) district, and in the New England States.

Your committee recommends that the second "whereas" be stricken out, and report concurrence in the balance of the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 109—By Central Labor Union of Worcester, Mass.:

WHEREAS, It is generally known to the entire country and the membership of organized labor in particular that the City of Worcester, Massachusetts, is the home and center of activities of the worst labor-hating organization in the country, to wit: the Metal Trades Association, which, like an octopus, has a grip on the financial, industrial and political life of this city; and

WHEREAS, This employers' organization is using every effort to break down and crush labor through black list card index systems. Through forcing members thereof to give all contracts to firms who have declared for open shop conditions. Through control of banks to furnish money to assist open shop contractors in preference to any others; and

WHEREAS, These being well known facts, the Central Labor Union and Building Trades Council of Worcester, Mass., believe that the American labor movement, as represented by the American Federation of Labor should use every effort to cope with this unfair opponent in its home city; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention instruct the Officers and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to immediately inaugurate a campaign of organization in Worcester, Mass., to strengthen unions already established and to organize new unions in all branches of industry in said city; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the convention call upon all national and international unions to lend financial and moral support, through furnishing organizers that a simultaneous effort may be made by all trades and industries to perfect strong organizations and to create a sentiment for unionism which will compel the labor exploiting manufacturers and contractors to recognize the just demands of labor.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 117—By Delegate James William Fitzpatrick, of the White Rats Actors' Union of America:

WHEREAS, There has been proceeding for some time an investigation of vaudeville conditions and of the conspiracy to crush the White Rats Actors' Union of America, an international union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor by the Vaudeville Managers' Protective Association, a weekly newspaper called Variety, the United Booking Offices of America and others; and

WHEREAS, Such investigation has been conducted by that branch of the United States Government known as the Federal Trade Commission; and

WHEREAS, Such investigation on sworn testimony and documentary evidence has revealed a state of things and conditions of employment almost beyond belief, particularly in regard to the commissions and fees extorted from actors by the said United Booking Offices and its allies; and

WHEREAS, The employment and business of ninety-five per cent. of the actors of this country is interstate and is obtained through the said booking offices or employment agencies; and

WHEREAS, At a hearing of such conditions before the State Labor Board of Oklahoma, the said Board in its report recommended that Federal Legislation should be introduced to remedy these evils; and

WHEREAS, The managers of this country dominate and control the actors of this country through the said booking agencies which they own and operate; and

WHEREAS, The said Vaudeville Managers' Protective Association which is composed of the owners and patrons of the said employment agencies and the United Booking Offices, has repeatedly refused to meet or negotiate with or in any way recognize the said White Rats Actors' Union of America, because the White Rats are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, in fact over their own signature, in public announcements, the Vaudeville Managers' Protective Association has announced that the affiliation of the White Rats with Organized Labor "is the sole issue between the Vaudeville Managers and the White Rats"; and

WHEREAS, The United Booking Offices by means of subsidiary corporations and agencies is able to and has for many years past, and is now successfully breaking the laws of the State of New York, Iowa, Illinois, Michigan and California; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in conjunction and co-operation with the International Officers of the White Rats Actors' Union be instructed to prepare and have introduced, and to use every influence to successfully pass an Act of Congress placing the interstate employment of actors in the hands of the Federal Government by means of a Federal Employment Agency.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Fitzpatrick, White Rats Actors' Union, made a statement of some length in connection with the conspiracy against his organization and told in detail how the legal

proceedings started, who financed it and what the results had been, how the offices of the union were burglarized and certain records stolen and what the officers had been compelled to go through in order to protect the individual members of the organization. He submitted evidence to show that the statement that the funds of the union had been diverted to his own personal use and that of the secretary was untrue. He then referred to a document which had been circulated among the delegates and asked them to consider his statement of the case and to draw their own conclusions.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 127—By Delegate William Schoenberg, of the International Association of Machinists.

WHEREAS, All indications point to the fact that thousands of workers from the war-torn countries of Europe will come to the United States soon after the peace treaty is signed in Paris; and

WHEREAS, Regardless of the different measures of restriction the majority of the newcomers may pass the necessary examinations; and

WHEREAS, Immigration, if not properly handled may become dangerous to the American labor movement if left to themselves to shift into industries and sections of this country where they cannot be assimilated; and

WHEREAS, The large interests of employers and manufacturers are using, or misusing immigrants to the detriment of American labor, because of their lack of knowledge of our conditions and customs; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this, the Thirty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that the Executive Council be, and hereby is instructed to investigate the advisability of the establishment of a trades union, information bureau for immigrants in New York, preferably on Ellis Island, where the newcomers may be advised relative to their bona fide trades unions of America, to working conditions, in regards to chances of obtaining employment relative to strikes and lock-outs and such other information which may be valuable to them both from their and our point of view; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That if the Executive Council finds that the establishment of an information bureau is advisable, the council be and hereby is authorized to establish this bureau at their earliest opportunity.

Your committee recommends that the subject matter contained in this resolution be referred to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. for investigation and such action as they may deem necessary.

It was moved and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

Delegate Schoenberg, Machinists, spoke in favor of the resolution and referred to the men who come to this country from Europe with a bona fide trade union card and who, because they were not properly informed about the trade union movement in this country, fell into the hands of dual organizations. He stated that he would like to

have an opportunity to appear before the Executive Council when the subject was being considered by that body.

Delegate D'Alessandro, Laborers, favored the resolution and the establishment of an information bureau for the benefit of the workers emigrating from Europe to the United States.

Delegate Strickland, Portland Central Labor Union, favored the resolution and said he would like to see some immediate effective action taken.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 126—By the Delegation of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. Benjamin Schlesinger, Max Gorenstein, Jacob Heller, Al Laporta, I. Feinberg and M. Friedman.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, instructs its Executive Council to lend its support, to the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union in its peaceful negotiations with the employers of the City of Chicago, and likewise in case a strike is found necessary for the introduction of collective bargaining and uniform standards in the waist, dress and skirt industries of Chicago.

Your committee recommends that the word "instructs" in the second line of the resolve be stricken out and the word "direct" inserted. Your committee concurs in this resolution as far the the words, "City of Chicago" and recommends that the balance of the resolution be stricken out.

It was moved and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

Delegate Heller, Garment Workers, objected to the report of the committee on the grounds that the resolution would lose its effectiveness if the report was adopted. He stated that the organization intended to employ all possible peaceful means to bring about the conditions desired, and that negotiations looking to a peaceful settlement had been going on for some time, but that if, as seemed probable now, these negotiations were unsuccessful, they desired to enter into a strike and to have the support of the American Federation of Labor in so doing. In closing he moved the rejection of the committee's report and the adoption of the resolution in its original form.

Delegate Friedman spoke at some length on conditions in the waist, dress and skirt industries in Chicago and told of the deplorable condition of the workers in that industry at the time the Garment Workers went into the City of Chicago two years ago. She told of the strike which affected something like 1,100 girls, how these girls were put in prison and how, because of lack of organization, they were finally forced to go back to work for the employers against whom they had gone on strike. She closed her statement by urging the adoption of the original resolution.

President Gompers explained that the motion offered by Delegate Heller to reject the report of the committee was not entertained because it was a negative motion, and that the same end could be served by simply voting down the report of the committee. He also explained that, after conferring with the chairman and secretary of the committee, he had been informed that they had merely the text of the resolution and the preamble before them and did not have the opportunity to privately present the subject matter to the Garment Workers' delegation, and that it would be perfectly agreeable to the committee to have the resolution referred back for conference and further report.

Delegate John H. Walker, in discussing the subject, said there was more than one reason why the request of the Garment Workers' delegation should be granted. He expressed the view that the contemplated strike should first have the approval of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and with that qualification he believed the resolution could be adopted.

He then referred to the unfair use of the injunction in the State of Illinois and cited instances where the judges had been most arbitrary in the application of it, particularly the case of Stephen C. Summer in the Garment Workers' strike. He said the indiscretion of these judges and others like them was doing more to promote the cause of Bolshevism and anarchy than all other factors combined, and urged the workers to "go the limit" in their efforts to get legislation to make that sort of thing impossible in the United States.

Delegate Frank Duffy, speaking for the committee, said: The committee has no particular objection to the resolution, any more than that it asks the support of the American Federation of Labor in case of an anticipated strike—something that may not exist. That is the principal reason that we suggested the elimination of that part. Yesterday morning I came on this platform and made quite an announcement of the subject matters that were to be dealt with, and I asked on behalf of the committee that all delegates who had anything before the committee appear before us at the hotel. The Lady Garment Workers' delegation never appeared before us or attempted to appear before us. We did not know whether this was likely to be a strike or not, nothing more than that it was an anticipated strike. We have a similar resolution just after this one couched in almost the same language, but it does not involve an anticipated strike. In that resolution we concur, so you see the committee has no particular objection to it any more than it involves an anticipated strike, something that may never occur.

President Gompers: The chair asks the

indulgence of the convention for a moment in regard to the resolution and the suggestion of the committee for re-committal by reason of the fact that the delegates of the Garment Workers' International Union have not had an opportunity to be heard, regardless of whose fault it may be. I just desire to take advantage of this opportunity to call the attention, not only of the convention generally, but of the delegates and officers of the Lady Garment Workers' International Union to the fact that the American Federation of Labor, the Executive Council and I as President have not failed to be of assistance to the lady garment workers in the crucial hours of their history and did not hesitate some eight or nine years ago to declare, in a public meeting, at Madison Square Garden, New York: I made the declaration that unless the employers in the industry were willing to make the standards of living of the workers in that industry comparable with that which was regarded as the sovereign standard of American workers, if they were unwilling to enter into a collective bargain to carry that into execution an industrial revolution in that industry would take place. We did assist, the American Federation of Labor aims to help the workers in their contests for a decent life and to bring light into their lives and into their work. Now I think the convention is about to announce that some declaration of moral support should be given the Lady Garment Workers if it is necessary that they enter into a contest to maintain those principles. The chair suggests, therefore, that the request of the committee be complied with and that the entire subject matter be recommitted for conference and further consideration.

Delegate Gorinstein, Garment Workers, objected to the course suggested by the chair and said he preferred to have the matter settled at once on the floor of the convention.

Delegate Green, Mine Workers, moved that the resolution be re-committed to the Committee on Organization for conference and further consideration by that committee.

Delegate Sillinsky: A point of order. A motion has been made to adopt the recommendation of the committee. Therefore any other motion is out of order.

President Gompers: The point of order is not well taken. It is a subsidiary motion made to refer or recommit. That motion is in order and at the disposition of this convention.

The motion offered by delegate Green was carried.

At 12:40 p. m. the convention was adjourned to reconvene at 2:30 o'clock.

FIFTH DAY--Friday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:30 o'clock p. m., Friday, June 13th, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Schlessinger, Mitchell (John), Hayes (Frank J.), Johnston (Wm. H.), Hannah, Thomas, Curtis, Ely, Priestly, Hannon, Wilkinson, Harte, Patterson, Berger, Ellicott, Thompson.

Resolutions Re-Deferred

Resolution No. 4, referred from Committee on Education to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolutions Nos. 13, 43, and 106, relating to railroad legislation, referred from Committee on Executive Council's Report to Committee on Resolutions.

President Gompers requested Vice-Presidents Duffy, Valentine and Green to escort Secretary of Labor Wilson to the platform.

President Gompers: The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor by unanimous vote directed the President of the Federation to extend an invitation to the Secretary of the Department of Labor to deliver an address to this convention. The Secretary of that Department and a member of the President's cabinet is now with us, the union man in good standing, a member of the affiliated organization to the American Federation of Labor, is with us, and it affords me pleasure and honor to present William B. Wilson.

ADDRESS OF HON. WM. B. WILSON, Secretary of Labor.

Mr. President, and Fellow-Trade Unionists: It is a great pleasure to have the opportunity of being present, even though it may be at but one of the sessions of this historic victory and reconstruction convention of the American Federation of Labor.

The wage-workers of our country have reason to be proud of the part which they played in the great world war for freedom and democracy. You have reason to be proud not only of the part you have taken in the struggle, but of the great part that has been played in the contest by your selected representative, the president of the American Federation of Labor. Upon him has devolved not only the direction of your forces and associated forces in the great struggle against the military autocracy of Germany, but there has also fallen upon his shoulders—and he has borne the burden manfully, he has directed the movement intelligently—the great burden of conducting the battle against the other insidious forces that would endeavor to utilize vio-

lence for the destruction of democracy, the powers of Bolshevism as expressed in some of the countries of Eastern Europe.

The part played by labor has been due in a great measure to the appreciation by labor of the development that has taken place in the progress of human democracies.

I have a theory, and time alone will demonstrate whether the theory is sound, that every individual and every group of individuals becomes influential in the affairs of the government just in so far as the individual or the group of individuals is necessary for the defense of the state. I know my British friends will pardon me if I refer to what in my mind was the great starting point in the development of modern democracy. I don't look upon the Battle of Bannockburn as being purely the heritage of the people of Scotland alone, but I look upon it as being the heritage of the masses of the people of all the world. Those of you who are familiar with the history of that struggle and the ones preceding it, realize that up until that time the only people who had been permitted to participate in the affairs of government were the monarchs and the nobility, the nobility comprising the flower of Knighthood. The nobility were permitted to participate because the man on horseback and in armor was the man who at that time was necessary for the defense of the state. Nearly all of the nobility of Scotland had been brought up at the Court of England and when the Battle of Bannockburn took place very few of the men in armor were on the side of the Scottish monarch. He had to depend for his support in the conflict upon the yeomanry of his country and for the first time in the history of warfare the yeomanry, with pikes in their hands, were formed on the battlefield of Bannockburn in what has since come to be known as the "hollow square"—only in that case it was the hollow circle. The historians have failed to grasp the importance of that situation. They tell us of the pitfalls that had been made on the moor for the horses of the English monarch and his men and how some of these fell into the pits. There were a sufficient number who crossed over the moor to have crushed the Scottish army if it had not been for the new military tactics which the necessity of the situation compelled Bruce to employ, and he formed his men into hollow circles to receive the men of the opposing forces on their pikes, and when the nobles came, they came on to the pikes of the yeomanry and were destroyed. The yeoman at that moment became a more important factor in the defense of his country. The British monarch was later compelled to follow the same tactics that Bruce had followed. And when the wars were carried by Edward over into the Continent, with the yeomen as a fighting factor in his armies, the European military chiefs were compelled also to change their tactics. From that period dated the

fall of knighthood and the beginning of manhood.

Slowly the masses of the people represented in the yeomanry began to realize their importance and before the reign of Bruce had passed, they had compelled him to yield concessions to the yeomanry of his country, and this was true also of Edward and true over all the Continent.

The individual, the man in the mass, the toiler of society, began to see the dawn of a new day. It took centuries before it began to crystallize, but those same people, coming over to our country, settling on our shores, carried with them the ideals of the importance of the workers of humanity. When our Declaration of Independence was proclaimed to the world, when it was being prepared before it was given to the world, there came down from the north those who insisted that there should be included in the document the statement that taxation without representation was tyranny, and there came up from the south workers who in the meantime had become imbued with a spirit of racial aristocracy but yet were imbued with the same thought that had developed on the other side of the water, who insisted that there should go into the Declaration of Independence that basic principle of all democracies—that every government derives its just powers from the consent of the governed.

Modern warfare has still more thoroughly accentuated that thought. In the battles of ancient times it was frequently possible for large armies to support themselves upon the country in which they were operating, receiving but a small portion of their supplies from home. From the days when Joshua overcame the enemies of Israel until Sherman made his famous march to the sea, great armies supported themselves upon the country in which they were fighting. That is no longer possible. It has been variously estimated that it takes anywhere from six to ten workers in the rear to maintain one soldier in the trenches. Consequently, the workers of all the world have become more important factors in the defense of their respective countries, and they are insisting and will continue to insist that in the consideration of the problems of reconstruction, the laws shall be so constructed and social affairs so conducted that every individual in the community shall have the greatest possible opportunity for self-determination.

The labor movement of this country is no exception to the rule in that respect. We have in our country our faddists—people, many of them who have never had experience in the practical problems of life. Some of them have been following after false gods. It is not those who are following after the false gods that will be the saviors of the workers of our country. It is those who have persistently made and are continuing to make self-sacrifice for the common good who will achieve results.

I recall, and I may have mentioned it to you on previous occasions, but it will bear repeating—I recall the conditions we found in the Middle West when the President's Mediation Commission was sent out to investigate the conditions brought about by the activities of the Industrial Workers of the World some two years ago. The Industrial Workers of the World had almost gone out of existence prior to that time. Suddenly

there was a renewal of activities. Industries that were essential for the success of the war were being tied up. There seemed to be no way of keeping them in operation. The President appointed a commission of which I had the honor of being Chairman. We found some oddities and many crude theories that the average man in the labor movement would not stand for. We found that people were coming in on the roads to the mining camps of the mountain regions—coming in quite large numbers, and practically over night establishing locals of the I. W. W., and then, without submitting the question to the voice of the workers themselves, either through organization or otherwise, declaring strikes against the companies that were operating; declaring those strikes for a given wage and for a given number of hours, refusing to meet the employers in conference and insisting that it must be this rate which they published and no other, and that idleness would follow the employers' refusal to comply with their demands.

But that was not all. We found that wherever the legitimate evolutionary aspirations of the workers were given an opportunity to develop, there the I. W. W. found no foothold; that it was only in the places where there was the Iron Hand of repression on the part of the employer used upon the workers themselves that this peculiarly revolutionary spirit found expression. It found expression in addition to the manner I have stated, in the philosophy that was being taught.

They announced as the basis of their movement the philosophy that every man is entitled to the full social value of what his labor produces. Now that philosophy is purely of socialistic origin. It had its first exponent in Marx. It is also a philosophy that every individual can subscribe to with thoroughness and with complete acceptance of the principle. Every man is entitled to the full social value of what his labor produces. The great difficulty has been that human intelligence has not yet devised a method by which we can compute what the social value is of anyone's labor. No one can compute the value of your labor; no one can compute the value of my labor; no one can compute the value of the labor that has been performed by the president of this organization, or the labor that was performed by the man with a pick and shovel in the ditch. Our intelligence has not yet devised a method by which we can compute it, and so, in the years gone by, we have endeavored to make the computation by one of three processes: By the process of the employer using his economic power to arbitrarily fix the compensation of the workers; by the process of the worker using his collective power, arbitrarily fixing the compensation and imposing it upon the employer, and by the process of negotiation.

It is the process of negotiation that the American labor movement has insisted upon for the bringing of the different elements together and endeavoring to work the problems out on as equitable a basis as the circumstances will permit. But there is a wide misapprehension of the scope of the labor movement of our country. There are those who assume that the negotiations that the American labor movement seeks with the

employers only involve consideration of the question of wages, or the hours of labor. But the negotiations that the American wage-workers, the labor movement of America, stand for, include in their scope every industrial activity that affects the mental, the material or the spiritual welfare of mankind.

They laid down as the second step in their philosophy that property is only valuable in so far as profits can be secured from the property, that if you eliminate the profits the property will become valueless and no one will want to retain it; and that, so far as it goes, is also sound. If there is nothing that can be produced from a piece of property that will be valuable to mankind, then no one wants to be bothered with the possession of that property.

Then came what to my mind and to the minds of the great bulk of the trade unionists of this country that I have come in contact with, was the poison in their whole philosophy. They said that the way to destroy the value of the property was to strike upon the job, that is, to "soldier," as we say here in the East, to produce a stint, as they say in Great Britain, to put sand on the bearings, to break the machinery, to reduce production and to reduce the amount of returns from labor to as small a point as possible and enable the worker to retain his job, then in this way the profits would be destroyed, the value would be eliminated, the owner would no longer desire to retain the property and it could be taken over by the workers, operated collectively, and the workers secure the full social value of what their labor produced.

Whatever there may be of value in the collective ownership and operation of property there is at least no value whatsoever in that method of bringing it about.

All we had to do amongst those workers in the Middle West was to point to the historical fact that prior to the rebirth of the inventive genius of man, prior to the building up of our modern factory system with its wonderful processes of machinery, when everything that was produced was produced by hand, there was a much smaller production per individual than could possibly result from any system of sabotage that could now be introduced; and yet in those days there were still profits for the employers and there was still value to the property. What did result was a very much lower standard of living for the workers, and the only thing that would result from such a scheme now would be a lower standard of living for the wage-workers of the present, and our wage-workers are not going to stand for any system that will lower their standards of living.

The employers and the employees have a mutual interest in securing the largest possible production with a given amount of labor, having due regard to the health, the safety, the opportunities for rest, recreation and improvement of the workers. These being safeguarded, the larger the amount that is produced, the larger will be the amount that there is to provide. If there is nothing produced, there will be nothing to divide. If there is a large amount produced, there will be a large amount to divide. Their interests diverge only when it comes to a division of what has been mutually produced, and if they are wise in

their generation in these modern times, with labor realizing its importance in the defense of the country and the maintenance of the country, instead of solving the problem by the use of the economic power on the part of the employer, imposing his will upon the worker, or the use of collective power on the part of the employees imposing their will upon the employers, they will sit around the council table and endeavor to work out the problem on a democratic basis that will secure to each all that he is entitled to receive.

Closely allied to the work of the I. W. W. during the past year, at least, there has been more or less Bolshevik agitation in the United States. It has not been to any great extent prevalent amongst the real workers of the country. It has existed principally amongst the "parlor coal-diggers" of our greater cities. I have no fear of a political revolution in the United States. It may be possible that these "parlorites" may misguide a sufficient number of laboring men to cause local disturbances that will be annoying, but no one in the ranks of labor, whether he is classed as an extreme radical or an extreme conservative, or any of the elements between these two, will stand for Bolshevism for a minute when he knows what Bolshevism itself stands for.

They talk a great deal about the dictatorship of the proletariat. We who have been more or less familiar with the theories that have been promulgated by Marx and his assertion of the dictatorship of the proletariat had interpreted the term to mean that a majority of the workers of the land would determine the policy of it and impose it upon the balance of our people. And our workers were not willing to accept even that kind of a principle. They realized the many centuries of struggle there had been to secure the franchise on the part of the workers in the face of the claims that had been made that they had no property to be taxed, and having no property to be taxed they should have no voice in imposing the taxes, and further, that they had not developed enough, that they had not sufficient intelligence to be permitted to participate in the affairs of state. During all the centuries there has been a struggle to remedy the wrong, and the basis of that struggle, the basis of the contention of the workers has been that every person who has to obey the laws of a country ought to have a voice in determining what those laws should be. Having fought all through the centuries for the accomplishment of that ideal, having accomplished this purpose, the American workingman was not disposed to impose the same kind of a disfranchisement upon other portions of the people that he did not want imposed upon himself.

The Bolsheviks did not even take that interpretation of the dictatorship of the proletariat as their guide in the countries where they are just now supreme. In his long speech before the National Soviet at Moscow a little more than a year ago, Lenin laid down the principle that the dictatorship of the proletariat meant the dictatorship of a self-selected, so-called "advance guard," that the proletariat himself was not to be trusted because he would waver, and that this self-selected advance guard would impose its will upon the workers and the others

must obey, and in that obedience was included obligatory labor.

From the time that Moses led the Israelites out of bondage in Egypt until Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation, the struggle of the masses has been to get away from slavery, to get away from compulsory labor, and yet it is proposed by this new form of government to re-introduce obligatory labor upon the workers of the world, imposed upon them by a small group of the "parlorites" of Russia. The great distinction between slavery and freedom is that under freedom every man shall have the right to cease work for any reason that may be sufficient to himself.

We have protested to the extent of sacrificing our blood and our treasure against the military autocracy of Germany and yet the military autocracy of Germany was built upon the self-same idea, that the Kaiser and his group of advisers knew better what the workman desired, what he needed and what was good for him than the workers knew themselves, and this new group is setting itself up as the advance guard, taking exactly the same position that they know better what is good for the workers than the workers know themselves, and that one of the things that is good for them is that they must be compelled to labor at any price that the advance guard may say, at any kind of work they may determine, for any number of hours the advance guard may decide upon, and the powers of government are to be used to enforce that will. That is their policy.

The American workman wants nothing of that kind of dictatorship of the proletariat. The American workman wants nothing of that kind of obligatory labor. The American workman wants nothing of the political, social or economic conditions that have existed and still exist in Russia. We have worked out our destiny far beyond that stage, and we are going to continue to work it out to the achievement of higher ideals, not by the will of an advance guard, no matter how right or just their position may be, but by the will of the majority themselves.

The use of force, as some of these people are advocating, for the overthrow of our institutions, we will not tolerate. Why, my friends, our institutions have been until recently the most completely democratic institutions in the world, and it is only recently that Great Britain has come up shoulder to shoulder with us. Our Declaration of Independence, while it declared, as I have stated, that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, did not give to all of the people a voice in the affairs of state. The adoption of our Constitution did not give that right, that privilege. It was not until after sixty or seventy years of struggle that there came to the workers of our country practically universal manhood suffrage and every element in our country had at least the right to a voice in determining how the affairs of state should be conducted.

In Eastern Europe they had not reached that stage of development. The workers were not permitted to have a voice in determining the affairs. The only method by which they could bring about change was by the use of force. Force over there and force here are two different propositions. The use of force to overthrow an autocracy

may be the highest kind of patriotism. But the use of force to overthrow a democracy is treason to the masses of the people. We are proceeding by evolution, not by revolution. We have the power of the ballot to remedy our grievances. If we fail to use the ballot rightly the fault is our own. And those of us who cannot be depended upon to vote right cannot be depended upon to shoot right. And, may I add that in making that statement I am not advocating either the attachment to any political party or the creation of any new political party. Our conditions here are very much different from the conditions on the other side of the ocean. Over there there is a snug little island. The great majority of their people are engaged in industrial and commercial pursuits. A separate party over there can, without having an accession from the intellectuals, become a majority party. That is not the case in our country. There are just as many people engaged in agricultural pursuits, in pursuits that do not lend themselves to organizations, as there are engaged in industrial pursuits, and even if we were able to solidify all of the wage-workers of the country in a common mass, as the others would solidify against us, we could not become a majority party, and any progress we might attempt to make would be retarded as a result of the partisan feeling that would be engendered by virtue of these contests. And so we are in a position where we can, if we will, organize a separate party, or we can pursue the policy that has been pursued successfully so far, and that is to throw the weight of our support, of our influence, to the individuals or to the parties that, for the time being, are willing to go along with our program.

May I also, Mr. President, take this opportunity of giving a word of advice in connection with another situation that has been tense throughout the country? The advice is given freely, honestly and earnestly. You may accept it or leave it as your own judgment tells you is best. I have been very much interested in the Mooney case. I was requested by the President when his Commission went west, to look into the Mooney case and report to him. We looked into the Mooney case and in doing so we came to this conclusion: That so far as the jury was concerned that passed upon the evidence presented to it, it could have come to no other conclusion under its sworn duty than to convict Mooney; that so far as the judge was concerned who tried the case, he tried it with absolute fairness. But there were some things existing in addition to that. At the time of the trial certain evidence had been given by certain individuals relative to the supposed activities of Mooney. It afterwards developed that one of the principal witnesses had written to a friend of his in Illinois asking him to come to San Francisco and be prepared to testify that he had seen Orman, the witness, at a given point at a given time, so as to testify to the possibility of Orman's being at the point where he claimed to have secured the evidence. The commission was of the opinion that in view of that change in the evidence, and in view of other changes that had taken place in the evidence from the date of trial, Mooney ought to be given a new trial, and his innocence or guilt decided upon the evidence as it existed when this new evidence was produced.

At that time I had no fixed opinions as to either the guilt or the innocence of Mooney. With me it was not a question of whether Mooney was guilty or was innocent, but a question of securing a fair trial for him under the existing circumstances. Every effort that the National Administration was able to put forth was put forth for the purpose of trying to secure that new trial, and we are not through with it yet. We are still working on it.

But that is not the phase of the situation that I particularly wanted to advise you about. I am simply stating these facts as preliminary to what is to follow. There has been carried on throughout the country a nation-wide agitation for a universal strike as a protest against the conviction of Mooney. My friends, do you realize just what that action means to the masses of the people? Do you understand fully—most of you do—the struggle that has taken place in order that trials may take place by jury where people are accused, with the accused having the opportunity of meeting the witnesses and the jury face to face, and the jury having opportunity of witnessing the manner in which the witnesses give their testimony? That change, the establishment of the jury system, was not brought about for the purpose of protecting the monarch or protecting the nobility. It has not been principally essential for the protection of men of great wealth; they have usually been in a position to protect themselves. The jury system was brought into existence for the purpose of protecting poor fellows like you and me from the power and influence of the other fellow.

It may occasionally miscarry; occasionally an injustice or a wrong may be done, but in the great bulk of cases justice is meted out through the jury system. Neither you nor I nor anyone in the labor movement, no one who belongs to the great masses of our people, can afford to undertake to try Mooney by the process of a strike. If he is to be tried he should be tried by a jury that can meet him face to face and meet the witnesses face to face and be able to digest the evidence as it comes out, bit by bit. Very few of us have had an opportunity of examining the evidence in the Mooney case, very few of us know anything more about the Mooney case than simply that which is connected with Oxman, one of the principal witnesses, and yet it is proposed that every workman in the country, whether he has information concerning the Mooney case or not, shall become a juror in this case, and at the same time that he becomes a juror, shall enter into a strike to bring about a decision. What influence will it have? The man who under our laws can pardon him or liberate him from prison is not under the jurisdiction of the voters of any other part of the country than that of California. And I do not know but that, even though there may be a miscarriage of justice occasionally, it is a wise thing that that is the case. The further you get the responsible officers removed from the electorate, the less influence the electorate has with those responsible officers, and while the responsible officers may occasionally pursue a course that is not acceptable to the multitude, it is better that they should be close to the multitude, close to the electorate, than that they should be far removed, as would be

the case if the responsibility rested with the Federal official instead of with the state or local official.

My friends, we in this country have been moving on by the evolutionary processes, taking hold of the problems that confront us, holding fast to that which experience demonstrates to be good, letting loose of those things which experience demonstrated to be bad. It is the safest method, the surest method. Revolutionary processes may move us forward rapidly for a brief period. On the other hand, the chances are that when a revolution takes place no one will be able to determine where it will end. That has been true of nearly all the revolutions of the world, and the policy that has been pursued by the American labor movement of going forward by evolutionary processes, making sure of each foothold with every step that it takes, so that there will be no step backward, is the surest and best process for the achievement of the highest ideals of mankind. I thank you.

President Gompers: The chair desires to say just a word of comment in connection with the thoughtful and masterly address of the Secretary of Labor. It is not necessary that I should comment upon it; you have manifested your appreciation. The American Federation of Labor, from the first year of its existence, when organized in 1881, declared that we desired to have a Department of Labor in the federal government. After a while a Bureau of Labor Statistics was created, independent of any other governmental department. It made its investigations independently of any other governmental department and its reports direct. There came about a change in which the Department of Commerce and Labor was effected, and the Bureau of Labor Statistics was submerged and lost its identity. After several years of further effort we finally secured Congressional action which divorced that department so that two new departments were created instead of one—one the Department of Commerce and the other the Department of Labor. The first to occupy the position of Secretary of the Department of Labor was the gentleman who has just addressed us, Mr. William B. Wilson.

It is not to review these few facts that I have arisen to ask your indulgence to hear me, but to state a situation which must command our attention. Somehow or other in the minds of some of our representatives and Senators in Congress, there is a notion that there must not be a Department of Labor exercising functions in the interest of the working masses of our country; and it has been one of the most difficult tasks to get anything like a decent appropriation from Congress for the Department. It seems as though there has been a policy pursued to starve the Department of Labor either out of existence or into such a state of weakness that its functions will be of little avail.

Outside of the mobilization of the men to be drilled and trained and developed, outside of the departments which furnished the materials and the resources, no department of government gave more real service to the prosecution of the war and the winning of the war than did the Department of Labor. As a result of this war in which militarism was defeated by the yeomanry of the people of the United States and the allied countries, we have reason to believe that the direction of the minds of the people of the world will be diverted from military perfection to industrial and humane conditions. As a result of the peace treaty and the League of Nations and the international conferences of labor, the activities and the services of the War Department and our Navy Department, as well as the war departments and naval establishments of the world will become less potent year after year; while on the other hand, the work, the mission of the Department of Labor in collaborating with the organized labor movement in the functions of that department will enter into all the matters of our everyday lives.

The enabling act creating the Department of Labor is so important in its declarations that it would be well worth while to have them, not only read through sometimes but printed and kept in our minds for all time and to suit all occasions. The enabling act creating the department declares that it is the duty of that department to work for the welfare of the wage earning masses of our country. And there is no limit to the ramifications of such activities. I am sure that in good time, as the result of the reports made to you by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, this convention will declare its position and resent any attempt to curb or weaken or destroy the Department of Labor.

There are a few men who, no matter how the world will develop, how the mentality of the people will grow, how the yearning for freedom and justice and democracy has grown and has become accentuated and accelerated as a result of the war, will oppose progress. A delegate yesterday called attention to the attitude of mind of an association of employers in New Jersey. That is not an isolated case—we can point to several such cases. I think we are justified in saying that employers generally realize the new relations which are coming about. I am not accustomed to use man's names in criticism of principles, but I cannot help mentioning the name of a member of Congress who, only a few weeks ago, undertook to make an attack upon the American Federation of Labor and a personal attack upon me. I could do nothing but answer that the man knew not of what he spoke. I refer to blatant, bleating Blanton. As time

goes on either he will be converted, or, like another Congressman who attempted to lengthen the hours of labor of the workers for the government, will be left at home.

As time goes on the value of the work of the American Federation of Labor movement, of the bona fide labor movement of the whole world, will be more and more realized. The constructive work of creating a better public opinion, because we shall constitute largely the public opinion of our respective countries, will go on, it must go on if civilized society can be expected to continue. And we are under obligations to the Secretary of Labor, the man who never has failed, notwithstanding his great responsibility, as he has declared this afternoon in addressing us as his fellow trade unionists. I think that one of the things against which the criticisms of him have been leveled is because he has refused to deny or repudiate, but, on the contrary, has asserted that notwithstanding any position in life in which he may be placed, he is still, and will continue to be, a thorough trade unionist.

I cannot fail to express to the thoughts I have and the appreciation I know you and I feel jointly toward Bill Wilson, the man, and the Secretary of Labor.

A number of soldier and sailor boys have organized a local body here and have adopted a series of laws and declarations. Three of the boys have made application in behalf of those they represent, to make brief addresses to this convention to show the purpose they have in mind. If there is no objection they will be heard. There appearing none, it is so ordered.

President Gompers introduced to the convention Mr. Alfred Levitt of New York, Mr. Nathan Fine of Chicago, Mr. Ralph Tropp of New York.

ADDRESS OF MR. ALFRED LEVITT Representing Soldiers, Sailors and Marines Protective Association

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of this convention: In the name of the Soldiers, Sailors and Marines Protective Association I wish to thank you for the rare opportunity extended to me at this juncture to take counsel with you men of accumulated wisdom and power. There are two bodies in the United States upon which the eyes of all the service men are cast, the Congress of the United States, at Washington, D. C., and the Congress of the American labor at Atlantic City, N. J. You will all agree with me, ladies and gentlemen, that had it not been for these two bodies of great men supplying money and the necessary morale to us, German militarism and mediaeval autocracy would have triumphed. And, furthermore, the abyss into which these relics of the old world have fallen was excavated by the soldiers, sailors, and marines, in conjunction with organized labor. And it is because of that we come to you once again for further consultation on matters of vital importance to the soldier, sailor, and marine, and to organized labor.

With the signing of the armistice on November 11, 1918, four million men became potential job-seekers. Our country was and is unprepared for the problems arising from the necessity of placing again in industry the men withdrawn by the war. Every city, town and village in the United States was full of men in uniform who are eagerly looking for jobs. And, to their sorrow, jobs were not to be found. In many instances men who fought for democracy on the other side were reduced to a state where they were compelled to retail their heroic achievements for a livelihood. The jobs that were open to us were either cheap or scab jobs, and that is what we object to. We believe that men who helped to preserve the institutions you cherish in the United States deserve better treatment at the hands of our fellow citizens.

Employers of labor who had long sought an opportunity to break down the safeguards which had been built up by ceaseless and sacrificing toil grasped the occasion to attempt to put over their open-shop program. Where strikes occurred men in uniform were hired at attractive wages to "learn a trade;" all sorts of alluring promises were made, and through misrepresentation these men were to be used to break down the standards already established by you men.

We come here to you, not because we demand too much, but because we understand that you as a body have the power to impress upon Congress that, first of all, we deserve \$360, a year's pay, so that we can tide ourselves over the slack period and thus maintain the standards of livelihood, instead of breaking them down. We deserve a year's pay. At the present time we are getting only \$60, and \$60 is sufficient only to buy a civilian suit of clothes, a pair of shoes, a cup of coffee and a doughnut.

We also would like to see Congress inaugurate a program of reconstruction whereby every man will be able legitimately to procure a position and thus maintain the American standard of living. We want to see public buildings constructed, so that men will not be compelled to walk the streets looking for a livelihood. We believe that if we have a shorter work day the soldier will not have to worry about the job; that if we have six hours a day to work every soldier will be able to get a job.

I thank you for your kind attention and also for the honor given me by your President. I think our appeal will not be in vain. When we leave this hall this afternoon I feel sure that every man will leave with the impression that we boys, who have really wiped out German militarism and militarism of every kind, deserve the treatment of boys who are willing to uphold the standards of America.

ADDRESS OF MR. NATHAN FINE

If I may make just one personal reference before beginning the very brief set of remarks I have to make, I want to say that I happen to be one of those fortunate ones who in studying American history started with the labor movement and read every copy of *The American Federationist* since it was started and every set of proceedings since 1881. I did that, although I am very young and attending one of your conventions for the first time. I suggest that

these things be incorporated as a set of exercises in American history.

Mr. Fine read the following prepared statement:

In the name of the organization which has sent the three of us to your convention, the Soldiers, Sailors and Marines' Protective Association, we wish to thank you for this rare opportunity to take counsel with you, the chosen representatives of the American labor movement. It would indeed be strange that you, who were behind the boys in war time should desert them in peace time, when they need the benefit of your strength and wisdom. In the reconstruction program of the Executive Council, contained in their report to you, there is, as a matter of fact, ample evidence that the interests of the returning soldiers and sailors have not been overlooked. The matter has been so satisfactorily handled that we need do little more than call your attention to certain portions of that program, and bring home their significance for ex-service men and wage earners generally.

In twenty or more cities and towns, returning soldiers and sailors have organized themselves. The movement has been as spontaneous as it has been widespread. And the form and objects of organization have been with slight differences, everywhere the same. What were these conditions which caused these organizations of ex-service men to spring up?

You are too well acquainted with the evils of our industrial life in some of its aspects. One of these, perhaps one of the worst, faced the soldier, as he was discharged from the army. And a number of the boys got a larger swallow of unemployment than they could stomach agreeably.

Old jobs were in frequent instances gone, trades had shifted. Former employers had in many cases no contracts and therefore no jobs. The boys themselves were not all able to take work at their old line, and business conditions generally were not most prosperous. Just after the signing of the armistice in November, Congress had not even passed the \$60 bonus bill. The situation was such that canteens were supplying meals and beds to the ex-service men, free of charge. The demand, however, so far exceeded the supply in a short time, that these charitable institutions began charging for their services. And it is a fact that some of the boys had to resort to the sale of buttons, flags, cheap books, and what not, in a canvas from house to house, or on the public streets of our cities, selling little or nothing for a quarter or half-dollar, in reality only peddling their heroic achievements and making known their destination.

Wherever temporary jobs could be secured the boys took them. They were under pressure to accept any kind of a job at any rate of wages and under any conditions to tide them over. Instead of being trained in the habits of industry, instead of getting the opportunity to fit once more into the ways of civil and natural life, these boys were forced to the hardest kind of work, that of looking for work. And many were stranded in the large cities without home or friends.

Employers, where they were willing to hire ex-service men, in many cases, realizing their helpless condition, bargained with

them as individuals, and you who are organized know what kind of bargains were made. The man who offered himself at the lowest rate, a starvation rate, secured the job. And in what frame of mind did such a state of affairs leave the self-respecting former soldier or sailor?

The same man who was being forced to accept \$15 a week, with war prices raging, was also used as a strike-breaker. When you went out on strike uniformed men, just out of service, were being attracted to take your places by deceptive high wages, to learn a trade, to get permanent employment and to act as guards. By various subterfuges these boys were being drawn into industry to act the part of common scabs. The necessitous condition of the boys was fully taken advantage of. It is worthy of note, however, that it was the exceptional ex-service man who scabbed on the workers. The vast overwhelming majority had learned the lesson of comradeship and team-work, and had too keen a realization of the vital significance of union labor's chief weapon, the strike. They were workers themselves and felt a sense of common interest. But, so long as the boys are out of work the danger of their being used as strike-breakers remains.

It is true that federal employment bureaus, the trade union bodies, the civic organizations and charitable bodies were doing what they could to place the boys. Even legislation by state legislatures and Congress was being considered. But, regardless of this, the condition of affairs was changing but slightly and slowly. The boys felt that to get consideration they must organize themselves for themselves, that it was their task to speak up and make known their needs and suggested remedies, and so associations of soldiers and sailors were formed as a result of this state of unemployment.

In closest sympathy with organized labor, the organizations of ex-service men took counsel with the chiefs of labor and in many cases secured credentials from central bodies to address and make known their purposes before their constituent unions. Mass meetings at which union men and former soldiers and sailors attended were held. Literature was distributed emphasizing the plight of the former soldier and sailor and stating the way out. And more than this, wherever uniformed men were being used as strike-breakers, these associations used every means in their power to keep their former comrades from such practices. The organizations of soldiers and sailors became one extended and continuous picket line.

In order that the boys might all get work we demand first, that the work day be shortened. A shorter work day will stimulate all branches of industry, it will give more men an opportunity to find employment, it will give more recreation to those who toil. You need no discussion of the principles and justice of the shorter work day. Our association at all times and places emphasizes the necessity of reducing the hours to give work to the returning boys.

Certainly, until the boys find work, they should be assisted financially, not by charitable institutions, but by the government. And in order that the boys who gave their all to the nation, should receive a little to start out with, or to tide them over until

they are placed, we demand that Congress enact a law giving the boys \$30 a month for twelve months or \$360. This would be but a small token of gratitude and justice.

Some of the boys could be assisted in getting located by the construction of public works, if necessary. It has been determined by students of the unemployment problem that if the governments would carry out their public works in times of unemployment, that alone would take care of a good percentage of those without work, and the government would not lose a single cent, for it would be merely doing at this time what it would have to do at another.

On page 49 of the report of the Executive Council, there is well summarized the demand for assistance by the federal and state employment bureaus in the paragraph:

The work of the Soldiers, Sailors and Marines' Protective Association is of a propaganda nature, to bring home to the government and the public the needs of the soldiers and sailors entering civil life once more.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION

Delegate Colby, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 187—By Delegate Benjamin Schiesinger, Max Gornstein, Jacob Hellen, Al Laporta, Israel Feinberg and M. Friedman, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, instructs its Executive Council to lend its support to the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union in its efforts to introduce collective bargaining and union working conditions in the cloak, suit and skirt industries of the City of Cleveland, Ohio.

Your Committee recommends concurrence in the resolution. The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 189—By Delegates Henry H. Raisse, of the Lorain Central Labor Union, and Edw. J. Evans, of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

RESOLVED, That this 39th Convention of the American Federation of Labor initiate the proper proceedings looking toward the formation of an iron and steel workers' department in the American Federation of Labor.

Owing to the fact that there is already a Metal Trades Department affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, your Committee recommends non-concurrence in this resolution.

Resolution No. 145—By Delegates Henry W. Raisse, of the Lorain, Ohio, Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, There is now much dissatisfaction and confusion among many of the men employed in the steel mills thru not being in the union having jurisdiction over their work, by having been placed in there thru no mistake of their own or by having had to seek another line of work after joining; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates to the 39th Annual Convention of the A. F. of L., ask that a free transfer card be issued to men working in the steel industry who have to transfer from one union to another.

This is a matter that comes under the jurisdiction of the International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor over which we have no control.

The report of the Committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 162—By Delegate Thos. M. Gann, of the Tennessee Federation of Labor, George L. Berry.

WHEREAS, The policemen in various cities have formed local organizations, and are desirous of becoming a part of the great American labor movement; and

WHEREAS, They have made application to the A. F. of L. for charter; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record as favoring the organization of the city policeman, and that the officers of the federation be instructed to issue charter to same when application is properly made.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution, when amended by inserting the word "city" before the word "policemen."

The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 170—By Delegate R. E. Oden, of the International Association of Fire Fighters:

WHEREAS, The Fire Fighters of Cincinnati, Ohio, in seeking relief have affiliated themselves with the International Association of Fire Fighters. The city officials of Cincinnati, Ohio, in order to discourage this affiliation have dismissed the Fire Fighters of Cincinnati, Ohio, thereby placing in danger the lives of citizens and property in that city; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled extends to the Cincinnati Fire Fighters its moral support of organized labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor further assist the Cincinnati Fire Fighters by co-operation with the International Association of Fire Fighters in placing a paid organizer in Cincinnati, Ohio, for the reason that the funds of the International Association of Fire Fighters have been practically exhausted in standing by 110 locked out fire fighters; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be empowered to render such farther assistance as in their judgment is deemed necessary to remedy the situation in Cincinnati, Ohio.

Your committee concurs in this resolution and recommends that it be referred to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. to carry out if the funds of the Federation will permit.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the Committee.

Delegate Deitelbaum, of Detroit, suggested as an amendment that the words "the lives of citizens and" be inserted following the word "danger." The amendment was accepted by the Committee.

The motion to adopt the report of the Committee was carried as amended.

The Committee amended Resolution No. 201 to read as follows:

Resolution No. 201—By Delegates John G. Owens, Cleveland Federation of Labor, and

Henry W. Raisse, Lorain Central Body. Introduced by request of the National Committee for Organizing the Iron and Steel Workers.

WHEREAS, Many steel corporations and other industrial institutions have instituted in their plants systems of collective bargaining akin to the Rockefeller plan; and

WHEREAS, Extensive experience has shown that while the employers are busily carrying on propaganda lauding these company unions to the skies, as a great improvement over trade unions, they are at the same time just as actively enforcing a serious of vicious practices that ham-string such organizations and render them useless to their employes. Of these practices the following are a few:

1. Unfair Elections and Representation—The first essential for the proper working of a genuine collective bargaining committee is that it be composed entirely as the organized workers may elect and altogether free from the company's influence. Only then can it be truly representative of the men and responsive to their wishes. Upon such committees, bosses, representing as they do the antagonistic of the company, are so much poison. Not only is it impossible for them personally to represent the men, but they also negate the influence of the real workers' delegates. Knowing this very well, the steel companies, through campaigns of intimidation and election fraud, load their company union committees with bosses, usually to the point of a majority. So baneful is this practice that, were the company unions otherwise perfect, it alone would suffice to entirely destroy their usefulness to the workers.

2. No Democratic Organization Permitted: It is common knowledge that, in order for the workers to arrive at a uniform understanding through the systematization and formulation of their grievances and demands, it is necessary for them to enjoy and practice the rights of free speech, free assembly and free association. They must conduct an elaborate series of meetings under their own control, and generally carry on their business in a democratic, organized way. But with the company union system this is impossible. All independent organization and meetings are prohibited on pain of discharge. Consequently the workers are kept voiceless and destitute of a program. They are deliberately held down to the status of a mob. Under such circumstances, intelligent, aggressive action by them is out of the question.

3. Intimidation of Committeemen—As part of the general plan to keep their company unions from being of any possible service to their employes, it is customary for the companies to summarily discharge committeemen who dare to make a stand in behalf of the workers. The records show a multitude of such cases. Being unorganized, the men are powerless to defend their representatives. The natural consequences is that the committee soon degenerate into groups of men supinely subservient to the wishes of the company and deaf to those of the workers.

4. Expert Assistance Prohibited—When dealing with their employes in any manner, employers always thoroughly safeguard themselves by enlisting the aid of the very best brains procurable. The only way the workers can cope with this array of experts is to have the help of experienced labor leaders, but under the company union system

his is impossible. All association with trade union officials is strictly prohibited. The company reserves to itself the right to expert assistance. As a result the green workers' committee, already weakened in a dozen ways is left practically helpless before the experts upon the company's side.

5. Company Union Lacks Power—In establishing wages, hours and working conditions in their plants, employers habitually use their great economic power to enforce their will. Therefore to secure just treatment, the only recourse for the workers is to develop a power equally strong and to confront their employers with it. Unless they can do this their case is hopeless. In this vital respect, the company union is a complete failure. With hardly a pretense of organization, unaffiliated with other groups of workers in the same industry, destitute of funds, and united to use the strike weapon, it is totally unable to enforce its will, should it by a miracle have one favorable to the workers. Weak and helpless, all it can do is to submit to the dictation of the company. It can make no effective fight for the men.

6. Company Diverts Aim—As though the foregoing practices were not enough to thoroughly cripple the company unions, the employers make assurance doubly sure by seeing to it that their committees ignore the vital needs of the workers and confine themselves to minor and extraneous matters, such as fake safety-first movements, problems of efficiency, handing bouquets to high company officials, etc. Discussions of wages, hours and working conditions are taboo on pain of discharge for the committeeman who dares insist upon them. Thus the company unions complete their record of deceit and weakness by dodging the labor question altogether.

WHEREAS, In view of the foregoing facts, it is evident that company unions are unqualified to represent the interests of the workers, and that they are a delusion and a snare set up by the companies for the express purpose of deluding the workers into the belief that they have some protection and thus have no need for trade union organization; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we disapprove and condemn all such company unions and advise our membership to have nothing to do with them; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we demand the right to bargain collectively through the only kind of organization fitted for this purpose, the trade union, and that we stand loyally together until this right is conceded us.

Your committee concurs, with the following exceptions, that in the first resolve the word "heartily" be stricken out and insert the words "disapprove" and making the first resolve read, that we "disapprove and condemn."

The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 186—By Delegate Duncan McDonald, of the Illinois Federation of Labor. Substitute for Resolution No. 43, submit-

ted by Delegates and Members of Federal Union No. 15934, Streator, Illinois:

WHEREAS, Members of Federal Labor Union No. 15084, located at Streator, Ill., are engaged in the industry of manufacturing wire glass; and

WHEREAS, The above-named union has a wage agreement with The Western Glass Company, of Streator, Ill., who are compelled to place their product in the open market in competition with concerns in the same industry, whose workers are compelled to work under deplorable conditions, longer hours, and less pay than Federal Labor Union No. 15934 is now receiving for the same class of work; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegate from this body of the A. F. of L. Convention be instructed to introduce resolution whereby action may be taken to organize the workers in this particular industry, so all concerns may be placed upon an equal basis of competition.

Secretary Conboy: This is a resolution that was adopted at the convention of the State Federation of Labor of Illinois with a request that it be submitted here.

Your committee refers the subject matter contained in this resolution to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. to carry out if the funds of the Federation shall permit.

The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

Mrs. Conboy: Resolution No. 206, by Delegate E. C. Scott, Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants 11773, Washington, D. C., was withdrawn. The signer of the resolution appeared before the Committee and asked that it be withdrawn.

Resolution No. 205—By Delegate E. C. Scott, Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants, 11773, Washington, D. C.

WHEREAS, There are over 500,000 unorganized office workers in the United States and Canada who are greatly in need of organization; and,

WHEREAS, The Convention of the A. F. of L. have recognized, in the past, these conditions, as is borne out by the following resolutions: Resolution No. 22, Pittsburgh, Pa., concurred in; Resolution No. 98, St. Louis, Mo., referred to the Executive Council; Resolution No. 20, Atlanta, Ga., concurred in; Resolutions Nos. 127 and 142, Philadelphia, Pa., referred to Executive Council; Resolution No. 153, San Francisco, Cal., concurred in, providing funds of the A. F. of L. permit, and Resolution No. 161, Buffalo, N. Y., referred to Executive Committee; and,

WHEREAS, The lack of comprehensive and systematic organization of these workers has been due to the conditions of the funds of the American Federation of Labor, as is shown by referring to the foregoing resolutions; and,

WHEREAS, The funds of the A. F. of L. as shown to this Convention by the Secretary are now in a better condition than ever before; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention hereby authorizes and directs the President to instruct, or cause to be instructed, such or-

ganizers as are in his judgment best fitted to carry on an extensive campaign or organization among the office workers coming under the jurisdiction of the locals of this class of workers as are now in direct affiliation with the A. F. of L.; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the initial efforts of such organizers shall be in city or cities, as is deemed best, where no organization of this kind already exists; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Central Labor Unions and locals of office workers in such city or cities as may be selected be notified to co-operate with such organizer or organizers to the end that the conditions of these workers may be ameliorated and their condition in the industrial field made more secure; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That if such organizer or organizers are not available, that an organizer be appointed to devote his entire time to the organization of this class of workers, and that if such appointment is made, it be preferable from the ranks of our membership.

Your committee concurs in this resolution and refers the subject matter to the Executive Committee to carry out if the funds of the Federation will permit.

The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

Delegate Duffy, Chairman of the Committee: Your Committee had before it Resolutions Nos. 76, 101, 118, 120 and 122. One resolution deals with requests of colored men for an international charter for colored workers. One resolution asks for the services of organizers from the American Federation of Labor, another that a colored organizer be appointed in every state in the Union where necessary; another makes complaint against the international unions of the metal trades for refusing to admit to membership colored workers, and one asks that a man be stationed at Washington, preferably a colored man, to look after the interests of colored workers.

The resolutions are as follows:

Resolution No. 76—By Delegate Harry A. Badgett, of Federal Labor Union No. 16321.

RESOLVED, That, as the man working in the day has the best part of the working day allotted him, a good night's sleep and the best part of the afternoon and evening for recreation, and as the night man has to fight sleep in summer time, inhale the fumes of a torch, stand the noise of the daily routine of business, we therefore request the Executive Council to present this resolution to Congress and have Congress enact a law to equalize these conditions by giving the night man more pay.

We, the undersigned, brothers of American Federation of Labor, do hereby resolve that as white organizers in the South have trouble in getting among the colored workmen that the American Federation of Labor appoint a colored organizer in every state where one is needed, and be it further resolved that the American Federation of Labor appoint a laboring man from the craft to represent us at

Washington in any business to the benefit of the craft.

W. M. WATSON,
Federal Union, No. 15681.

WM. E. MCKINNON,
Ship Yard Labor, No. 15980.

ROBERT J. LANE,
Ship Yard Labor, No. 15922.

MILLER L. CAMPBELL,
Railroad Employees, No. 16486.

WILLIE E. VAUGHN,
No. 15392.

HARRY BADGETT,
La Junita, Colo., No. 16821.

O. L. LEONARD,
Local No. 16417.

EDMUND TURNER,
Local No. 16199.

JAMES W. FITTS,
Oyster Shuckers, Local No. 16117.

MATT LEWIS,
H. H. U. No. 16406.

JOHN A. LACEY,
Rec. Sec. Colored C. L. U., Norfolk, Va.

J. W. RICHARDSON,
Suffolk, Va., Local No. 15859, Peanut Workers.

Resolution No. 101—By Delegate William Boncer, of the Virginia State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, It is impossible for colored men to obtain a charter from the Metal Trades Headquarters of any craft; and

WHEREAS, Similar trades locals refuse them entrance; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as endorsing the colored brother as being entitled to any charter according to his trade.

Resolution No. 118—By Delegate Robt. E. Burford, of the Freight Handlers' Union, No. 16220, of Richmond, Va.:

RESOLVED, Owing to the peculiar position of the Colored Freight Handlers and Station Employees on the C. & O., S. A. L., and R. F. & P. Ry. systems and on the American Ry. Express Co. being under the jurisdiction of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks and chartered direct from the American Federation of Labor and having no representative or grievance man in the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, we are receiving little or no assistance from them.

RESOLVED, That this body appoint a system organizer for the above mentioned railroads and express companies to organize the Freight Handlers and Station Employees into a system organization. Our purpose for a system organization is to affiliate ourselves together for our mutual protection and benefit. We appeal to the Executive Council for their support and immediate action also for instructions about appointing a grievance committee to help us get an agreement and a contract with our various railroads and the American Ry. Express Company. We understand that the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks on the C. & O. system have an agreement with their officials that covers the Freight Handlers on the C. & O. system, but the

Freight Agent at Richmond, Va., told our committee that it does not cover the Colored Freight Handlers, as to Saturday afternoons, Sundays and Holidays, and they being unable to get any information from their clerks we desire to bring this matter to your attention, asking your help and instructions.

Resolution No. 12—By Delegate Jordan W. Chambers, of the Railway Coach Cleaners, No. 16088, of St. Louis, Mo.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor will petition to give a square deal to colored skilled and unskilled laborers, favorably consider an application for an International Charter of organized colored labor, or use its influence to have them chartered from the International Organisation having jurisdiction over them.

WHEREAS, The influence of the world of affairs on the present and future conditions of the masses of laborers is such as to make necessary a closer and more kindred feeling or sympathy and purpose on the part of all who labor; and

WHEREAS, This spirit of oneness of purpose can and will only be most completely achieved when the benefits derived by the efforts of Organized Labor are not predicated on creed, or sex or color, but rather shall be the common lot and heritage of all; and

WHEREAS, In the past because of a lack of realization on the part of Organized White Laborers that to keep the organized Colored Laborers out of the fold of organization, has only made it easily possible for the unscrupulous employer to exploit the one against the other to mutual disadvantage of each; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this the thirty-ninth annual convention go on record as endorsing such petition from colored organized labor.

Respectfully submitted by delegates approved: W. E. Vaughan, Jr., Shipyard Helpers and Laborers, Berkeley, Va.; Robert J. Lane, Shipyard Labor Union, No. 15980; W. M. Watson, Federal Labor Union, No. 15681; J. W. Richardson, Suffolk, Va., Local No. 15866, Peanut Workers; James W. Fitts, Oyster Shuckers, Local No. 16117; John A. Lacey, Rec. Sec. C. L. U., Norfolk, Va.; O. L. Leonard, Memphis, Tenn., Union No. 16407, F. H. H.; Edmund Turner, Local No. 16199, A. F. L.; Robt. E. Buford, Freight Handlers', No. 16220, Richmond, Va.; Garrett Rice, R. Coach Station Cleaners, Local No. 16351; Matt Lewis, Freight Handlers', No. 16406, Little Rock, Ark.; William Carter, Station Employees, Freight Handlers, Local No. 16381, Baltimore, Md.; J. W. Worthey, Freight H. U., Local No. 16395, Salisbury, N. C.; Oscar Williams, Freight Handlers' Local No. 16413, St. Louis, Mo., and East St. Louis, Ill.

Resolution No. 122—By Delegate Edmund Turner of the Boilermakers, Blacksmiths and Machinists' Union, No. 16199, of Mobile, Alabama:

WHEREAS, There is a vast field to organize colored men, skilled and unskilled, among the colored men to get in touch with the unorganized class; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the annual convention

of the A. F. of L. give the Executive Board authority to appoint a colored organizer for the Southern District of Alabama. This colored organizer shall work in the interest of labor at all times. His salary shall be paid monthly.

Chairman Duffy: A lengthy hearing was had on these resolutions, at which everybody interested appeared and discussed the subject matter contained therein from all viewpoints, especially the granting of an international charter to colored workers. The term "colored labor, skilled and unskilled" is so broad that it is a trespass upon the jurisdictional rights and claims of several organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Under these conditions your Committee cannot do otherwise than non-concur in the request for an international charter for colored workers.

Many international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor admit colored workers to membership, and in so doing protect their rights and interests. Other organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor refuse admittance to colored workers, which brings about the present complaints. In such cases your Committee recommends that the American Federation of Labor organize these colored workers under charters from the American Federation of Labor.

We further recommend that the Executive Council give particular attention to the organizing of colored workers everywhere, and to assign organizers for that purpose wherever possible.

The following organizations admit colored members: United Mine Workers of America, Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, Longshoremen, Carpenters, Textile Workers, Seamen, Cigarmakers, Teamsters, Plasterers, Bricklayers, Maintenance of Way Employees, Laundry Workers, Cooks and Waiters, Tailors, Brewery Workers, Upholsterers.

Chairman Duffy asked if there were other organizations represented in the convention which accepted colored workers to membership. Delegates announced that the following organizations admit colored workers to membership:

International Ladies' Garment Workers, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, Tunnel and Subway Workers, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees, International Typographical Union, Brick and Clay Workers, Hod Carriers and Building Laborers, Leather Workers, Blacksmiths, Motion Picture Players' Union, American Federation of Musicians, Bakers, Postal Employees, American Federation of Teachers, Steam and Operating Engineers, Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers, Hotel and Restaurant Employees, Glass Bottle Blowers, National Association of Federal Employees, Barbers'

International Union, Metal Polishers, Stereotypers and Electrotypers, Boot and Shoe Workers, Molders, Quarry Workers, Letter Carriers, International Fur Workers, Civil Engineers' Association of Boston, Firemen and Oilers.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the Committee. The question was discussed by Delegate Lacey, Colored C. L. U., Norfolk, Va.; Delegate Burford, Freight Handlers' Union, Richmond, Va.; Delegate Chambers, Railway Coach Cleaners, St. Louis, Mo.; Delegate Chlopek, Longshoremen; Delegate Forrester, Brotherhood of Railway Clerks; Delegate Mason, Freight Handlers' Union No. 16410, Louisville.

The motion to adopt the recommendation of the Committee was carried.

President Gompers: The Chair was instructed by the convention to appoint a special committee to proceed to Washington in connection with the Electrical Work-

ers' matter and in connection with the Employment Service of the Department of Labor, referred to by the delegate from the Detroit Central body.

The following special committee was announced:

Delegate C. L. Baine, Boot and Shoe Workers; Delegate P. H. McCarthy, Brotherhood of Carpenters; Delegate M. F. Ryan, Brotherhood of Railway Carmen.

The appointment was confirmed by the convention.

Delegate Duncan, Seattle, arose on a question of personal privilege. He referred to a statement made in a discussion during a previous session in regard to radical resolutions submitted by himself, and asked the delegates to consider carefully resolutions Nos. 129, 189, 195, and 196 before the committees reported.

At 5:45 p. m. the convention was adjourned to 9:30 a. m. Monday, June 16.

SIXTH DAY—Monday Morning Session

Atlantic City, N. J., June 16, 1919.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 a. m., President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Carey, Schneider, Dold, Heintz, Helt, Cone, Sweeney, Bolander, Thomas, Prender, Curtis, Hatch, Gorman, Fitzpatrick, Fox, Hale, Donaghue, Cooney, Iglesias, Rutherford, Howard, Schildt, Harrison, Ely, Coughlin, Stewart, Davis, Harlin, Yarrow, O'Donnell, Tucker, Canfield, Griffith, Woodman, Wagner, Taylor, Frampton, Burk, Canady, Berger, Jackson, Thompson.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Your Committee on Credentials recommends the seating of the following delegates: International Association of Fire Fighters—Samuel A. Pink.

International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union—David Simons, substituted as delegate in place of Joseph Orr.

Central Labor Union, Knoxville, Tenn.—Van A. Bittner, 1 vote.

Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants Union No. 12646, New York, N. Y.—Ann Hogan in place of Miss Alice Kissam.

Bridge and Structural Iron Workers—Wm. J. McCain, substituted in place of J. H. Barry.

Respectfully submitted,
CHAS. F. SCOTT, Chairman,
WALTER V. PRICE,
E. W. EDWARDS, Secretary.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Delegate Stillman, Teachers' Federation, asked the unanimous consent of the convention for the introduction of a resolution. Consent was granted and the following resolution was introduced:

Resolution No. 212—By Delegate Chas. B. Stillman, of the American Federation of Teachers:

WHEREAS, The teachers, always wretchedly underpaid, have been unable to meet the doubled cost of living with the meagre salary increases which they have secured, and

WHEREAS, The work of the teachers determines the quality of our future citizenship and should receive financial compensation more nearly commensurate with its service to the community; and

WHEREAS, The teachers of the District of Columbia have placed a very reasonable schedule before Congress, which is about to fix their salaries; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this thirty-ninth Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorses the very moderate request of the teachers of the District of Columbia for a minimum salary of \$1000 for grade teachers, and of \$1200 for high school teachers; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the President and Secretary of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to make every effort to secure the passage by the Senate and House of Repre-

sentatives of the United States of legislation establishing those minimum salaries for the teachers of the District of Columbia.

Referred to Committee on Education.

REPORT OF SPECIAL COMMITTEE

Delegate McCarthy (P. H.), for the special committee sent to Washington to confer with the Postmaster-General on the grievances of the electrical workers and telephone operators, as per action of the convention on Resolution No. 63 at the fourth day's session, submitted the following verbal report:

Your committee, as instructed, visited the Postmaster-General, and by appointment, took up the subject matter referred to the committee. We were accompanied by the President and other members of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, and arrangements for the conference were made by Mr. Noonan through Mr. Kerwin, of the Department of Labor. We remained in session nearly two hours, and it was a very interesting conference. During the noon intermission Brother Noonan and the chief deputy of the Postoffice Department worked very hard, and when we met again at 8 o'clock, they submitted the result of their labors to the Postmaster-General. Brother Noonan conducted himself in a manner calculated to throw all the credit possible to the international organization; he was always ready at every turn to give the desired information in a calm, cool and deliberate manner.

When we had finished we secured all we went after—a complete reversal of opinion on the part of the Postmaster-General. He felt much better when we left than when we appeared there, and what is true of the Postmaster-General in that regard is also true of the membership of your committee. The President of the organization immediately proceeded to notify his people throughout the country to act on the decision reached by the Postmaster-General, who had also sent out to the various institutions under his control notice of the decision. We secured from the Postmaster-General an understanding, signed by him, which you will undoubtedly be anxious to hear. It is as follows:

(Copy) POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT Washington

June 14, 1919.

Order No. 3209.

Employees of telephone companies shall have the right to bargain as individuals or collectively through committees or their representatives chosen by them to act for them. Where prior to government control a company dealt with representatives chosen by the employees to act for them who were not in the employ of the company, they shall hereafter do so. The telephone companies shall designate one or more of its officials who shall be authorized to deal with such individuals or representatives in matters of better conditions of labor, hours of employment, compensation or grievances, and such matters must be taken up for consideration within five days after presentation.

Such employees shall have the right to organize or to affiliate with organizations that seem to them best calculated to serve their interest, and no employee shall be discharged, demoted or otherwise discriminated against because of membership in any such organization, as prescribed in Bulletin No. 9, issued by me, dated October 2, 1918. In case of dismissal, demotion or undesirable transfer of employees where no real cause is shown by company for said dismissal, demotion or undesirable transfer, it shall be considered that discrimination was practiced, and upon such finding, the employee shall be re-instated to former position with full pay for time lost or shall be re-imbursed for any loss sustained by reason of demotion or transfer.

Inability or refusal to perform the regular work of position occupied by them, excessive use of intoxicants, dishonesty, incivility to subscribers or the public shall be considered sufficient cause for dismissal.

Where requests or demands are now pending the telephone companies shall immediately proceed to negotiate a settlement.

All telephone companies are hereby directed to comply strictly with the requirements of this order, and failure to do so on the part of any official will result in disciplinary action.

A. S. BURLESON,
Postmaster General.

You will understand that Order No. 9, wherein the Postmaster-General decided that any person who went on strike and remained so for 24 hours was dismissed from the employ of the government, is revoked by the action of last Saturday, and the employee is given the right he wishes to have as an American citizen to force the superintendent or clerk in charge for the company to do the right thing at the right time as nearly as possible.

I move you the adoption of the report. (Motion seconded).

Delegate Gainer, (Edw. J.), Letter Carriers: I would like to ask through the Chair whether this agreement applies exclusively to telephone employees?

Delegate McCarthy: Yes; absolutely. Order No. 9 had for its purpose the removal from government service of any person who went on strike in connection with the telephonic service of this country. That order is set aside and several other moves made in the reading of the order issued on Saturday.

Delegate Gainer: While appreciating the efforts of the committee, I believe it is well to call the attention of the convention to the fact that this order setting out certain fundamental rights granted the telephone employees and which, as the chairman says, constitutes a reversal of policy on the part of the Postmaster-General, read as follows in the opening line: "Employees of telephone companies shall have the right to bargain as individuals or collectively through committees or their representatives chosen by them to act for them." I rejoice to recognize

that this right has been granted the telephone employees, and I wish to ask the chairman of the committee if he has any information whether the same right is to be conceded to the postal employees.

Delegate McCarthy: I am glad that the President of the Letter Carriers' organization has asked that question, as it gives me the opportunity to give to this convention my viewpoint, which, I am quite sure, is the viewpoint of my colleagues and of the Postmaster-General of this country. Anything the Postmaster-General of these United States does in calm, cool and deliberate manner for the electricians and for the telephone operators through their international organizations must necessarily, when the occasion arises, apply to every other international organization in America. There is no doubt about that at all.

Delegate Johnson, (A. J.), Kansas State Federation of Labor: We want to know if this also includes the girl telephone operators.

Delegate McCarthy: Certainly.

Delegate Gainer: As this is a singularly important matter, and as we have been reassured by the chairman of this committee that every right granted the telephone employees will, upon application, also be granted the postal employees, I want to add that I not only rejoice, but to say that it constitutes an utter reversal of policy. The right to organize has been challenged by the Postmaster-General, the right to affiliate with the American Federation of Labor has been challenged, and the right to even confer with representatives of the organized postal employees upon respectful application has been entirely denied, and we were told that the postal employees would be dealt with only as individuals, provided they were in the service. Therefore, so that the record may be straight, I am glad to receive the information imparted by the chairman of the committee.

Delegate Lewis, (John H.), U. M. W. or A.: May I ask the chairman of the committee what effect the order of the Postmaster-General will have upon the present strike of the commercial telegraphers?

President Gompers: Delegate McCarthy of the committee has already replied and given the information that President Noonan, of the Electrical Workers, has given notice to all the telephone operators and electrical workers throughout the country that an agreement has been reached and orders issued, and therefore the strike will not occur. The chairman of the committee declares further that the Postmaster-General has telegraphed or taken the means to communicate with all the telephone companies and all others affected by the issuance of the order just read before this convention.

Delegate Lewis: I refer, Mr. President, to the strike of the Commercial Telegraphers.

Delegate McCarthy: Speaking for the com-

mittee, I can say that the question of the telegraphers' strike was not referred to us and was not made a part of our duty; therefore, it was not discussed by us. The anticipated strike of the telephone operators affiliated with the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers was the subject referred to us, but in my opinion, that question or any other question which may arise in the future will necessarily have to be dealt with in accordance with the understanding had on Saturday with the Postmaster-General. There cannot be, in the ordinary, well-regulated state of affairs, two sides to one question already settled.

Delegate Lewis, in further discussing the matter, said in part: I am anxious to determine whether the strike of the commercial telegraphers is construed to be in effect or whether or not it is automatically terminated by action of the Postmaster-General, and whether the officers of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union are given the right to now confer with the Postmaster-General, looking toward negotiating terms of a durable and effective settlement of their differences. I want some assurance that the Postmaster-General, in settling with the telephone employees and the electrical workers of the United States, is not doing so at the expense of those other organizations which have been struggling for recognition in vain, and I want to know whether I can send a telegram today or tomorrow and be assured that it will be transmitted by union men, or whether my message will be transmitted by strike-breakers. If there is no definite understanding on that matter, if the letter carriers, the postal employees and the commercial telegraphers have no understanding as to their rights in the premises, then I feel that some action should be taken by this convention which will insure them proper recognition by the Postmaster-General. I am just a little disinclined to believe everything that that distinguished gentleman may say, because I think organized labor has sufficient reason to doubt the word of this gentleman who fills the position to the detriment of organized labor. I am simply seeking to verify this distinct issue and ascertain the position officially of the Letter Carriers, the Postal Employees and the Order of Commercial Telegraphers.

Delegate McCarthy: I think we need to clarify this situation. Personally, I do not propose to be assigned a position at the eleventh hour. The trouble with the telephone operators, conducted and dealt with by the electrical workers on this floor which was the time to deal with other questions if they were in your mind was the order issued and known as Order No. 9, wherein the right to strike was taken away by the Postmaster-General. That was the trouble that was brought on this floor by Brother Noonan, acting president of the International Brother-

hood of Electrical Workers, and you appointed a committee to go to Washington and deal with that subject. If there are other grievances with which this convention proposes to deal, that is the business of this convention, but they should not be interjected in this committee's report, things with which this committee had nothing to do.

Delegate Flaherty, Postal Employees: The chairman of the committee, in replying to Brother Gainor, stated that necessarily this recognition of the principle of collective bargaining by our Postmaster-General applies not only to the Electrical Workers, but it applies to other groups temporarily and permanently under the jurisdiction of Postmaster-General Burleson. I have my suspicions regarding this sudden conversion on the part of our Postmaster-General to the principle of collective bargaining. I have in mind a public statement of his only a few weeks ago, when, in replying to President Gompers, the Postmaster-General said that the idea of collective bargaining in the postal service was silly. That will give you trade unionists here a proper concept of the peculiar psychology of our Postmaster-General. He does believe that collective bargaining is silly.

I for one am unwilling to permit the postal employees, the collectors and other groups of workers under Postmaster-General Burleson to be made catpaws in an effort to save his face at the eleventh hour when the electrical workers threaten to go on strike. He refuses absolutely to deal with any group of employees unless they cease to adopt the strike policy. I cannot see for the life of me that we postal employees are any better off than we have been before. This concession made to the electrical workers is significant in this way: Postmaster-General Burleson will not have the electrical workers under his jurisdiction but a few weeks longer. The United States Senate has already passed legislation returning the wire systems to private control. The House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce has reported out a similar resolution and so in the course of events, within a week or so, the electrical workers will not be under his supervision, but we of the postal service will continue to remain under his supervision unless he is removed from office in the meantime. If the chair will recognize me for a motion, I would like to lay this matter on the table until such time as we have further assurance from the Postmaster-General as to the extent of the application of this order.

President Gompers: The question recurs on the report of the committee, including the order, being made a part of the record at this time.

The motion to adopt the report was carried.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

Delegate McNulty, Electrical Workers: I desire to state that the question that has just been under discussion is not one that was raised yesterday or the day before. In this very hall, two years ago, at the convention of our organization, a resolution was adopted calling for the officers of our organization to negotiate with the officials of the Bell Telephone Company for a national understanding or agreement, and these negotiations were cut off by the government taking over the telephone and telegraph systems, so that the Electrical Workers have been preparing for two years for the strike that has just been averted.

I desire at this time, on behalf of our brotherhood, to sincerely thank the committee that was sent by this convention to Washington in our behalf. I also desire to thank every delegate in this convention for voting to support our organization and sending that committee. In conclusion, I may say that while that committee was in Washington, I was at the head of another committee that was in negotiation with the Bell Telephone Company officials in New York City, so that one side could not throw the responsibility over to the other and get away with it, because we were within telephone conversation at all times.

Resolution No. 48—By Delegate D. D'Alessandro of the International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America.

WHEREAS, The world war has brought the workers of the world into closer relations, especially from an economic standpoint, and has particularly demonstrated the necessity of better understanding and mutual confidence in the matter of a just peace which shall recognize and safeguard the rights and interests of labor here and elsewhere; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That as one means toward the accomplishment of the foregoing purposes, we recommend that all national and international unions admit to membership without the payment of an initiation fee all journeymen workers who can show a paid-up working card with a certificate showing they have served the required apprenticeship, provided such workers are members of unions recognized by the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee non-concurs in this resolution. On motion of the introducer, the convention referred the resolution back to the committee. As none of the delegates of the International Hod Carriers and Building Laborers' Union appeared before the committee we report back non-concurrence in the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the Committee.

Delegate D'Alessandro, Hod Carriers and Building Laborers, asked that the resolution be again re-committed to the Committee, in order that he might have a hearing. He stated that he had been ill and unable to

appear at the former sitting of the convention at which the resolution was considered.

Delegate Schoenberg, Machinists, moved that the resolution be re-committed to the Committee and some arrangement made for Delegate D'Alessandro to appear. The motion was seconded.

Delegate Lennon, a member of the Committee, objected to the motion.

The motion to re-commit was lost.

The motion to adopt the recommendation of the Committee was carried.

Resolution No. 130—By the Delegation of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Benjamin Schlesinger, Max Gorenstein, Jacob Heller, Al Laporta, I. Feinberg and M. Friedman.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, directs its Executive Council to lend its support to the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union in its peaceful negotiations with the employers of the City of Chicago, and likewise, in case a strike is found necessary for the introduction of collective bargaining and uniform standards in the waist, dress and skirt industries of Chicago.

Secretary Conboy: This resolution was re-committed to your Committee for hearing and further consideration. The delegates of the Ladies' Garment Workers' Union appeared before the Committee, and after hearing them and learning of the difficulties their organization has to contend with, your Committee unanimously concurred in the resolution when amended by striking out the word "instructs" and inserting the word "directs."

Unanimously accepted.

Secretary Conboy read the following section of the report of the Executive Council, which had been referred to the Committee on Organization:

Metal Trades—Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers

Report was made to the St. Paul Convention (Resolution No. 27) of continued friction between the metal trades organizations and the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' Union, particularly in the state of Montana. The convention directed:

"Your committee therefore recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to call a conference of the executive officers of all organizations involved and affected within ninety days from the adjournment of this convention.

"1. For the purpose of laying plans to properly organize the men employed in the metal mining industry in Butte, Montana.

"2. To reach an understanding so that friction, contention, controversies and strikes may be avoided in the future.

"3. That the members of the other organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor going to work in and around the mines be protected from infringements on their rights."

A conference was held. It was agreed

that for a period of sixty days no action would be taken which would result in lessening the production of copper, and that in the meantime an effort would be made to secure a permanent adjustment. Not being successful in that particular we thereupon at our meeting in Laredo, Texas, last November decided as follows:

"That the action taken relative to jurisdiction when the charter was issued to the organization now known under the title of 'International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' be adhered to. However, we recommend that the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers organization should cooperate with the local unions or the international unions involved at Butte, Montana, and vicinity, for the thorough organization of workers," employed at Butte, Montana, and vicinity."

Your Committee recommends concurrence in this portion of the Executive Council's report.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the Committee.

Delegate MacGowan, Boiler Makers: We do not care to consume the time of the convention rehashing this subject matter. However, in order that the records may be straight, the boiler makers organization wishes to be placed on record as being unable to accept the decision of the Executive Council.

The motion to adopt the report of the Committee was carried.

Secretary Conboy: This completes the report of the Committee on Organization on the thirty-nine resolutions and the section of the Executive Council's report referred to. We move that the report of the Committee as a whole, as amended by this convention, be adopted.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

FRANK DUFFY, Chairman,
SARAH A. CONBOY, Secretary,
JOHN L. LEWIS,
A. J. KUGLER,
WILLIAM A. NEER,
THOMAS S. FARRELL,
HARRY L. MORRISON,
W. S. BROWN,
JOHN B. COLPOYS,
CHARLES H. MOYER,
PATRICK O'BRIEN,
E. H. MANION,
JOHN B. LENNON,
JOHN P. BURKE,
EDWARD J. RYAN,
Committee on Organization.

Delegate Liebowitz obtained unanimous consent to introduce a resolution and submitted the following:

Resolution No. 218—By Morris Kaufman and Samuel Liebowitz of the Fur Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, It is to the best interest of a labor organization to gain control over all workers of an industry and unorganized centers which are a menace to those where conditions of labor are being regulated and the interests of the workers protected by the virtue of organization; and

WHEREAS, The International Fur Workers' Union of the United States and Canada is vitally interested in the organization of

two fur centers, namely, Detroit, Mich., and St. Louis, where working conditions are inferior to other fur centers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled in Atlantic City, in month of June, 1919, directs the incoming Executive Council to render every possible support and assistance to the International Fur Workers Union in its efforts to unionize the above-mentioned fur centers.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Delegate Atkins, Order of Railroad Telegraphers, obtained unanimous consent to introduce a resolution, and submitted the following:

Resolution No. 214—By Delegate M. W. Atkins, Order of Railroad Telegraphers:

WHEREAS, The Commercial Telegraphers' Union of America has been compelled to declare a nation-wide strike against the Western Union and Postal Telegraph Companies, in support of the fundamental principles of trade unionism, i. e., the right to organize; and

WHEREAS, The aforesaid corporations have stood, and now stand, squarely opposed to the right of their employees to affiliate themselves with the organization of their craft, the Commercial Telegraphers' Union of America, which is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, This arbitrary and unwarranted action on the part of these employing companies is in direct contravention of the spirit of American democracy and independence; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the thirty-ninth session of the American Federation of Labor, that this autocratic policy of the Western Union and Postal Telegraph Companies toward its union employees be condemned as intolerable to this great body of representative American labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse fully the strike now in progress and the spirit of true Americanism displayed by the members of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union in walking out of their offices unitedly in support of the right to organize, a right that is now universally recognized except by these avowed enemies of trade unionism.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

Delegate Stillman, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 212—By Delegate Chas. B. Stillman, of the American Federation of Teachers:

WHEREAS, The teachers, always wretchedly underpaid, have been unable to meet the doubled cost of living with the meagre salary increases which they have secured; and

WHEREAS, The work of the teachers determines the quality of our future citizenship, and should receive financial compensation more nearly commensurate with its service to the community; and

WHEREAS, The teachers of the District of Columbia have placed a very reasonable schedule before Congress, which is about to fix their salaries; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this thirty-ninth convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the very moderate request of the teachers of the District of Columbia for a minimum salary of \$1000 for grade teachers, and of \$1200 for high school teachers; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the President and Secretary of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to make every effort to secure the passage by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of legislation establishing those minimum salaries for the teachers of the District of Columbia.

Your Committee on Education concurs in the resolution and recommends its adoption by the convention.

The recommendation of the Committee was adopted unanimously.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON STATE ORGANIZATION

Delegate Brown, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 125—By Delegate Frank Morrison, of the International Typographical Union:

WHEREAS, In the defense of present high prices, the claim is repeatedly made that wage rates are responsible for this condition; and

WHEREAS, This claim ignores the economic fact that wages are the last cost that is increased and that present wage levels do not equal increased living costs as stated in government reports; and

WHEREAS, The Bureau of Labor Statistics, United States Department of Labor, has reported that the labor cost in the manufacture of one pair of welt shoes is \$6.8 cents. (This report is made in Bulletin No. 232, May, 1918, on "Wages and Hours of Labor in the Boot and Shoe Industry: 1907 to 1916.") and

WHEREAS, Bulletin No. 232 indicates the low labor cost in production because of specialization and machinery that is not affected by even substantial wage increases; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to select other industries dealing with necessities of life and urge the proper government officials to conduct inquiries similar to that reported in Bulletin No. 232; and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be forwarded by the officers of the American Federation of Labor to representative organizations of employers in the event that they would be inclined to assist in this investigation.

Your Committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 158—By Delegates John Golden, Thomas McMahon, Daniel J. O'Connell, Thomas J. Brogan, Sara A. Conboy:

WHEREAS, On the night of May 21, 1919, while attending an open-air organizing meeting, seven innocent people, members of the United Textile Workers of America, were shot down in a cold-blooded manner by officials and paid hirelings connected with some

of the textile mill corporations at Columbus, Georgia; and

WHEREAS, As a result of this dastardly act, one of these innocent victims, Grady Tucker, a soldier who had just returned from service on the battlefields of France, paid the supreme sacrifice; and

WHEREAS, We feel convinced that this cowardly act is a desperate attempt on the part of the mill owners to stem the tide of organization that is now sweeping over the textile districts of the Southern States, to the end that they may maintain the long hours of labor, low wages, and the exploitation of child labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the Delegates to the 39th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor condemn this cowardly crime committed against peaceful, law-abiding American citizens; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to render all possible assistance to the United Textile Workers of America in their efforts to bring to justice the persons guilty of this cowardly crime.

Your Committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the Committee.

Delegate Golden, Textile Workers, in discussing the question, said in part: The United Textile Workers of America have made some splendid progress during the past three or four years. We have organized over 50,000 textile workers, and in the northern and eastern part of the country, since last winter, we have placed the textile worker of those portions of the country on the forty-eight-hour week. The organization has also increased the wages of the textile workers over one hundred per cent during the last three years. Our greatest battle now is in the Southern States; here we commenced operations about three years ago. In Columbus, Ga., there were about 8,400 textile workers. In six months' time we organized over 8,000 of that number. The manufacturers then commenced to try to destroy our organization. Some of these mills are owned by northern capital. Don't forget that. I don't want to be understood as laying all the blame on southern mill owners, because over fifty per cent of the textile mills in the south are still owned and controlled by northern capitalists.

In a few of these mills an attempt was made to break the union. They asked our members if they belonged to the union. Some of them said they did. They were asked for their cards, and some of them, quite innocently, pulled out their union cards. The foreman immediately took their cards and tore them up. After he had torn up about a half-dozen cards, our people walked out and closed up that mill. In other mills there was a similar condition. When our people tried to get a meeting hall they found every hall in town closed against them. The

men of two moving-picture shows offered our people the use of their theatres, and immediately they were informed by the city officials that if they allowed the strikers to hold meetings in the theatres, their theatrical licenses would be revoked immediately. One of our organizers got into communication with a friend in the real estate business in Augusta and had him come to Columbus. He purchased a large building that would hold 8,000 people; it had been for sale for some time. He purchased the building for \$15,000, with money supplied by our International Union. We bought the building very quietly; otherwise we should not have been able to buy it at all.

On February 3rd of this year our battle for the forty-eight-hour week commenced. We instructed our members that on February 3rd those in the mills were to work eight hours and then quit. If the mills opened the next day, they were to work eight hours again and then quit. In very many places the manufacturers saw the inevitable and the forty-eight-hour week was established.

This was not true of the south. When those 8,000 textile workers in Columbus quit on February 3rd and went to work on February 4th, they found all the mill gates closed against them, and armed corporation guards guarding the mills. That went on for nine weeks. Those people stood like rocks, although many of them were on the verge of starvation. They are never far from starvation down there, in most cases. I don't care where a strike or lockout in this country ever existed, the tactics could not be any dirtier than were adopted in Columbus during this nine weeks strike.

Delegate Golden described at length the condition of affairs in Columbus during the nine weeks' strike, the orderly manner in which the strikers conducted themselves, the holding of a mass meeting which was being addressed by organizers of the textile workers, and the murder of innocent people in the audience of gun-men employed by the mill owners fired into the crowd.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 174—By Delegates E. J. Gainer, J. T. Mugavin, C. D. Duffy, L. E. Swartz, National Association of Letter Carriers; Thos. F. Flaherty, National Federation of Postal Employees; E. J. Ryan, H. W. Strickland, R. E. Plymale, Railway Mail Association; Luther C. Stewart, National Federation of Federal Employees.

WHEREAS, Because of inadequate wage standards in the Federal civil service, the efficiency of governmental institutions is being seriously impaired with resultant economic loss to the people; and

WHEREAS, It is becoming increasingly difficult to secure and hold competent employees through regular civil service chan-

nels, by reason of these low-wage standards and working conditions; and

WHEREAS, While deploring the existence of this condition in governmental employments, the American Federation of Labor also notes with approval the appointment of Congressional commissions to investigate salaries and working conditions of Government employees; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 39th Convention of the American Federation of Labor instructs the Executive Council to co-operate with the representations of affiliated organizations of the Federal civil service employees in securing the upward revision of salaries, with resulting benefits to the service and employees.

Secretary Brown: Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

The Committee amended Resolution No. 154 by striking out the following section and substituting a new section:

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled condemns this policy, and asks the Executive Council to use its efforts to abolish all speed tests, time-measuring devices and unreasonable standards of personal efficiency in the Postal Service.

Following is the resolution as amended by the Committee:

Resolution No. 154—By E. J. Ryan, H. W. Strickland, R. E. Plymale, Railway Mail Association, and T. F. Flaherty, National Federation of Postal Employees.

WHEREAS, The Post Office Department has in operation systems to measure the speed and efficiency of the Postal Employees; and

WHEREAS, These systems are calculated to force the employees to maintain a speed and standard that is unreasonable and detrimental to their welfare and health; and

WHEREAS, In practice, these systems have resulted in unreasonable punishment and discrimination against the employees; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled condemn this policy, and asks the Executive Council to render all possible assistance to abolish present unreasonable speed tests, time-measuring devices and present unreasonable standards of personal efficiency in the postal service.

The Committee recommended concurrence in the resolution as amended.

The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

Secretary Brown read Resolutions Nos. 79 and 187, both dealing with the question of affiliation of State and Central bodies, and later read a substitute for both resolutions. The resolutions are as follows:

Resolution No. 79—By Delegate William Koeb, of the Colorado State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The State Federation of Labor in many States are unable on account of

lack of funds (and lack of interest on one part of many local unions) to properly carry on the work which the Federation should do for the benefit of the labor movement; and

WHEREAS, If all international unions that are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor would insist that their local unions affiliate with their State Federations, the Federations would become a great power in the trade union movement; and

WHEREAS, Instead of the per capita tax being a burden upon a few unions, they could be, fixed at a rate which would not be a hardship on any of them, and the Federation would be in a prosperous condition at all times; and

WHEREAS, Believing it to be the duty of all international unions to have their local unions affiliate with their State Federations and become a part of the trade union movement in their localities; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in its thirty-ninth annual convention assembled, that the Executive Board of the Federation be instructed to take this matter up with all international unions affiliated with this Federation at the earliest possible time and have the internationals whose local unions are not affiliated with their State Federations to do so.

Resolution No. 187—Delegate Harry W. Fox, Wyoming Federation of Labor.

BE IT RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in Thirty-ninth Annual Convention assembled that we recognize the valiant services to the labor movement by the various local and state central bodies; that we deem their continued existence and co-operation as important to the welfare of the union movement; that we deprecate the indifference and antagonism on the part of local unions that withhold their affiliation from such central bodies chartered by this Federation; a spirit that is alike destructive of our movement and its usefulness, and again urge national and international unions to instruct their subordinate locals to effect an affiliation with their respective local and state central bodies where such exist and operate under a charter from the American Federation of Labor.

That it is the sense of this convention that where central bodies or departments have been chartered it is the duty of all eligible organizations to affiliate themselves with these to the end that the best interests of the union movement be conserved.

Secretary Brown: Your Committee recommends the following as a substitute for Resolutions Nos. 79 and 187:

WHEREAS, Complaints have repeatedly been made to this Federation regarding the lack of interest on the part of some Local Unions subordinate to affiliated organizations, and same has made it difficult for State Federations to properly serve their purposes; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in its thirty-ninth annual convention assembled instructs its secretary to request at his earliest convenience all affiliated organizations to comply with Section

2, Article XI, of the laws of this Federation, which read as follows:

"It shall be the duty of all National and International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to instruct their Local Unions to join chartered Central Bodies, Departments, and State Federations in their vicinity where such exist. Similar instructions shall be given by the American Federation of Labor to all Trade and Federal Unions under its jurisdiction."

The recommendation of the Committee to adopt the substitute for Resolutions Nos. 79 and 187 was concurred in.

Vice-President Green: It appears there are no other committees now ready to report. I should like to inquire from the Chair as to whether or not there is a special order of business for this afternoon.

President Gompers: Not within the knowledge of the President.

Vice-President Green: Then, Mr. President, I offer a motion that when the convention adjourns this morning the rules be suspended and we adjourn to 9.30 tomorrow morning. Seconded.

Secretary Morrison called attention to the fact that 214 resolutions had been introduced and reports would have to be made on the actions and decisions of the Executive Council that had been referred to committees. He stated that if the convention adjourned for the afternoon it might not be possible to complete the work by Saturday night.

The motion to suspend the rules and adjourn to 9.30 Tuesday morning was carried by a vote of 204 in the affirmative to 63 in the negative.

Delegate Furuseth: There is one question that is before the convention which I consider of greater importance than any other question, and for fear there may be no opportunity to discuss that question I now move that the Committee on International Labor Relations be instructed to report on Wednesday morning, and that this convention set that time as a special order for action upon the report which that committee may make. (Seconded and carried.)

Delegate Brown, Machinists, asked if the hall would be available for night sessions. President Gompers replied that it would not be available.

Delegate Chlopek, Longshoremen, asked that a correction be made in the roll call vote on Resolution No. 5 (Wednesday afternoon). He stated that Delegate Bjorklund had voted "No," and that Delegates O'Connor, Chlopek, Gahagan, and Keavy had voted "Yes."

At 12 o'clock the convention was adjourned to 9.30 A. M. Tuesday, June 17th.

SEVENTH DAY--Tuesday Morning Session

Atlantic City, N. J., June 17, 1919.

The convention was called to order at 9.30 A. M., President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Feeney, Carey, Schneider, Dold, Heini, Helt, Cone, Fundes, Frenden, Curtis, Hatch, Gorman, Fitzpatrick, Cooney, Holland, Iglesias, Rutherford, Howard, Schildt, Harrison, Stewart, Davis, Hoffman, Bryan, O'Donnell, Stephen, Griffith, Taylor, Priestly, Frampton, Ashman, Hannon, Wilkinson, Mezzacapo, Canady, Mullen, Johnson, Tourison, Berger, Jackson, Thompson.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Atlantic City, N. J., June 17, 1919.

Your Committee on Credentials has to report that George Lakey and D. A. Post have been substituted in the places of O. E. Woodbury and Wm. Hemself, of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, and we recommend that these delegates be seated.

Respectfully submitted,
CHAS. F. SCOTT, Chairman,
WALTER V. PRICE,
E. W. EDWARDS, Secretary.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Delegate Valentine, Molders, asked unanimous consent of the convention for the introduction of a resolution. Consent was granted and the following resolution presented:

Resolution No. 215.—By Delegate James P. Holland, New York State Federation of Labor.

Hon. Alfred E. Smith,
Governor of the State of New York,
Executive Chamber Capitol,
Albany, N. Y.

Members of International Molders' Union in the city of Auburn are on strike for the eight hour day and better wages and working conditions. Without warrant of law or any other justification, the Mayor has called in the state constabulary over the heads of the sheriff and the chief of police. This is done at the request of the local employers who are connected with the National Founders' Association, the most Anti-Trades Union organization in America.

We urge in the name of the New York State Federation of Labor the immediate withdrawal of the state constabulary and a thorough investigation into their conduct and all other circumstances surrounding this strike.

In your message to the Legislature at the beginning of the session, you asked that the law creating this expensive ornamental and troublesome body be repealed. We now urge you to repeat this request of yours to

abolish the state constabulary before the special session of the Legislature which you have called for this week. These acts and performances at no time have justified the large expenditure for their maintenance and their immediate removal is imperative and necessary for the future peace of our State. The Mayor's action is unwarranted for the local authorities have at no time stated or shown that they were not able to cope with the situation.

It is unwarranted acts of this kind that cause Bolshevik outbreaks and we look to you for prompt and immediate action to eliminate this situation and the causes of it.

JAMES P. HOLLAND,
Pres. State F. of L. of New York.

Delegate Coughlin, Brooklyn Central Labor Union, moved that the convention proceed to the immediate consideration of the resolution. The motion was seconded and carried.

On motion of Delegate Nolan, Albany Central Federation of Labor, the resolution was adopted.

Delegate Foley, Barbers: I rise to a question of personal privilege, stating that the Atlantic City Gazette-Review, in reporting the proceedings of the convention this morning contained a statement to the effect that the Commercial Telegraphers did not join the American Federation of Labor until a year ago, when the government took over the wires, and that the threatened strike of the Telegraphers did not receive very enthusiastic support at the hands of the delegates. He read the statement from the paper and offered a motion that the publication referred to be instructed to correct the statement, in view of the whole-hearted sentiment of the convention in favor of the Telegraphers in their contention for better conditions. (Motion seconded).

President Gompers: The chair desires to add to what has been said just a word. The Commercial Telegraphers have been affiliated to the American Federation of Labor for a long, long time, perhaps fifteen years or more. Even if they had only affiliated the day before yesterday, it makes no difference when the interests of labor appeal to the conscience of the workers if they can find friends to help them, that is the time for them to associate themselves, not only as workers in their particular trade, but to

The motion offered by Delegate Foley was seek the co-operation and support of their fellow workers.
unanimously adopted.

Delegate Schoenberg, Machinists, asked the unanimous consent of the convention for the introduction of a resolution. Consent was granted and the following resolution was introduced:

Resolution No. 216.—By Delegate Machinists' Delegation.

Whereas, The S. F. Bowser Co., manufacturers of auto service station equipment in Fort Wayne, Indiana, have locked out the machinists employed by them and other Metal trades workers employed by them, on account of their bona fide Trades Union activities, and

Whereas, this un-American company has taken a determined stand that the locked out workers must, if they desire to return to work, return individually, without a shop committee, and sign the Rockefeller plan of organization,

Therefore, Be It Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, emphatically condemn the arbitrary attitude of the S. F. Bowser Co., and

Be It Further Resolved, That the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., in conjunction with the Executive Officers of the organization directly affected, are directed to use their full influence and power to force this company to accept the principles of collective bargaining in dealing with its employees.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

Delegate Hurley, Oakland Central Labor Council, asked and obtained the unanimous consent of the convention for the introduction of the following resolution:

Resolution No. 217.—By Delegate E. S. Hurley, of the Central Labor Council, Oakland, Cal.

Whereas, during our recent war many changes in the postal rules relative to newspapers were made, and

Whereas, many of the new rulings when placed into force were found to be detrimental to many of our Labor Papers, and

Whereas, owing to the arbitrariness of certain postmasters throughout the country, many of our labor papers have suffered great financial loss, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the incoming Executive Council be directed to take this matter up with the Post Office Department to the end that such rules that hamper the good work of the Labor Press throughout the country may be cancelled.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

The unanimous consent of the convention was granted Delegate Beardsley, Jewelry Workers, for the introduction of the following resolution:

Resolution No. 218.—By Delegate A. Greenstein, of the International Jewelry Workers' Union.

Whereas, a controversy has arisen between the firm of Robert H. Ingersoll, manufacturers of the "Ingersoll Watch" and the International Jewelry Workers Union, because of the speed-up system, introduced by the

firm, with the object of rapidly increasing its wealth at the expense of overworked and poorly compensated employees; and

Whereas, the firm of Robert H. Ingersoll and Brothers, manufacturers of the "Ingersoll Watch," has manifested a most hostile attitude towards organized labor, by locking out all members of the International Jewelry Makers' Union in punishment for being bearers of the Union Book and insisting in employing only unorganized help in its factories; and

Whereas, Repeated efforts made by officials of the International Jewelry Makers' Union, to bring about an amicable adjustment of the existing difficulties have failed, because of the antagonistic attitude the above firm has shown to committees representing organized workers employed in the factories of Robert H. Ingersoll; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the delegates representing the membership of the American Federation of Labor in Thirty-ninth Annual Convention assembled, do hereby serve notice on the firm of Robert H. Ingersoll and Brothers, manufacturers of the "Ingersoll Watch" that unless said firm manifests its willingness to adjust the difficulties between the firm and the International Jewelry Workers' Union and discards with its hostile attitude towards organized labor it will be put on the unfair list and notice be served to all subordinate organizations and membership affiliated with the American Federation of Labor in the United States and Canada.

Referred to the Committee on Boycotts.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION.

Secretary Stillman, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Education.

Education of Adult Illiterates.

Resolution No. 123.—By Delegate Chas. B. Stillman, of the American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, In accordance with the instructions of the last convention, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, working with the American Federation of Teachers and the National Education Association, has co-operated in the preparation and introduction of the Educational Bill (H. R. 7), which creates a Federal Department of Education, and appropriates one hundred million dollars to be apportioned among the states to aid in the payment of more adequate teachers' salaries, in the equalization of educational opportunities, in the removal of illiteracy, in Americanization of immigrants, in physical education, and in the preparation of competent teachers; and

WHEREAS, The present period of reconstruction is revealing even more clearly than the preceding period of the war the need for a national educational policy to secure co-ordination among the states, and to promote national welfare, efficiency, and unity; and

WHEREAS, The threatened collapse of our schools, which influenced the action of the last convention, is still more imminent now, through the forcing out of our best teachers by the thousands by sheer economic pressure, and through the refusal of young

men and women of ability and independent spirit to prepare themselves for a calling; and

WHEREAS, The ultimate national need is for educated manhood and womanhood, a need which will become more urgent in the period we are entering; and

WHEREAS, The recent past has forced upon us a realization of the necessity of more effective physical education, of the removal of illiteracy, and of the Americanization of immigrants; and

WHEREAS, In the fields of vocational and agricultural education, the value of the stimulus to the states of Federal appropriations available to a state on its meeting specified standards, and on the appropriation by that state of equal amounts, has been proved by experience; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-ninth Convention of the American Federation of Labor, in conformity with the recommendation of the preceding convention, endorse the Educational Bill (H. R. 7), and instruct the President and Executive Council to use the full influence of the American Federation of Labor in its support.

Upon those portions of the Executive Council's report under the above captions (pages 82 and 83) and on the above resolution the Committee reported as follows:

The Committee considered the sections of the Executive Council's Report on "Education" and "Education of Adult Illiterates," and Resolution 123 together, since they deal with the same subject matter. After careful study of the Educational Bill (H. R. 7), your committee heartily commends the Executive Council and the American Federation of Teachers for the part they have taken in the preparation and introduction of that bill. The people of the country are realizing now as never before that a democracy must depend primarily upon an educated citizenship for its very life, and that the nation as a whole is under even deeper obligation to the schools than is any section of the nation. In recognition of that fact, the Educational Bill provides for a Federal Department of Education with a Secretary in the President's cabinet, and assigns to the federal government a small proportion of the total cost of our public school system. But recognizing with equal force the value of local initiative and experimentation within the various states, which is an essential part of the genius of our American institutions, the Bill safeguards local autonomy, providing that all the educational facilities encouraged by its provisions shall be organized, supervised, and administered exclusively by the legally constituted state and local educational authorities within the several states.

Your committee also calls the attention of the Convention to the effective co-ordination under one broad agency in a comprehensive measure of all federal educational activities, including Americanization, removal of illiteracy, and physical education, as contrasted

with piecemeal, separate treatment of those closely connected subjects.

The committee concurs in Resolution 123, recommends its adoption by the Convention, and further recommends that this Convention ask all affiliated state and local central bodies to urge vigorous support of the Education Bill (H. R. 7) upon their congressmen.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Co-operative Plan.

Resolution No. 150—By Delegate C. M. Rynerson, of Salem, Ore., Central Labor Council:

WHEREAS, The Committee on Co-operation should have authority to consider plans of a co-operative nature that may be proposed from time to time for the benefit of the wage earner and of the community, and to co-operate with other bodies that may be interested in the plans, so far as such plans may benefit the wage earner; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the committee on Co-operation, authorized to be appointed by the Buffalo Convention in 1917, and continued by the convention in St. Paul in 1918, is hereby further continued and is authorized to represent the American Federation of Labor, to consider and to pass upon such plans for co-operation, that may be submitted and to co-operate in carrying such plans into effect so far as is deemed advisable to carry out such co-operative plans, and that in their judgment will benefit the wage earner and the community, and to report to the next convention.

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption (page 115), and on the above resolution the Committee reported as follows:

The Committee considered the section of the Executive Council's report on Co-operative Plan and Resolution 150 together, since they deal with similar subject matter.

Since there is a special committee on co-operation, this committee merely reaffirms its belief in the untold possibilities in the co-operative movement of benefit to organized labor and the public generally. It endorses the request of the Executive Council that all affiliated national and international organizations and central labor bodies take up the matter of the contributions requested by the Buffalo Convention. In order that the funds now in the hands of the Secretary may be made immediately useful for the purpose of furthering the co-operative movement, the committee amends Resolution 150 by adding the further resolution "that the Co-operative Fund be made available for the use of the Committee on Co-operation in the manner that in the judgment of that committee will best serve the interests of the co-operative movement," the amended resolution then reading:

Resolution No. 150—By Delegate C. M. Rynerson, of Salem, Ore., Central Labor Council:

WHEREAS, The Committee on Co-operation should have authority to consider plans of a co-operative nature that may be proposed from time to time for the benefit of the wage earner and of the community, and to co-operate with other bodies that may be interested in plans, so far as such plans may benefit the wage earner; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the committee on co-operation, authorized to be appointed by the Buffalo Convention in 1917, and continued by the convention in St. Paul in 1918, is hereby further continued and is authorized to represent the American Federation of Labor, to consider and to pass upon such plans for co-operation, that may be submitted and to co-operate in carrying such plans into effect so far as is deemed advisable to carry out such co-operative plans and that in their judgment will benefit the wage earner and the community, and to report to the next convention; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Co-operative Fund be made available for the use of the Committee on Co-operation in the manner that in the judgment of that Committee will best serve the interests of the co-operative movement.

The committee concurs in the resolution as amended, and recommends its adoption by the convention.

The report of the Committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 8.—By Delegate Wm. D. Clark, of the International Steel and Copper Plate Printers' Union of North America.

WHEREAS There is in the United States at the present time more paper money in circulation than at any previous time in her history; and

WHEREAS, A large percentage of the paper money in circulation in the sections of the United States far removed or remote from the Treasury or sub-Treasuries, especially in the South, Southwest and West, is so soiled, dirty and worn that for sanitary reasons it is a menace to the health of thousands of citizens who daily use or handle it; and

WHEREAS, The banks have to defray the express charges for the exchange of this soiled, dirty and worn paper money for new money, and this is a burden that should not be borne by the banks but by the United States Government, because it is the duty of the Government to supply and provide its citizens with sufficient new and clean money to transact their business; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the Thirty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Atlantic City, N. J., petition the Congress of the United States to enact such legislation as may be necessary to permit the banks of this country to transport for exchange soiled, dirty and worn paper money without any cost or expense to the banks whatever; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the Thirty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Atlantic City, N. J., petition the Congress of the United States to enact such legislation as may be necessary to transport for exchange soiled, dirty and worn paper money without any cost or expense to the banks, whatever; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of these resolutions be spread upon the minutes of this Convention and that copies be sent to the President of the United States, the Vice-President, the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States.

Your Committee non-concurs in the resolution.

It was moved and seconded that the report of the Committee be adopted.

Delegate Lennon: I would like to ask the reason for non-concurrence.

Delegate Stillman: The resolution as framed seemed to aim particularly at relieving the banks of this country from this burden, and we thought that the American Federation of Labor need not come to the rescue of the banks.

Delegate Clark (Wm. D.), Steel and Copper Plate Printers, stated that at the request of a member of the Committee the resolution was revised insofar as that portion of it relieving the banks was concerned. He then spoke briefly in favor of the resolution.

The report of the Committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 14.—By Delegate John B. Colpoys, of the Washington Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, The residents of the District of Columbia numbering more than 450,000 are the only ones in this country who do not enjoy the privilege of exercising the franchise, who are taxed without representation, and who have no voice in electing representatives of Congress and the Electoral College; and

WHEREAS, To secure this privilege, which should be a right, it is necessary to have a constitutional amendment adopted which requires a two-thirds vote of Congress and a ratification of three-fourths of the States; and

WHEREAS, There is now before Congress a joint resolution, H. J. Res. 32, which provides by constitutional amendment for representation in both houses of Congress and electors for President and Vice President; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates to the Thirty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor favor the passage of H. J. Res. 32 and will render every assistance possible to the Washington Central Labor Union in their efforts to secure universal suffrage for the residents of the District of Columbia.

The Committee concurs in the resolution and recommends its adoption by the convention.

It was moved and seconded that the report of the Committee be adopted.

Delegate Putnam, Central Labor Union, Balboa, Canal Zone, moved to amend the resolution by adding to the second line of the first "Whereas" the words "and the Canal Zone numbering 3,850," and by adding to the last line of the last "Resolved" the words "and the Canal Zone," the amended resolution then reading as follows:

Resolution No. 14.—By Delegate John B. Colpoys, of the Washington Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, The residents of the District of Columbia numbering more than 450,000; and the Canal Zone, numbering 3,350, are the only ones in this country who do not enjoy the privilege of exercising the franchise, who are taxed without representation, and who have no voice in electing representatives of Congress and the Electoral College; and

WHEREAS, To secure this privilege, which should be a right, it is necessary to have a constitutional amendment adopted which requires a two-thirds vote of Congress and a ratification of three-fourths of the States; and

WHEREAS, There is now before Congress a joint resolution, H. P. Res. 32, which provides by constitutional amendment for representation in both houses of Congress and electors for President and Vice-President; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates to the Thirty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor favor the passage of H. J. Res. 32 and will render every assistance possible to the Washington Central Labor Union in their efforts to secure universal suffrage for the residents of the District of Columbia and the Canal Zone.

The amendment was seconded.

Delegate Colpoys, Washington Central Labor Union, spoke briefly in favor of the resolution and the amendment, and urged the individual delegates to request their constituencies at home to petition their Congressmen in conformity with the request contained in the resolution.

The resolution as amended was adopted.

Resolution No. 34.—By Library Employees' Union No. 15,590, New York City:

WHEREAS, We believe that public libraries are public utilities and should be owned, controlled and administered directly by the State or City financing such libraries; and

WHEREAS, We believe the present low and inadequate salaries and intolerable working conditions in our public libraries are due to the fact that most of the libraries are under the control of private corporations who are not responsible to the community at large, although they are spending the public's money; and

WHEREAS, That since the right of workers to organize in trade unions and to bargain collectively is recognized and affirmed by the United States government that this right shall not be denied, abridged or interfered with by the employers of the library; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled at Atlantic City on June 9, 1919, that in the interests of the people and in order to secure good conditions for the workers, we declare ourselves in favor of Civil Service for librarians; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a member of a Library Union, to be elected by the Union, be placed upon all Committees having in charge Library activities, in which Union Labor is asked to co-operate, such as the

War Service Committee of the American Library Association; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a member of Union Labor be represented on all Boards of Trustees for Libraries; and be it finally

RESOLVED, That we earnestly urge all locals to give all assistance possible towards the organization of these workers.

The Committee amended Resolution No. 34 by adding the words: "and, be it further RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. be instructed to take action to remedy the situation," the resolution as amended to read as follows:

Resolution No. 34.—By Library Employees' Union No. 15,590, New York City:

WHEREAS, We believe that public libraries are public utilities and should be owned, controlled and administered directly by the State or City financing such libraries; and

WHEREAS, We believe the present low and inadequate salaries and intolerable working conditions in our public libraries are due to the fact that most of the libraries are under the control of private corporations who are not responsible to the community at large, although they are spending the public's money; and

WHEREAS, That since the right of workers to organize in trade unions and to bargain collectively is recognized and affirmed by the United States government that this right shall not be denied, abridged or interfered with by the employers of the library; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled at Atlantic City on June 9, 1919, that in the interests of the people and in order to secure good conditions for the workers, we declare ourselves in favor of Civil Service for librarians; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a member of a Library Union, to be elected by the Union, be placed upon all Committees having in charge Library activities, in which Union Labor is asked to co-operate, such as the War Service Committee of the American Library Association; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a member of Union Labor be represented on all Boards of Trustees for Libraries; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we earnestly urge all locals to give all assistance possible towards the organization of these workers; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. be instructed to take action to remedy the situation.

The Committee concurs in the resolution as amended and recommends its adoption by the convention.

The report of the Committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 94.—By Delegate Luther C. Steward, National Federation of Federal Employees; Charles B. Stillman, American Federation of Teachers; Florence Etheridge, National Federation of Federal Employees.

WHEREAS, Scientific research and the technical application of results of research form a fundamental basis upon which the

development of our industries, manufacturing, agriculture, mining, and others must rest; and

WHEREAS, The productivity of industry is greatly increased by the technical application of the results of scientific research in physics, chemistry, biology, and geology, in engineering and agriculture, and in the related sciences; and the health and well-being not only of the workers but of the whole population as well, are dependent upon advances in medicine and sanitation; so that the value of scientific advancement to the welfare of the nation is many times greater than the cost of the necessary research; and

WHEREAS, The increased productivity of industry resulting from scientific research is a most potent factor in the ever-increasing struggle of the workers to raise their standards of living, and the importance of this factor must steadily increase since there is a limit beyond which the average standard of living of the whole population cannot progress by the usual methods of readjustment, which limit can only be raised by research and the utilization of the results of research in industry; and

WHEREAS, There are numerous important and pressing problems of administration and regulation now faced by Federal, state and local governments, the wise solution of which depends upon scientific and technical research; and

WHEREAS, The war has brought home to all the nations engaged in it the overwhelming importance of science and technology to national welfare, whether in war or in peace, and not only is private initiative attempting to organize far-reaching research in these fields on a national scale, but in several countries Governmental participation and support of such undertakings are already active; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, that a broad program of scientific and technical research is of major importance to the national welfare and should be fostered in every way by the Federal Government, and that the activities of the Government itself in such research should be adequately and generously supported in order that the work may be greatly strengthened and extended; and the Secretary of the Federation is instructed to transmit copies of this resolution to the President of the United States, to the President pro tempore of the Senate, and to the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

The Committee concurs in the resolution and recommends its adoption by the convention.

The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 124.—By Delegate William Green of the United Mine Workers.

WHEREAS, There are hundreds of thousands of foreign-born permanent residents of the country who desire to become citizens; and

WHEREAS, In response to public demand, and by direction of an Act of Con-

gress of May 9, 1918, the Bureau of Naturalization of the United States Department of Labor has issued the Federal text-book on citizenship to be distributed through the public schools of the states and cities of the Union, for the purpose of fitting candidates for citizenship for their duties as Americans; and

WHEREAS, There are in co-operation with the Bureau of Naturalization the public school officials of upward of 2,200 cities and towns who have established classes in citizenship; and

WHEREAS, Great numbers of the foreign-born who desire to become citizens do not know the measures that have been put into effect for their training in citizenship; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the 39th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that it recommends to affiliated organizations co-operation with the Bureau of Naturalization, to the end that they shall assist the foreign-born to become citizens, to direct them into the citizenship classes established for their benefit, and to aid them to an understanding of our customs and our institutions.

The Committee concurs in the resolution and recommends its adoption by the convention.

The report of the Committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 126.—By Delegate Harry L. Hartford, of the Portsmouth C. L. U.

WHEREAS, The Portsmouth, N. H., Metal Trades Council protest retaining of Yemen (F.) in clerical positions until civil service register is exhausted, and then only after competitive examinations; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this A. F. of L. Convention endorse the protest of the Portsmouth Metal Trades Council, and endeavor to secure the enforcement of the Civil Service regulations.

Since the Committee doubts whether merely the enforcement of present civil service regulations would fully meet the situation, it amends by substituting for the conclusion of the resolution, "and urge Congress to enact the legislation necessary to secure the results desired," the amended resolution then reading:

Resolution No. 126.—By Delegate Harry L. Hartford, of the Portsmouth C. L. U.

WHEREAS, The Portsmouth, N. H., Metal Trades Council protest retaining of Yemen (F.) in clerical positions until civil service register is exhausted, and then only after competitive examinations; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this A. F. of L. Convention endorse the protest of the Portsmouth Metal Trades Council, and urge Congress to enact the legislation necessary to secure the results desired.

The Committee concurs in the resolution as amended and recommends its adoption by the convention.

The report of the Committee was adopted.

On Resolution No. 131, the Committee reported as follows:

While heartily endorsing the substance of the resolution, the Committee realizes that no section of the country has a clean record with regard to mob violence, and deprecates the introduction of sectionalism into this convention. Therefore, without condoning lawlessness in any section, it amends—with the approval of the introducer of the resolution—by striking out the concluding portion of the second preamble, commencing "and this very much predominates in southern states, etc.", the amended resolution then reading:

Resolution No. 131—By Delegate William F. Kavanaugh, of the State Federation of Labor of New Jersey.

WHEREAS, President Woodrow Wilson issued from the capital city of our nation on July 26th, 1918, a personal statement addressed to his fellow-countrymen, defining mob-spirit action, called upon the nation to show the world that while it fights for Democracy on foreign fields, it is not destroying democracy at home; and

WHEREAS, While the President referred not alone to mob action against those suspected of being enemy aliens or enemy sympathizers, he denounced most emphatically mob action of all sorts, especially lynchings, and

WHEREAS, In all wars, where our country and its interests were at stake the colored race, with their white brothers, fought, shed their blood and died in defense of Old Glory and over there gave their all that others may live in peace and happiness ever after; and

WHEREAS, Lynchings, cowardly and unjust, is also a blow at the heart of ordered law and human justice; and

WHEREAS, The colored people, their workers, their bread winners, throughout the nation look with hope and anxiety in their hearts to those in the struggle for better conditions, for better homes and for the good things of life, as well as protection from mob rule and for a surging popular opinion behind them that will not tolerate a laxity in upholding the laws of our land; and

WHEREAS, The hope of civilization is in democracy; the hope of democracy is in justice; the only hope of justice is in the tribunals through which justice can be secured, and the only hope of the functioning of these tribunals is in the sentiment which demands that they, within their departments, shall be supreme and that any effort to incite mob violence shall be regarded as an attack upon the very foundations of society itself; and

WHEREAS, The American labor movement, A. F. of L., knows no race, color or creed in its stand for the tolling masses to get justice; and

WHEREAS, Through its representatives in convention assembled, at Perth Amboy, N. J., week of August 19th, 1919, the New Jersey State Federation of Labor, with a membership of over 90,000, endorsed this resolution; and

WHEREAS, The great American Labor

movement through its conventions, city, state and national, is the very medium through which popular and public sentiment can best be expressed against mob rule and for proper enforcement of the laws of our land; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the representatives of the 39th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, go on record as endorsing the above as our sentiments in opposition to mob rule and lynchings; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of the same be sent to our Representatives of Congress and United States Senate and Speakers of both Houses, to the press and to the President of our nation, Honorable Woodrow Wilson.

The Committee concurs in the resolution as amended, and recommends its adoption.

The report of the Committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 133—By Delegates Benjamin Schlesinger, Max Gorenstein, Jacob Heller, Al Laporta, I. Feinberg and M. Friedman, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, record its protest against the massacres and brutalities committed upon the Jewish population of Poland, the Ukraine and other parts of Eastern Europe, and calls upon the Government of the United States to use its great offices with all the governments of the world to the end that recurrence of such inhuman deeds is made impossible, and that national minorities in every country in the world are guaranteed full civil and political rights and protection.

The Committee concurs in the resolution and recommends its adoption.

The report of the Committee was adopted.

On Resolution No. 144, the Committee reported as follows: Since the Committee had no opportunity to verify the statements in the first three preambles, it amends by striking out these preambles, the amended resolution then reading:

Resolution No. 144—By Delegate C. M. Rynerson of the Central Labor Council of Salem, Oregon.

WHEREAS, The Government, with the co-operation of the states, has by a comprehensive program of education, medical treatment and law enforcement demonstrated that the spread of these diseases can be controlled and their ravages reduced; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled heartily endorses the efforts of the United States Public Health Service, cooperating with the various states, in combatting the spread of venereal diseases; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we call upon organized labor to familiarize themselves with

the government's program of combating these diseases and to assist in every possible manner the eradication of these scourges of civilization.

The Committee concurs in the resolution as amended, and recommends its adoption.

The report of the Committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 149—By Delegate C. M. Rynerson, of the Central Labor Council of Salem, Ore.

WHEREAS, Realizing that the establishment of stable conditions in business and industries is of the utmost importance at the earliest possible time; and

WHEREAS, Recognizing that such conditions can come only by general acceptance for necessary adjustments of a basis which does justice to all elements of our nation; thus is stressed the importance of the work of various agencies seeking to establish figures indicating fluctuations in living costs, labor costs and price changes; and

WHEREAS, Figures established by such agencies have come to be widely used in the adjustment of the workers' wage to meet increased living costs; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled condemn in strongest terms the efforts of certain employers of labor to construct a basis upon the lower standard of living resulting from curtailed consumption due to high prices of commodities and in response to patriotic appeal; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the work of the Department of Labor through its Bureau of Labor Statistics, is most highly commended for the great good accomplished in establishing figures which furnish a fair basis to be used in making desired readjustments.

The Committee concurs in the resolution and recommends that it be adopted.

The report of the Committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 164—By Luther C. Steward, William E. Junker, Martin J. Leonard, National Federation of Federal Employees.

WHEREAS, The Congress of the United States has created a Commission for the purpose of re-classifying the Federal Civil Service in the District of Columbia and thus carried out for a portion of such service the provision of Resolution No. 74 of the St. Paul Convention of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The need for a re-classification Commission and re-classification investigation is no less throughout the country than in the city of Washington; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this Thirty-ninth Convention of the American Federation of Labor that the duties conferred by Congress upon the existing re-classification Commission be so extended as to authorize it to investigate and make recommen-

dations for the standardization of duties, wages, salaries, hours and titles of Federal employees throughout the United States; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council is directed to co-operate with the National Federation of Federal Employees in procuring the extension of the duties of the Re-classification Commission described above.

The Committee concurs in the resolution, and recommends its adoption.

The report of the Committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 165—By Delegates E. J. Gainor, C. D. Duffy, J. S. Mugarin, L. E. Swartz, National Association of Letter Carriers; Thomas F. Flaherty, National Federation of Postal Employees; E. J. Ryan, H. W. Strickland, R. E. Plymale, Railway Mail Association.

WHEREAS, In line with the recommendation of the 38th Convention of the American Federation of Labor, Congress created a Commission to investigate the subject of postal wages; and

WHEREAS, It is undeniably true that there is an imperative need for an immediate increase in wages if the efficiency of the service is to be restored and maintained, and a complete demoralization averted and the wasteful labor turnover curtailed; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 39th Convention of the American Federation of Labor instructs the Executive Council to give all possible aid to the affiliated postal organizations in presenting facts to the Joint Commission on Postal Salaries to establish permanent adequate wage standards, commensurate with the increased cost of living; therefore, be it further

RESOLVED, That pending the findings of this Commission, and in view of the pressing emergency, this Convention endorses the proposal of the affiliated postal organizations to secure from the 66th Congress a twenty-five per cent. temporary wage increase effective July 1, 1919, over and above the then existing grades.

The Committee concurs in the resolution and recommends its adoption.

The report of the Committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 171—By Delegates Matthew Woll, Peter J. Brady.

WHEREAS, The war so happily ended has required our people to develop thrift and saving which to some degree has stimulated freedom of action and independence on the part of some wage-earners; and

WHEREAS, It is essential to stimulate thrift and saving in time of peace as in time of war; and

WHEREAS, The inauguration of the national system of war savings and thrift stamps has afforded to some of small earnings a safe, sound and guaranteed method of Government investment of their hard-earned savings; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention ap-

proves of the continuation and extension of the war savings and thrift stamp institution as a necessary peace-time institution, or the substitution of a national savings institution akin in character and method, which will prove helpful to safeguard the earnings of the toiling masses of our country.

The Committee concurs in the resolution and recommends its adoption.

The report of the Committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 178—By Delegate G. W. Perkins:

WHEREAS, Senator Blair, one of the earliest men in political public life to manifest his sympathy for the workers and to incorporate it into a helpful action introduced and had passed in the U. S. Senate a resolution authorizing and directing the Committee on Labor and Education to make an investigation of economic and industrial conditions; and

WHEREAS, The report made by this committee was never fully published and the four volumes that were published are now almost out of print; and

WHEREAS, This report and the interesting facts set forth therein make a valuable contribution to the history and industrial condition at that time; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this 39th Convention of the A. F. of L. herewith petition the U. S. Senate to order a reprint of this report and such other papers, documents and memorandum now in the possession of Senate custodians or ex-Senator Blair.

The Committee concurs in the resolution and recommends its adoption.

It was moved and seconded that the report of the Committee be concurred in.

President Gompers stated that while the edition of the document referred to was almost entirely out of print, he had managed to secure a copy and had it on file in the office of the American Federation of Labor. He stated, further, that there was no copy in the Library of Congress and none available in the document room of either the House of Representatives or the United States Senate.

The report of the Committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 211—By Delegates Luther O. Steward, W. E. Junker, Martin J. Leonard, Florence Etheridge, of the National Federation of Federal Employees.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor in convention assembled on this 9th day of June, 1919, is not unmindful of the revelations recently made before two committees of Congress on the control of the food interests of this country; and

WHEREAS, This control is of great danger to the future welfare of this country, since increasing masses of people are unable by honest toil to live in health and comfort; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor support the Federal Trade Commission in its efforts to secure remedial legislation in the meat-packing industry. That

the American Federation of Labor especially call the attention of Congress to the extension of the control of the meat packers over the preparation and sale of unrelated food products, which has proceeded so rapidly in recent years that the absolute control of the food of the nation is passing into the hands of the five packers while the legitimate manufacturers and distributors of food products other than meat are in danger of destruction. That copies of these resolutions be sent to all the members of the Senate and House Interstate and Foreign Commerce and Agricultural Committees.

The Committee concurs in the resolution and recommends its adoption.

The report of the Committee was adopted.

Secretary Stillman: This concludes the report of the Committee for the present, and it will be completed at a later date.

Vice-President Valentine in the chair.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

Secretary Frey, on behalf of the Committee, asked that Resolution No. 138, previously assigned to the Committee on Resolutions, be transferred to the Committee on Executive Council's Report.

The request was granted.

Secretary Frey: On Resolution No. 35, the Committee recommends striking out, in the first paragraph, of the words, "as the representative of the craft organizations affiliated with international organizations, which are in turn affiliated with the American Federation of Labor;" the addition of the word "Wilmington" before the word "Central" in the first line of the first paragraph, and the addition of the word "Wilmington" before the word "Central" in the first line of the last paragraph. The resolution, as amended, would read as follows:

Resolution No. 35—By Delegate George Sauter, of the Central Labor Union, Wilmington Del., against "One Big Union" and other untried and unsound doctrines that are being advocated to destroy the American Federation of Labor:

The Wilmington Central Labor Union believes that the growth of the trades union movement can be attributed to the policy of progress that has been inaugurated and carried out by the American Federation of Labor, President Samuel Gompers and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. We realize that this progress has been steady and resultful in bringing about desired improvements in working conditions, the increasing of wages and the shortening of hours. We do not believe in the untried and unsound doctrines that are being preached in propaganda tracts and on soap boxes against Mr. Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, and the A. F. of L., under his leadership. We recognize in Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, the greatest

labor leader in the world living today, and we realize that he and the American Federation of Labor, backed up and supported by the rank and file of the American labor movement, were the present factor in American men and American principles winning finally the great world war. We believe in the League of Nations, and support President Gompers in his stand for the League, and are in hearty accord with the manifesto of the International Labor Conference.

The Wilmington Central Labor Union does not believe that "one big union" principles should be adopted by the American Federation of Labor. We realize that the remarkable progress made by the American labor movement was made through constant education of the membership of the trade unions and progression gradually with each further step in the education of the rank and file of the members of the craft unions.

Your Committee further recommends that the following paragraph of Resolution No. 35 be referred to the Committee on International Relations:

We recognize in Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, the greatest labor leader in the world living today, and we realize that he and the American Federation of Labor, backed up and supported by the rank and file of the American labor movement, were the present factor in American men and American principles winning finally the great world war. We believe in the League of Nations, and support President Gompers in his stand for the League, and are in hearty accord with the manifesto of the International Labor Conference. The Central Labor Union does not believe that "one big union" principles should be adopted by the American Federation of Labor.

Your Committee recommends that the resolution as amended, with reference to the Committee on International Relations of the paragraph referred to, be adopted.

It was moved and seconded that the report of the Committee be concurred in.

Delegate Grow, Machinists, opposed the report of the Committee and said that in his opinion the Committee had brought in a report that would be a detriment to any organization or group of trades that in their best judgment believed in industrialization or the bringing together of the trades under one organization. He said he objected to the principle of the recommendation of the Committee because he believed that the matter involved was one solely for the determination of the men and women of labor.

President Gompers in the chair.

Secretary Frey: The Committee's report has no bearing whatever upon the question of amalgamation of the bodies composing the American Federation of Labor. No one

knows better than the delegate who just addressed the convention that the term "one big union" is understood to be a form of organization which is the contrary to the one that has developed in this country. The term "one big union" is in line with other resolutions introduced in this convention in an effort to have us abandon the trade union movement as it has been built up here. Your Committee is quite well convinced that in recommending the adoption of that portion of the resolution it is merely recommending the re-endorsement of the policy of American Federation of Labor.

The report of the Committee was adopted. Secretary Frey read Resolutions Nos. 132, 153 and 192, all dealing with the Irish question, and later read a substitute for the three resolutions. The resolutions are as follows:

Resolution No. 132—By Delegate Wm. F. Kavanaugh, New Jersey State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Irish people of Ireland, have for centuries sought independence from England's rule; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we the representatives of the American Labor movement at this the 39th annual convention, go on record as expressing our sympathy for the aspirations of the Irish people for a government of their own choosing.

Resolution No. 153—By Delegates Peter J. Brady, Frank Feeney, William L. Hutcheon, Jas. T. Moriarity, Matthew Woll, Martin Ryan, Thomas T. Redding, Thomas Kearney, Chas. Anderson, A. G. Enright, Jas. B. Connors, Frank Kasten, Wm. J. McGeary, J. A. McInerney, Thomas F. McMahon, John F. Murphy, P. H. McCarthy, Daniel J. O'Donnell, Thomas J. Reagan, P. J. Rooney, C. J. Boyle, Frank Duffy, C. L. Balne, John Carroll, Jas. G. Allen, J. Hurley, E. W. Edwards, Timothy Healy, T. M. Daly, John J. Sullivan, Daniel T. McKillop, John Kennedy, Pat E. Gorman, Daniel J. Tobin, Geo. B. McGovern, Geo. Leary, E. W. Leonard, Walter J. Reddick, Henry F. Hilfers, H. J. Conway, R. A. Cooney, Frank Farrington, George A. Tracey, John J. Hynes, John Bradley, John Sullivan, Margaret C. Daley, Anna Fitzgerald, Thomas F. Flaherty, W. H. Lyons, Joseph Proebstle, Stephen O'Donnell, Patrick Crowley, William Young, William F. Dwyer, Michael J. Scanlan, E. F. Welsh, W. W. Britton, Jas. P. Holland, A. McAndrew, J. J. Doyle, Edward I. Hannah, Andrew C. Hughes.

WHEREAS, The people of Ireland have, in accordance with the principles of self-determination enunciated by President Woodrow Wilson, through the peaceful use of the ballot, declared in no uncertain terms demand for the sovereign independence of their country and have already established in Ireland a Republic of the people, by the people, and for the people of Ireland; and

WHEREAS, We, the delegates to this, the

39th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor representing the liberty loving citizens of America, realizing the justice of the claims of the people of Ireland to national existence and reaffirming our belief that all just governments derive their right to govern through the consent of the governed; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we most heartily approve of the demands of the people of Ireland and call upon the Congress of the United States to give due and firm recognition to our sister republic, Ireland, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Secretary is instructed to send copies of this resolution to the President of the United States, to each member of Congress, to the people of Ireland, through their chosen officials, and that copies be given to the press.

Resolution No. 192.—By Delegate Patrick J. Cahillam, of the City Employees Local, No. 15,951.

WHEREAS, Political democracy is essential to human progress and the civilized nations of the world, have just concluded the most terrific struggle in all history in order that democracy might become universal; and

WHEREAS, Those nations after having beaten the armed hordes of autocracy are to form a League of Nations which is to be founded on the basis of allowing each of the peoples of the world the right of self determination and to guarantee to those smaller nations immunity from attack at the hands of any other nation; and

WHEREAS, There can never be real democracy so long as one group of people are held under the control of another nation against their will, and so long as this condition obtains with regard to one of our allies without protest from us, our declarations for democracy are a snare and delusion; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that we renew our declarations that all people shall be free to determine for themselves the government under which they shall exist; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we place ourselves on record as favoring self-determination for Ireland and urge to this end that Great Britain renounce her control over these subject people and allow them to work out their own destinies; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we pledge our unfaltering support to the Irish people in their struggle for freedom from the control of Great Britain.

Secretary Frey: Your Committee recommends the following as a substitute for Resolutions Nos. 132, 153 and 192:

RESOLVED, That this convention affirms its well-considered conviction that the people of Ireland should have accorded to them the unquestioned right to determine the form of government under which they should live; that the principle of self determination of small nations applies with as much force to the people of Ireland as to any of the new nations recognized by the Peace Conference; and that the officers of the American Federation of Labor be and are hereby instructed to convey immediately the action of this convention to Congress and to the President of the United States, with the

request that the convention's action be also presented to the Peace Conference by the American representatives now in Paris.

It was moved and seconded that the report of the Committee be concurred in.

Delegate Mahon, Street Railway Employees, offered the following amendment:

RESOLVED, That the Senate of the United States earnestly requests the American Peace Commission in Versailles to endeavor to secure for Edward deValera, Arthur Griffiths, and Count George Noble Plunkett a hearing before said Peace Conference, in order that they may present the cause of Ireland. (Amendment seconded).

Later, Delegate McNulty, Electrical Workers, offered the following as an amendment to the amendment:

That the Congress of the United States recognize the present Irish Republic. (Amendment to the amendment seconded).

Delegate Mahon spoke briefly in support of his amendment.

Delegate Brady, Photo Engravers, expressed disappointment at the report of the Committee and felt that the convention should give an unqualified recommendation to the United States Congress for recognition of the Irish Republic.

Delegate Connors, Switchman, supported the view expressed by Delegate Brady, and favored the re-committing of the subject to the Committee so that the delegates interested might be afforded an opportunity to be heard on the question.

Delegate Kingsley, Newport Central Labor Union, spoke in favor of independence for all nations, particularly Russia.

Delegate Healy, Stationary Firemen, moved that the entire matter be referred back to the committee and the men who signed the resolution be given an opportunity to appear before the Committee.

Vice-President Duncan, Chairman of the Committee, said that the motion offered by Delegate Healy was unfair to the Committee, because they had been in session all the most continuously since the third day of the convention; that it was impossible to designate any particular time for the consideration of a particular subject; and that delegations or individual delegates were heard on subjects in which they were interested whenever they appeared before the Committee.

Delegate Feeney, Elevator Constructors, favored the report of the Committee and the amendment offered by Delegate Mahon.

Delegate Brady, Photo Engravers, took exception to the statement of Vice-President Duncan and said he had suggested to the Secretary of the Committee that it would be a good plan to announce the time when hearings would be had on this particular subject.

The recommendation of the Committee was again read, also the amendment offered by Delegate Mahon.

President Gompers: You have heard the report of the Committee and the amendment as offered by Delegate Mahon. It has been moved that the subject matter be recommit-
ted.

Delegate Cannon, Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers: I wish to speak upon the motion to re-commit.

Delegate Coughlin, Brooklyn Central Labor Union: I rise to a point of order. The Chairman the other day decided that a motion to re-commit was not debatable.

President Gompers: The point of order is well taken.

The motion to re-commit was lost.

Delegate Cannon: As a point of information, is there any parliamentary method now by which we can substitute a declaration for recognition of the Irish Republic instead of the report of the Committee?

President Gompers: The Chair is not in a position to decide upon a hypothetical question. The Chair will decide on the subjects matter as they are presented to this convention.

Delegate Cannon: That the Chair might have an opportunity of deciding and that we might get this matter straightened out, I move that Resolution No. 152 be substituted for everything before the house at the present time.

President Gompers: That motion is out of order. The Committee reports a substitute for that resolution and the only manner by which the resolution referred to by Delegate Cannon can come before the convention at this time is by the defeat of the Committee's report, and in no other way.

Delegate Cannon then made a statement of some length in which he expressed the opinion that the report of the Committee was not entirely fair, and that if the report of the Committee was adopted it would mean that the people of Ireland were put in the position of pleading for something for which they have been struggling for hundreds of years. He referred to the various other small nations which were granted independence by the action of the Peace Conference and said that Ireland was as much entitled to its independence as any other nation. He closed by advocating the adoption of a resolution indicating that the convention recognizes the right of the people of Ireland to self-government and that the people of the United States recognize the Irish Republic.

Secretary Frey defended the report of the Committee and said that in drafting their report they had used the most emphatic language to indicate that they supported the people of Ireland in adopting and maintaining that form of government which was best suited to them. He denied the allegation made by Delegate Cannon that the action of the Committee was unfair or inconsistent

with the action taken at the St. Paul convention.

Delegate Cannon: Would the Committee be satisfied to include in that report the following: "And that the Congress of the United States be requested to recognize such Irish Government."

Secretary Frey: I am not authorized to speak for the Committee, but as its secretary I can say that much time was devoted to the consideration of these resolutions and to the preparation of the Committee's report, and I don't believe that the Committee is now prepared to in any way alter the report which it submits, particularly in view of the amendment which has been introduced and which I take it for granted meets with the approval of the Committee.

Delegate Woll, Photo Engravers, spoke in favor of the Committee's report and said, in part: Were there a doubt as to the intent and purpose of the Committee's report not clearly recognizing that government which the Irish people have declared for, that error, or indirection, is cured by the amendment, which calls for that recognition and which gives to the Irish people the right to have the representatives of their existing government recognized and heard by the Peace Conference. I feel that the adoption and approval of the amendment and the Committee's report will go much further and will be the more prudent course for us to follow in getting that condition of life and that stability of government which all Irish people and all lovers of liberty are so anxious to see established in the unfortunate country.

Delegate Green, United Mine Workers, spoke at some length in favor of the report of the Committee, expressing the belief that there was embodied in that report the very recognition that the most ardent supporters of the Irish cause could ask for.

Delegate McKillop, Boiler Makers, I would like to ask the Committee if they would agree to insert the words "any nation" instead of "new nation."

Secretary Frey: No, because there are some nations that have been created very recently by the Peace Conference and the Committee has stated in its report that the Irish people were entitled to as much recognition and to the same rights as have been given to those new nations.

Delegate McKillop stated that he represented the contention of some delegates that Ireland had not done her part in the war and then read at some length from the Congressional Record of December 12, 1918, (Document No. 1332, "The Irish Question"—Hearings Before the Committee on Foreign Affairs). The statistics quoted showed that according to Lord

Wimborne's report to Lord Kitchener, of January 14, 1916, there were 51,046 Irishmen serving as regulars and reservists in the British Army in August, 1914. According to Sir Eric Geddes, in the House of Commons, there were, up to 1918, 170,000 enlistments in Ireland. According to the statement of Mr. T. P. O'Connor, M. P., there were over 35,000 Irish boys temporarily employed away from home who enlisted in English and Scotch regiments in 1914-15. According to Lord Wimborne's report there were 8,546 Irishmen in the English Navy. In 1918 there were over 7,000 enlistments in Ireland, and according to a most conservative estimate of the naval reservists and naval enlistments later the number is put at 4,000, making a total of 275,592 Irishmen fighting in the English Army and Navy during this war. In January, 1916, Lord Wimborne, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, reported to Lord Kitchener that there were then only about 400,000 single men of military age in Ireland; that of these at least 252,000 were essential to agriculture, and other industries would absorb about 48,000, which left a balance of possibly 100,000 men available for the army.

After quoting the above statistics and reading other sections from the Congressional Record, Delegate McKillop closed his statement with an appeal for the adoption of the original resolution.

Upon motion, debate was closed. There being some doubt as to the viva voce vote on closing debate, a division was called for and the vote resulted as follows: 150 in favor of the motion to close debate, 181 against.

Delegate McNulty, Electrical Workers, then offered the amendment to the amendment, previously quoted, which was as follows:

"That the Congress of the United States recognize the present Irish Republic."

The amendment was seconded by Delegate Connors of the Switchmen, and other delegates.

At this point President Gompers informed the visitors to the convention that they were welcome to attend the sessions, but that they must not, by any demonstration, voice their approval or disapproval of any measure before the convention.

Delegate Clarke, Flint Glass Workers, Delegate Foley, Barbers, and Delegate Mahon, Street Railway Employees, spoke in favor of the report of the Committee and the amendments.

Delegate Daly favored the resolution of the Committee and the amendment offered by Delegate Mahon. He said he was fearful

lest some of the delegates, in their enthusiasm, would go too far and defeat the very ends they sought to achieve.

Upon motion, debate was closed.

The amendment to the amendment offered by Delegate McNulty was adopted. The amendment offered by Delegate Mahon was also adopted. The report of the Committee, as amended, was unanimously adopted.

Compulsory Military Service.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption (pp. 66 and 67), your committee recommends that all of the sentiments expressed in this section of the report be approved.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Rehabilitation Bills.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption (p. 83), your committee reports as follows:

We congratulate the Executive Council upon the passage of the Rehabilitation Bills and regret the failure of Congress to enact into law the amendment known as S. 4922, and we recommend that the Executive Council continue its efforts to have this amendment enacted into law.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Minimum Wage Legislation.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, pages 84 and 85, your committee notes with interest the enactment of the measure and the results which followed.

The report of the committee was adopted.

The Nolan Bill.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 85, your committee recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to actively assist in securing the passage of a similar measure if it is introduced in Congress.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Retirement System for Employees in the Classified Civil Service.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under this caption, page 89, your committee recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to continue its efforts to secure the enactment of the measure.

The report of the committee was adopted.

"Work or Fight" in the Draft Bill.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under this caption, pages 89 and 90, your committee commends the executive officials at headquarters for their prompt action in preventing the enactment of the Reed-Thomas amendment.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Woman Suffrage.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, pages 91 and 92, your committee notes with satisfaction that since this report was written the Senate has enacted the measure.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Railroad Operation.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 94, your committee reports as follows:

Your committee reports that it also considered, in connection with the above subject matter, Resolution No. 180, which is as follows:

Resolution No. 180—By Delegates A. O. Wharton, International Association of Machinists; James P. Noonan, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; John J. Hynes, Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance; J. W. Kline, International Blacksmiths' and Helpers'; Louis Weyand, International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers; S. E. Heberling, Switchmen's Union; Martin F. Ryan, A. E. Barker, United Brotherhood Maintenance of Way and Railroad Shop Laborers; J. J. Forrester, Brotherhood of Railway Clerks; E. J. Manion.

WHEREAS, There is now pending before the American people and their representatives in Congress the political solution of the railway problem; and

WHEREAS, Every human and industrial activity, the life of every community, and the happiness and the prosperity of every citizen are dependent upon the solution of this problem, and

WHEREAS, It is demanded by the private owners of these properties as the condition on which they will resume the control and operation thereof, that the people of America guarantee them privileges which they have not heretofore enjoyed, to wit, the right to earn a guaranteed return on the property investment account of the railway companies; and

WHEREAS, Such a guarantee would make valid as a direct obligation of the people of the United States all fictitious securities, stock dividends, and discounted bonds issued by the railroads without consideration and representing no service to the American people; and

WHEREAS, In order to make good such guarantee, rates must be raised far in excess of the level now fixed, or, in default of such increase in rates, wages must be reduced far below the level now fixed, or both; and

WHEREAS, There has been presented to the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce, and will shortly be introduced in Congress the plan for a reorganization of this industry originating with the railway employees; and

WHEREAS, Labor's plan so presented provides for immediate public ownership of these properties, the protection of every honest dollar actually invested, and the assurance of an adequate return on such investment without any increase in rates; and

WHEREAS, Labor's plan provides for joint control of the industry through a Board of Directors representing equally the wage-earner, management, and the public; and

WHEREAS, Said plan guarantees to the public the protection of its interests in procuring ultimately service at cost, and at the same time secure to the wage earner a fair share of the profits produced by his skill, efficiency and economy; and

WHEREAS, Labor's plan provides for the full protection of all the rights and privileges of the wage earners as a class without invading the rights of any other classes of society, and at the same time throws wide the golden gate of opportunity for the full development of the powers of initiative, inherent to every individual; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, by this Thirty-ninth Convention of the American Federation of Labor that we hereby approve, endorse and adopt the plan for the re-organization of the railway industry, presented to the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce on behalf of the Railroad Employees represented by the following organizations: International Association of Machinists, Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, Brotherhood Railway Carmen of America, International Brotherhood Blacksmiths and Helpers, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Brotherhood Railroad Trainmen, Switchmen's Union of North America, Brotherhood Railway Clerks, Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and Enginemen, Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance, Order Railroad Conductors, Order Railroad Telegraphers, United Brotherhood Maintenance of Way and Railroad Shop Laborers, International Brotherhood Boilermakers, Iron Shipbuilders and Helpers of America, by A. B. Garretson, Grand Chief of the Order Railroad Conductors and Glenn E. Plumb, their counsel; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we hereby pledge ourselves to use every legitimate endeavor to promote the enactment of this plan into law.

With reference to the subject matter contained in the Executive Council's report and in the above resolution, your committee, in submitting a declaration in favor of ownership or control of railroads

by the United States government, recommends that inasmuch as the details connected with the same are at present in a formative stage, the subject matter be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to cooperate with the organizations representing the Railroad Employees. The report of the committee was adopted.

Meat Packing Monopoly.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 97, your committee recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to have a measure introduced in Congress which will prevent the continuation of the monopolistic control over food products now exercised by the meat packers.

The report of the committee was adopted.

National War Housing.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 99, your committee recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to prepare a measure to be introduced in Congress providing that the buildings erected to supply housing facilities by the government should not be permitted to fall into the hands of speculators, but wherever these houses are suitably situated for continued occupancy they should be sold preferably to workers, under moderate rates of payment.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Postal Wage Legislation.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 104, your committee recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to continue to assist the Postal Employees in securing the desired legislation.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Navy Yard and Arsenal Services.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 105, your committee recom-

mends that the Executive Council be instructed to continue its efforts to assist the Navy Yard and Arsenal Employees in securing the desired legislation.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 7—By Delegate George A. Tracy, of the California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, It has become the practice of manufacturers, producers and others to accumulate and hoard large quantities of commodities, foods, products, dairy products, goods, wearing apparel and articles entering the manufacture of wearing apparel; and

WHEREAS, Such practice leads to artificial conditions of distribution, panics, speculation, price fixing, industrial unrest, impure and deteriorated goods, foods and food products, wearing apparel and articles entering into their manufacture, being disposed of in ways and by methods other than by natural distribution methods; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this body call upon the Congress of the United States and the Legislatures of the various States to enact laws compelling each and every box, barrel, bottle, can, carton or container of such foods, or food products, and each and every article of wearing apparel or article entering the manufacture of wearing apparel, to bear an imprint of the date of its growth, origin, production of manufacture, and if any of such foods, food products, dairy products, wearing apparel or article entering the manufacture thereof, be stored, the date of such storage to be imprinted thereon; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this body call upon the Congress of the United States and the Legislatures of the various States to provide in the aforesaid laws a time limit within which any of aforesaid stamped foods, food products, wearing apparel, etc., shall be offered for sale to the consumer, on penalty of confiscation, or fine, or both.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to have a measure prepared for introduction in Congress embodying the substance and intent of the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

At 12.40 the convention was adjourned to reconvene at 2.30 p. m.

SEVENTH DAY—Tuesday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2.30 o'clock Tuesday afternoon, June 17th, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Jackson, Thompson, Shea, Schultz, Tourison, Carter, Canady, Messicop, Campbell, Bradley, Priestly, Taylor, Griffith, Wessel, Fink, O'Donnell, Stephen,

Yanew, Bryan, Owens, Hoffman, Davis, Schildt, Howard, Cooney, Mordecai, Hotch, Gorman, Fitzpatrick, Fundey, Cone, Heit, Heinl, Dold, Schneider, Conway, Feeney.

Delegate Gauthier, Machinists: I desire to call the attention of the convention to a serious situation that exists in the plant of

Willys-Overland Automobile Company in Toledo, Ohio, where members of eight different organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor are locked out. The company, through one of its agencies, has brought the entire matter into the Federal courts, and a serious situation exists. The company has operated this plant for the last three years on a basic forty-five-hour week. When our wage scales expired this year the trades concerned offered a new agreement, to be effective April 1. During April the company notified members of our organization that they would establish a forty-eight hour basic week, thereby increasing the hours three per week. They also said that the plan of representing various organizations by committee would be supplanted by a plan instituted by the company. In the classification of the work they established five grades for each of the mechanical trades, which was so manifestly unfair the members of the respective organizations decided by unanimous vote to leave off work at the end of the eight-hour period, which they did, and as a consequence on Tuesday morning, May 6th, they were locked out of the plant.

I desire at this time to have the convention authorize President Gompers to name a committee of two representing the American Federation of Labor immediately to make an investigation of this affair and proceed with the idea of bringing about an adjustment before this convention adjourns. Mr. Chairman, I move to that effect. (Seconded and carried.)

Delegate Schmidt, Butcher Workmen, obtained unanimous consent for the introduction of a resolution, and submitted the following:

Resolution No. 219—By Delegates Fred Schmidt, John F. Hart, John Kennedy, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butchers' Workmen of North America.

WHEREAS, The employees of the John F. Jelke, Butterine Co., of Chicago, Ill., have been forced on a strike by the unfair tactics of this concern, and

WHEREAS, The Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, under whose jurisdiction those employees are organized, have authorized this strike, now therefore be it

RESOLVED: That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, endorses the action of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor pledges its undivided moral support in the execution of this strike, and instructs its delegates to bring this matter to the attention of their membership at the earliest possible moment.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

President Gompers: The Chairman of the Committee on Building Trades asks that Resolution No. 140 be referred to the Com-

mittee on Adjustment, as it deals with a matter upon which that Committee has already taken a position. If there are no objections, it will be so referred. Hearing none, it is so referred.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Delegate Frey, Secretary of the Committee reported as follows: The following resolutions, Nos. 10 and 55, dealing with the same subject matter, are covered in one report by the Committee:

Resolution No. 10—By Delegate J. Deutelsbaum, of the Detroit Federation of Labor.

By instructions—

RESOLVED, That this, the Thirty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, go on record to change Labor Day from the first Monday in September to May first, and that the incoming Executive Council be and is hereby instructed to carry out the intent and purposes of this resolution during their term of office.

Resolution No. 55—By Delegate C. A. Strickland, of the Central Labor Council, of Portland, Oregon.

WHEREAS, Any movement or lack of action at the present time which does not promote the idea of "solidarity" in the ranks of labor is a dangerous and disintegrating agency; and

WHEREAS, The American Labor Day as recognized and celebrated on the first Monday in September of each year, starting as it did from a successful local picnic or jollification, was "boosted" into national prominence by designing politicians to prevent the European Labor Day becoming a worldwide adhesive power; and

WHEREAS, With this bond of unity being made a tie of affection to bind all the world of labor into an universal brotherhood, and with working agreements and union contracts with the employers terminating, all at a given time would prove a valuable help in the task of "getting the boss off our back;" therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor does hereby declare the Labor Day as heretofore recognized and celebrated on the first Monday in September to be abandoned and of no effect; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the next Labor Day to be recognized and celebrated as "Labor's Own Day of Independence" shall be on May 1, 1920, and on the same date of May 1, of each year thereafter.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence with these resolutions.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report and recommendation of the Committee.

Delegate Deutelsbaum opposed the recommendation of the Committee and urged the adoption of the resolution. He stated there was no place in the civilized world, outside of the United States and Canada, where Labor Day was observed on any other day except May 1st, and the object in presen-

ting the resolution was "to enable labor the world over to hold communion on the same day and in that way help to cement fraternal relations between the laboring men of the world." He stated further that the resolution was introduced by instruction of the Central Labor Union of Detroit.

Delegate Schoenberg, Machinists, opposed the recommendation of the Committee and urged the adoption of the resolutions. He gave as one reason for favoring the change the practice of most organizations of making their agreements to terminate the last day of April, and the celebration of Labor Day on the first day of May would have a favorable effect on these agreements. In concluding he said "I think it is not right for the American labor movement to celebrate in September, on a day that was not selected by itself but was given to us by somebody else. We want a day given to labor by labor itself."

Secretary Frey, in replying to the last statement of Delegate Schoenberg, said in part: "It is rather peculiar to hear a trade unionist get up in our convention and say that our Labor Day was given us by somebody. Labor Day was established in this country, not by a political party, not by politicians, but by organized trade unionists. It is the only Labor Day celebrated anywhere in the world that had its origin and has been maintained by trade unionists. I hope there is no intention on the part of those who favor the resolution to couple up trade unionism with May 1st in Europe, which, while it has always been celebrated by workers in most European countries, has always taken on a more political character than an industrial character. Labor Day, September 1st, is the only holiday celebrated by labor anywhere in the world that was established by organized labor working through the trade union movement."

Delegate Strickland, Portland, Ore., urged the adoption of Resolution No. 55 and opposed the recommendation of the Committee.

Delegate Selinsky, Journeyman Tailors, opposed the recommendation and urged the adoption of one or the other of the resolutions read by the Secretary of the Committee. He read a circular letter sent out by the Journeyman Tailors' International Union to all its affiliated locals in favor of the change in the date of Labor Day.

President Gompers: "Probably some might like further light thrown upon the subject under discussion. The American Labor Day was inaugurated by a parade in New York City of the men of labor, before any law was put on the statute books of the United States or of any of the states affecting Labor Day. The man in whose brain that thought for Labor Day was generated was one of those who helped to found the

American Federation of Labor, the founder and organizer of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, a member of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, the late P. J. McGuire. Later the American Labor Movement demanded at the hands of Congress and of the Legislatures of our various states that the first Monday in September should be made a legal holiday and be known as Labor Day. and if there were politicians who had any connection with the creation of Labor Day as a legal holiday it was the politicians who yielded to the demand of organized labor."

In 1889 the American Federation of Labor undertook to organize a movement in reference to the eight-hour work day, and the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners made application to the Executive Council to be selected as the organization of labor of America to make the demand, and that organized labor of every industry should morally and financially support that organization in making the fight. That declaration was made. The Carpenters were chosen.

There was to be an International Congress held in Paris in connection with the World's Exposition of that year, and it fell to me to write a letter to that Congress. That letter, carried jointly by the late Hugh McGregor and John F. O'Sullivan, to that Congress asked that the Congress make some declaration of international sympathy with the American labor movement, and particularly with the carpenters in their general demand for the eight-hour day. I appealed to the Paris Conference to hold demonstrations on May first in all parts of Europe in sympathy with the carpenters in their movement for the eight-hour day and as a result of the vote a resolution was adopted by that Congress in compliance and out of that the May-day celebration resulted in Europe. As a matter of fact, the idea originated here and was carried to Europe.

In Germany, Austria, Italy and France—it isn't observed at all in Great Britain—when they have a celebration of their labor day, May first, it is held on Sunday or in the evening. They haven't the temerity or the strength or the independence to take the day for themselves. I question whether we who are the originators of the thought of Labor Day should fall in line and celebrate it at another date than the one we have selected.

The motion to adopt the report of the Committee was carried.

Delegate Deutelbaum, Detroit Federation of Labor; Delegate Selinsky, Journeyman Tailors; Delegate Kaufman and Delegate Liebowitz, Fur Workers, desire to be recorded as voting against the report of the Committee on Resolutions Nos. 10 and 55.

The following resolutions, Nos. 9, 85, and 189, dealing with similar subjects matter,

were considered together by the Committee:

Resolution No. 9—By Delegate Peter Bollenbacher, of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, It is alleged that, due to a blockade of Russian ports, starvation is rampant in Russia, causing thousands of deaths and much suffering; and

WHEREAS, As laboring people, we believe that democracy calls for alleviation of suffering and that food should not be denied to any people or nation not at war with this country; and

WHEREAS, We hold further that, as a democracy, it is our duty to do nothing to interfere in the form of government desired by any people; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor that we recommend to the Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that it take such steps as are necessary to lift the alleged blockade of Russian ports and to do all in their power to permit food, clothing, etc., to be forwarded to the Russian people.

~~Resolution No. 85—By Delegate C. A. Strickland, of the Central Labor Union, of Portland, Ore.~~

WHEREAS, It has been published in the daily press, that on the request of President Wilson, two divisions of the American Army which were scheduled for an early return home are to be retained in the Army of Occupation indefinitely, and as it appears to be the plan of Secretary of War Baker and Chief of Staff March to maintain five divisions of the American Army in the Army of Occupation in Europe; and

WHEREAS, It is reported to be the plans of and the intention of Secretary of War Baker and Chief of Staff March to maintain a standing army of not less than 500,000 or more for at least one year; and

WHEREAS, It is further reported that it is the plan of the militarists of this country to enforce military training in the colleges and other institutions of learning throughout this country; and

WHEREAS, A large majority of the armies and navies of the world are obtained from the laboring class of the world; and

WHEREAS, The laborers of the world pay all the expenses of all military operations, and are thereby providing lucrative positions for certain individuals who thrive off the armies and navies of the world, and who are anxious to retain their official positions in the armies and navies; and

WHEREAS, Labor believes that the better interests of a nation would be permanently secured if the vast sums which are used for military purposes, such as maintaining large armies and navies, were used for the purpose of establishing and constructing permanent trans-continental highways across our country, and providing improvements which would prove of real benefit to the present society and to the future generations which may come; and

WHEREAS, In its finality labor is opposed to wars, and to all education which tends to train men's minds for war, with all the resultant destruction of life and property; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, do hereby voice a protest against all forms of

militarism, and does now most respectfully request the President of the United States, Woodrow Wilson, as commander-in-chief of the armies and navies of this United States, to use his authority for the purpose of withdrawing all American forces from foreign countries, and we wish to especially mention Russia, and other European countries which are now wholly or partially occupied by American troops, and that they be returned to their homes and demobilized as rapidly as transportation can be available; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to the President of the United States, and a copy be sent to Secretary of War Baker, and that the Congress of the United States be notified of the adoption of these resolutions, and that organized labor throughout the world be informed of the action of this body.

Resolution No. 189—By Delegate James A. Duncan. By instructions of the Seattle Central Labor Council.

WHEREAS, The workers of Russia are endeavoring to establish in their country a government of, by, and for the workers; and

WHEREAS, We find the capitalists of the whole world seeking to annul their efforts by every conceivable, underhanded method known to them, such as starving the people of Russia to a blockade, intervention by Japanese, our allies, and U. S. troops without the consent of Congress, and assisting financially the counter-revolutionists of the old Czar regime; all of which methods are out of harmony with justice, progress, civilization and democracy; and

WHEREAS, We believe the workers of America have the power to prevent the capitalists of the United States from carrying out their part in the plans for the destruction of the new workingmen's government of Russia; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the Steam and Marine Fitters, Local Union No. 478, of Seattle, Wash., urge the Seattle Central Labor Council and the Washington State Federation of Labor to call upon Congress to immediately order the withdrawal of United States troops from Russia and give recognition to the Soviet government of Russia; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the above-named labor bodies be requested to join in calling upon the A. F. of L. at its June, 1919, convention to request all internationals affiliated to immediately prepare and send out ballots to all local unions to ascertain the sentiment of the membership upon the question of recognition by the United States Government of the Russian Soviet government; such ballot to contain nothing pertaining to the subject except the plain question—

"Are you in favor of the United States Government giving recognition to the Russian Soviet government?"

With the usual provision for noting the expression, the result of such referendum to serve as a guide to the conduct of all labor officials and unionists generally regarding this question.

Respectfully submitted,
STEAM & MARINE FITTERS' LOCAL
UNION, NO. 478,

JOHN YOUNG, President.
H. E. REES, Secretary.

(Seal.)

Adopted by the Central Labor Council of Seattle and vicinity at its regular meeting, May 28, 1919.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Secretary Frey: Your Committee offers the following as a substitute for Resolutions Nos. 9, 85, and 189:

RESOLVED, That this convention express its well-considered conviction that the United States Government should withdraw all its troops from Russian soil at the earliest possible moment; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention refuse its endorsement of the soviet government of Russia, or any other form of government in that country, until the peoples of Russia, through a constituent or other form of national assembly, representing all of the people, through popular elections, shall have reestablished a truly democratic form of government.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the Committee.

Delegate Selinsky Journeyman Tailors read a long resolution which he said had been adopted by the Cleveland, Ohio, Central Labor Union and the Akron, Ohio, Central Labor Union. The resolution asked that all American troops be withdrawn from Russia and from military service in Europe as speedily as possible; that the Russian people be left to regulate their own affairs, free from the dictation or coercion of any other country and that the principle of self determination be allowed all countries.

Delegate Bollenbacher, Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor, stated that Resolution No. 9 had been adopted at a convention of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor and from that convention sent to the American Federation of Labor. He objected to that resolution being considered with the other two, as it did not deal with subjects referred to in Resolutions Nos. 85 and 189.

Delegate Furuseth, Seamen, stated that the report of the Committee dealt with two separate subjects, and moved to amend by striking out the second section of the Committee's report.

Delegate Coughlin, Brooklyn Central Labor Union, asked why the committee had coupled the question of sending food to Russia with the withdrawal of American troops from Russia.

Secretary Frey, in replying to the question, said in part "The three resolutions, with their substance, hinge around two questions. The first is whether we desire to have our troops remain in Russia; the second, whether we shall recognize the soviet government. The Committee has recommended that no form of government should be recognized in Russia until such time as a duly constituted popular legislative body elected by the people establishes such a government. The inference to be drawn from the Committee's report is that the soviet government is not a representative form of government. The fact is that

the soviet government prohibited the meeting of a constituent assembly that had been elected by all the peoples of Russia and therefore in our Committee's opinion it is not a representative body; neither does it officially claim to represent all the people of Russia. The official claim of that government is that they represent the workers, and only the workers, and for that reason your Committee recommends that such a form of government should not receive the endorsement of this convention until the people of Russia, voting in a popular election, decide for themselves that that is the form of government they want.

"Your Committee has also in mind the fact that the question of this soviet form of government has not only been brought into our country but had been urged more or less in trade union meetings, and there is the belief in some sections of our country that this movement sympathizes more or less, not only with that form of government, but with the methods which we are given to understand are adopted to make that present government effective.

"Your Committee is of the opinion that it is essential that this convention should declare itself in no uncertain terms as to where it stands upon the question of the present government in Russia. We should either endorse that form of government and express our conviction that it is our duty to support the workers in Russia in what they are doing at the present time, or we should express the conviction that we do not endorse or approve. We want that recommendation to express the opinion of American trade unionists acting for themselves. If we believe in a democratic form of government it is impossible, if we are consistent, to endorse the soviet form of government."

Delegate Hayes, M. S., Typographical Union, objected to considering the three resolutions together, and in speaking on Resolution No. 9, said in part: "This resolution, as I understand it, injects a proposition which is perhaps more vital than both of the others, and that is the economic question, the question of feeding, the question of preventing the death and starvation that is stalking broadcast in Russia, and for that reason the Committee, in my opinion, erred in bunching these three resolutions. I am perfectly in accord with the recommendation of the Committee; I think it is a fair one; but we cannot stop merely with the matter of refusing to recognize any government in Russia until the people themselves come to some agreement, as they have done in other countries in Europe. There is still the economic question of feeding the peoples of Russia, and that should not be side-stepped by the Committee with

the mere assertion that you would be recognizing one faction or another by feeding the people of Russia, which is not the case. It is not necessary to recognize either the soviet government or the so-called Kolchak government, or any other faction, if we want to do the just and humane thing for millions of people who are not responsible for the conditions that exist in Russia."

Secretary Frey: How the American government could send food to Russia which would be of any assistance to the sufferers in Russia is a problem. We are aware that the information coming from Russia, or that is alleged to come from Russia, is not the most reliable; but this Bolshevik government, this government which maintains its existence by force of arms, is in control of all the avenues of communication and distribution. If the American troops are taken out of Russia the only people who would control transportation and distribution would be the military arm of the Bolshevik government, and to that we are not agreeable. It would simply strengthen the military branch of the Bolshevik government that controls transportation and the distribution of food. If food is to be distributed so that the mass of the Russians may have something to keep them from starvation, it is your Committee's firm conviction that it would require not only the number of American troops on Russian soil today but a great many more than there are there at the present time. It is not because your Committee has no sympathy with those who are dying in Russia and dying in other European countries at the present time, but because the Committee could not advise sending food to that country and withdrawing the only means of distributing it to the ones who really need it.

Delegate Shay, Theatrical Stage Employees: I have every sympathy for those who are dying of starvation in Russia or any other place, but as one who was born and brought up in this country I would like to see this convention stop pro-German and pro-Russian arguments and become a little bit American. There are thousands of members of the American Federation of Labor on strike and there are thousands more that may go on strike soon. I believe we have heard enough from those who favor the report of the Committee and those who oppose it, to vote intelligently.

Delegate Gorenstein, Ladies' Garment Workers' Union: I would like to know, if this resolution is adopted, whether the American Federation of Labor will approve of sending ammunition to the Kolchak government to kill the Russian workers.

President Gompers: I think that question is an insult to this convention.

Upon Motion, debate was closed.

Delegate Duncan, Seattle, as the intro-

ducer of one of the resolutions, asked to be heard on that resolution. Delegate Strickland, Portland, asked for the same privilege.

President Gompers: The delegates did not make manifest their desire to speak on the resolution until after this convention had declared that the previous question should be ordered.

The amendment proposed by Delegate Furuseth was lost.

The motion to adopt the report and recommendation of the Committee was carried.

Delegate Duncan: May I rise to point out that the Committee has not acted at all upon the request of the Seattle Labor Council that the question of recognition of the soviet government be referred to the membership of the American Federation of Labor for expression, and that expression be the guide of the officers of our movement?

President Gompers: The report of the Committee, adopted by this convention, is a substitute for the three resolutions, including the matter mentioned by Delegate James A. Duncan.

The Mooney Case

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, and upon the following resolutions, Nos. 16, 116, and 188, the Committee submitted two reports:

Resolution No. 16—By Delegate Peter Bollenbacher, of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, It is apparent that some concrete official and intelligent policy is necessary, on the part of the American Labor Movement, to assist in the fight to secure a new trial or freedom for Tom Mooney; and

WHEREAS, All those who understand the American Labor Movement know that the official action of the American Federation of Labor on questions of this nature mean much to the accomplishment of the desired attainments; and

WHEREAS, We of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor believe that all the power at our command should be utilized to secure justice for Mooney; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that we reiterate our belief in the innocence of Mooney and our firm purpose to do all in our power to secure for him a new trial or unconditional freedom; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we call upon the regular convention of the American Federation of Labor, meeting next month, to clearly define and map out plans and policies and put them into operation, to the end that a new trial be granted to Mooney, or that he be given his unconditional freedom; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That our delegate to the next American Federation of Labor Convention be instructed to present this resolution to the Convention for definite action.

Resolution No. 116—By the Virginia State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The essential and consistent contention of organized labor of America is for justice to all classes, for the actual freedom and democracy of our institutions, for the general application of the "Golden Rule" to our social and industrial lives; and

WHEREAS, The Mooney case, since the rendering of the indispensable report of the Federal Commission sent by President Wilson to investigate, is an instance of deliberate trampling upon those privileges and principles upon which it has developed; and

WHEREAS, Organized labor is unquestionably the mouthpiece of the great majority of the rank and file of the nation's population; and

WHEREAS, Organized labor has failed to take a definite and decisive stand upon this question; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor recommend that the international unions advise their membership of some proper actions in this situation.

Resolution No. 188—By Delegates Edgar S. Hurley, Alameda, Cal., Central Labor Council; C. F. Grow, International Association of Machinists; William Schoenberg, Machinists; H. W. Brown, International Association of Machinists; Julius Deutelbaum, Detroit Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Thirty-eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor of St. Paul reiterated its sentiment in favor of new trials for Thomas J. Mooney and Warren K. Billings, and instructed the executive officers to forward our request to the President of the United States and to the Governor of California; and

WHEREAS, Since our last convention the Governor of California has commuted Mooney's death sentence to life imprisonment, an act which in itself is strong evidence that Mooney has been a victim of perjury as claimed by the defense; and

WHEREAS, The demand for a new trial has found supporters in the trial judge, the attorney general of California, the President's Federal Mediation Commission, the Secretary of Labor, the President of the United States and millions of workers throughout the country, but still new trials are denied the defense; and

WHEREAS, The delegates to this convention are firmly convinced that a great injustice has been done to Thomas J. Mooney and Warren K. Billings; now therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention authorize and direct the incoming Executive Council to appoint a special committee, whose duty it shall be to proceed to Washington, D. C., after the adjournment of this convention, and lay the entire Mooney case before the Federal authorities with the request that they find some legal way either by Federal investigation or otherwise to right this wrong; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed and empowered to request the international unions affiliated with this Federation to submit to their membership a referendum vote for a 24-hour general protest strike immediately after Labor Day in

the event that Thomas J. Mooney and Warren K. Billings shall be definitely denied a new and fair trial.

Secretary Frey: Your Committee brought in two separate reports, one dealing with the question of a new trial for Thomas J. Mooney, and the other with the question of a general strike. I will read first the part of the Committee's report dealing with the question of a new trial, as follows:

Previous conventions have taken a deep interest in the incidents connected with the trial and sentence of Thomas J. Mooney. Insistent demands have been made by these conventions that the accused be given a new trial. Despite our efforts the accused has been denied another opportunity of facing his accusers, or of presenting in open court the large volume of evidence and testimony secured since his trial, which has been the basis of a widespread belief that perjury and subornation of perjury was the basis upon which his conviction was secured.

As a result of the activities and representations made by the officers of the American Federation of Labor, acting under the instructions of previous conventions, the President of the United States gave public expression of his belief that the accused should be given another trial. The St. Paul convention of 1918, realizing that the accused was in immediate jeopardy of his life, again instructed the President of the A. F. of L. to immediately appeal to the Governor of California and again present the urgency of the case to the President of the United States. These instructions were carried out, but instead of a new trial, the death sentence was commuted to life imprisonment. This action, while saving the life of the accused, is intolerable under the circumstances. If the accused had been found guilty of the heinous crime charged as the result of unquestioned evidence which had been introduced against him, the commutation of his sentence was an outrage upon the community. If the evidence was of such a character as to cast a grave question of doubt over the acts of the prosecution itself, then the commutation was an outrage against the accused.

Your Committee is firmly and unanimously of the opinion that a new trial of the accused has become an imperative necessity, in order that the evidence presented by the prosecutor's office may be reviewed by another court and jury; and, furthermore, that there may also be presented in court the testimony and evidence, which have been circulated in this and other countries, which has aroused a widespread impression that motives and methods of a most sinister character, and evidence of a perjured nature were responsible for T. J. Mooney's conviction.

Your Committee, therefore, recommends

that the Executive Council be and is hereby instructed to give their early attention to the devising of such practical ways and means as will aid in securing a new trial to Thomas J. Mooney, and also the presentation before the court of the testimony and evidence presented since the trial, the character of which has created the belief that a most grave miscarriage of justice and perjured testimony were responsible for the conviction and sentence.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report and recommendation of the Committee.

Delegate Grow, Machinists, discussed Resolution No. 188 at some length and in doing so gave a rather comprehensive history of the entire case against Mooney, Mrs. Mooney, Warren K. Billings, and Israel Weinberg.

Delegate O'Donnell, Boston Central Labor Union, stated that Mooney had been condemned because he had taken an active part in the labor movement of San Francisco and had organized the street carmen of that city after other efforts to organize them had failed.

Delegate Strickland, Portland, Ore., stated that resolutions had been adopted in previous conventions of the American Federation of Labor, but nothing definite had been done to secure the release of Thomas J. Mooney.

Delegate Lennon, Bloomington, Ill., asked if it were true that under the laws of California there is no possibility of a new trial being secured.

President Gompers: There can be no new trial of Mooney or Billings so long as they are not granted a pardon and their freedom. There are indictments which are now pending against these men; and upon the same set of allegations Mooney and Billings were indicted, tried, convicted, and sentenced. An appeal was taken to the higher courts of the state, and the highest court has sustained the lower court in the conviction. The understanding I have of the Committee's report is that they propose to secure for Mooney and Billings a new trial where they can be faced with their accusers, and in the light of the observation of the citizenship of our country see to it that no perjured or suborned perjured evidence shall be permitted at that trial.

Delegate Grow, Machinists, asked the privilege of the floor for Mr. Anton Johansen to speak on the question. Mr. Johansen stated that he was satisfied with the report of the Committee.

The motion to adopt the report and recommendation of the Committee was carried.

Secretary Frey: The following is the second report of the Committee on the Mooney case:

In connection with the case of Thomas J. Mooney, Resolution No. 188, has been introduced calling upon the convention to take steps, through the officials of affiliated organizations, for the taking of a referendum vote of the membership they represent, upon the question of a general strike on Labor Day, 1919, should a new trial be refused him before that date. In connection with this proposition, your Committee is forced to give consideration to the effort which has been made by the International Workers' Defense League to take a referendum vote of the membership of the American Trade Union Movement upon the question of a general strike on July 4th of this year.

With reference to the provisions of the resolution, it is essential first of all to indicate that the national and international unions comprising the American Federation of Labor were guaranteed full autonomy when they affiliated with this organization. That is to say, they were assured of their unquestioned authority to make such laws for their self-government as their desires, wisdom and experience indicated. Upon the specific question of strikes, and the rules and regulations governing the taking of referendum votes upon any question, each affiliated organization is governed by the laws which its membership have enacted for their self-government.

Neither the American Federation of Labor nor any of its affiliated organizations have the right to interfere with the operation and application of the laws of any of the national or international unions. Such interference would usurp their right of self-government and would immediately destroy the voluntary character of membership in the American Federation of Labor.

The membership of affiliated organizations have been informed of the action of the convention called by the International Workers' Defense League, which was held in Chicago on , which proposed a general strike on July 4, 1919, if Thomas J. Mooney was not given a new trial before that date. This membership, through the laws which they have created for their self-government in their respective organizations, have had at their disposal the methods by which they could express themselves upon the question.

This convention has no power nor authority, neither can it assume the authority to direct the taking of a referendum vote of the membership of affiliated organizations upon any question; it may recommend but it cannot instruct.

Upon the subject of the attempt which has been made to take a referendum vote upon the question of a general strike on July 4, 1919, your Committee gathers from the official published statements of those responsible for the attempt, that they were

impelled to assume authority to issue a call for a referendum vote of the trade union membership of the United States and Canada, because they had taken exception to the attitude of the accredited trade union executive officers of affiliated organizations.

The executive officers of affiliated organizations are not answerable to the American Federation of Labor for whatever attitude they may have assumed upon the subject under consideration; they are not answerable to any of the affiliated organizations; they are not answerable to any other bodies or organizations unaffiliated with the American Federation of Labor; they are answerable to the membership of their respective organizations only.

The incident of an outside body irresponsible to the trade union movement assuming to usurp the functions of the executive officials of affiliated organizations is one which cannot be ignored in connection with the subject under consideration. In this instance, the general strike was advocated not to save a human life but for the stated purpose of securing a new trial for Thomas J. Mooney before July 4, 1919.

General strikes for other purposes have been advocated during the year by individuals and bodies outside of the trade union movement, equally irresponsible to the American Federation of Labor. If bodies unauthorized by the American Federation of Labor are to assume the functions of polling the membership of the American trade union movement upon any question of their choosing, the machinery through which the trade union movement functions would be seriously injured, if not destroyed. If outsiders can force a vote of the membership and assume authority superior to that created by the organizations themselves for their administration, practical methods must cease to function. Irresponsible groups of men or individuals who were not even trade unionists would have it within their power to destroy the effectiveness of trade union discipline, tear down the structure which trade unionists have built up and create a condition of chaos. The orderly, systematic methods which the workers of America have adopted to protect their welfare and advance their interests as wage earners would be set aside, our organizations would become a rich field for exploitation by all those who believed it to be to their personal advantage. Those who are opposed to trade unionism and who attack its policies and methods would take full advantage of this opportunity of utilizing this method as propaganda for their own programs, policies and sentiments. Unquestionably, adventurers would promptly seek the opportunity offered. The machinery of the trade union movement must remain in the full and unquestioned

control of the membership which comprises it. Our movement cannot afford to tolerate the attempt of any outside individual or group to use its machinery for the purpose of securing or endeavoring to secure the sentiments or opinion of its membership upon any question.

Your Committee, therefore, recommends that this convention express its emphatic disapproval of the efforts which have been made by a body irresponsible to the American Federation of Labor to poll the vote of the membership of affiliated organizations.

Your Committee is of the opinion that an attempted general strike would seriously injure the effort to secure a new trial for Thomas J. Mooney and accomplish much harm to his interests.

The Committee would be remiss in its duties if it failed to call attention to the fact that representatives of the International Workers' Defense League who are its agents soliciting funds for T. J. Mooney's defense are doing him an incalculable injury and also creating internal disturbances within the trade union movement through their continuous attacks, unjust criticisms and misrepresentations of the American Federation of Labor, its officials and the officials of affiliated organizations.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the Committee.

Delegate Deutelbaum, Detroit, opposed the recommendation of the Committee and stated that he considered any attack upon the International Workers' Defense League unjust. He stated that if it were not for the work of that League not many men in the convention would know anything about the Mooney case. He stated further that the report of the Committee was conspicuous by the absence of any concrete recommendation as to what was to be done after the convention toward securing a new trial for Mr. Mooney.

Delegate Sullivan objected to expressions used by the Committee in reporting on the International Workers' Defense League and moved that ten minutes be given a representative of that League to address the convention. The motion was seconded and carried.

Delegate Sullivan asked that Mr. Patterson, a representative of the League, address the convention.

Mr. Patterson said, in part, as follows: As one of the men who has held a card in the Carpenters' Brotherhood, when I realized that a member of my organization in San Francisco, Israel Weinberg, was being, as I then believed and as I now know, deliberately railroaded to the penitentiary and possibly to the gallows, I determined to do what I might be able to save this man from the fate I believed was in store for

him. When I realized that union labor officials of the city of San Francisco who should have gone to the bat were laying down on the job, were going about the town whispering that these men were guilty, I felt my duty was to line up with Israel Weinberg.

Speaking for the International Workers' Defense League, which is composed of delegates from American Federation of Labor unions in San Francisco, I desire to say that we have no apologies to make for anything we have done. We would not have made the mistakes you say we have made had you given us the advice and had some people given us the same amount of interest they have given recently in condemning the efforts of those of us who have tried to save the lives and liberties of Mooney and his associates.

It may be said the labor movement in San Francisco did not have an opportunity to take charge of this affair. I know positively the San Francisco Labor Council and the San Francisco Building Trades' Council were given an opportunity to take hold of this case. They were asked to appoint a committee, and if that committee or a single member of it thought one of those defendants was guilty the whole thing could go and they could take care of themselves. The League offered to disband and turn the whole situation over to the San Francisco Labor Council if they would act, and they did not act. Now, when a few of us have done the best we know how, insulting statements are made. No matter what these insults may be, no matter what lies you may tell, no matter what whisperings go on, we will continue to work for these men. Up to a year ago prominent officials were going around the country whispering that these men were guilty. They did that for over two years, although it had been demonstrated to everybody of fair mind that these men had been dealt with unjustly. We have taken the credit of saving Tom Mooney's life. If you will come along with us, all right. We deny that any attack has ever been made upon the officials of this organization. We have protected you from attacks; we could have thrown this matter in a position that would not look well for some officials; if you are willing to go along we will work with you all the time. This fight is going on, this battle is going to continue until Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings receive the fair trials they are entitled to.

President Gompers: The Chair would like to inquire from one of the delegates who has signed these resolutions whether it is a fact that the International Workers' Defense League and some other organization has decided upon calling a general strike for five days on the Fourth of July; and, further,

if Tom Mooney is not liberated or given a fair trial by that time a general strike of five days shall occur again on Labor Day; and if Tom Mooney is not liberated or given a new trial, a general strike will be called for five days beginning on November 19th; and if Tom Mooney is not given a new trial by that date, that later there shall be a general strike without limitation or duration.

Delegate Coughlin and Delegate Schoenberg stated in reply to the question that they knew of no such plan being adopted.

Delegate Murphy, San Francisco Labor Council, stated that he felt it his duty to reply to some of the statements made by Mr. Patterson. In doing so he said, in part: "It may be true that some of the labor men in the city and county of San Francisco have not done as much as they might to correct the situation. Whether any action on their part would have changed the condition that exists today is purely problematical. It should be borne in mind that if ever there was an unwarranted, uncalled for, and inexcusable atrocity it was that bomb explosion in the city of San Francisco. Notwithstanding some people were determined that, regardless of anything else, the defendants that were arrested should be turned loose, there were some people in the labor movement who bided their time until it became apparent that the men who were arrested were the victims of a conspiracy.

One speaker said that Tom Mooney was successful in organizing the car men of San Francisco. No one has been successful in organizing the car men of San Francisco since they lost their organization through the strike of 1897. Tom Mooney was appointed organizer by the international officers of the carmen's organization without the knowledge of the San Francisco Labor Council. I don't believe it would be proper to let the impression prevail that the labor men of San Francisco deliberately tried to assist in the conspiracy, because I do not believe that to be a fact; but because of their personal feeling, which they did not seem to be able to overcome, they were willing to allow events to go without their interference. There were others who went to the bat for these defendants and played no small part in bringing about some of the things that have been brought about.

Delegate Murphy gave a detailed account of the trial, the character of the testimony introduced, the efforts that were later made to secure a new trial, and concluded by saying he was glad the American Federation of Labor was about to take the case up officially and endeavor to obtain a fair and impartial trial for the defendants.

Secretary Frey, in replying to statements made by Mr. Patterson, said in part: "The Committee has recommended to the con-

vention, and the convention has adopted, a report insisting in unqualified language upon the necessity of a new trial. We have called attention to the fact that the Governor's action in commuting the sentence was inconsistent, unfair, and intolerable. So far the convention has been in accord with the Committee.

"My conviction is that Tom Mooney owes his life more to the action taken by the St. Paul convention of the American Federation of Labor last year than to any other one thing that has occurred since the sentence was pronounced upon him. I am not going to admit that any outside influence had as much weight with the President of the United States and with the public opinion that has been formed. It has been trade union money that has enabled the International Workers' Defense League to carry on its work. It is not for me to question many of the things they have done; I have no desire to do that, but when men in their defense of the interests of another human being adopt methods prejudicial to that individual and injurious to the trade union movement, I would not be doing my duty if I did not say something when the question is forced on the floor.

"Information comes to your Committee that the money that was contributed by trade unions to secure a new trial for Thomas J. Mooney, in some instances was used to pay the railway fare and expenses of delegates from different parts of the union to the convention that met in Chicago. Your Committee is assured that the endorsed checks, photographed, can be secured. If the trade union movement is to have a truly representative gathering it is going to pay its own freight and not take money from a fund created to secure a new trial for a man. But that is not the point.

"What has occurred is that representatives of the International Workers' Defense League whose salaries and expenses have been paid from trade union contributions, have used the opportunity, while discussing and pleading for a movement to secure a new trial for Thomas J. Mooney, not only to attack the American Federation of Labor, its officers, and the officers of the international unions, but used trade union money in many instances to carry on propaganda for the de-

struction of the American trade union movement; and as one of those who is very earnest in his intention to do everything that lies in his power to see that a new trial is secured, I am opposed to the voluntary contributions of trade unionists being used by paid employes to misrepresent the trade union movement and give comfort and solace and assistance to men in this country whose avowed purpose, whose officially stated purpose is to destroy the American Federation of Labor.

"These things would not have been referred to were it not for what has been brought out on the floor. But the matter was brought here, and it is necessary that this convention declare itself as to whether it approves of trade union contributions being used for the purpose I have just referred to. I feel that the methods used by many of these official representatives of the International Workers' Defense League are far more injurious to the interests of the defendants than anything that could possibly be done here."

Delegate Duncan, Seattle, discussed the question at length and disagreed with portions of the report of the Committee and with statements of Delegate Frey. He contended that the efforts of the International Workers' Defense League had been more effective than any other means employed to bring the matter to the attention of the public.

Upon motion, debate was closed.

The motion to adopt the report and recommendation of the Committee was carried.

Delegate Perkins, Cigarmakers, stated that he was not in the convention on Monday when the report of the Committee on International Labor Relations was made a special order of business for Wednesday. He stated that members of that Committee were also members of other committees that had been working, and for that reason they would not be able to complete the work before Friday. It was moved that the time for the report of that Committee be extended until 2.30 Friday afternoon.

At 5.45 P. M., the convention was adjourned to 9.30 Wednesday morning, June 18th.

EIGHTH DAY—Wednesday Morning Session

Atlantic City, N. J., June 18, 1919.

The convention was called to order at 9.30

A. M., Vice-President Duffy in the chair.

Absentees:—Jackson, Herbert, Johnson, White, Birch, Enright, Simpson, Wilkinson, Campbell, Barr, Metz, Wilkinson, Bradley, Dioper, Thomas, Hoffman, Sims, Priestley, Togler, Wagner, Woodman, Griffith, Canfield, Yarrow, Bryan, Rutherford, Howard, Harrison, Davis, Cooney, Croaff, Fitzpatrick, Joseph Williams, Curtis, Iglesias, Niemein, McUrick, Bodgett, Goldsmith, Brogan.

Secretary Morrison read the following telegram, which was made part of the record:

Montreal, Que, 4 M June 17th, 1919.

Samuel Gompers,

Atlantic City, N. J.,

40,000 International Trade Unionists affiliated with the Montreal Trades and Labor Council extends a most cordial and pressing invitation to the American Federation of Labor to hold its next annual convention in our city, the commercial metropolis of Canada.

T. J. FOSTER,

President, Montreal Labor Council 542.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS.

Atlantic City, N. J., June 18, 1919.

Your Committee on Credentials has to report that Edward McGrady has been substituted in the place of David Simons on the delegation of the International Printing Pressmen's Union and we recommend that he be seated.

Respectfully submitted,

CHAS. F. SCOTT, Chairman,

WALTER V. PRICE,

E. W. EDWARDS, Secretary.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Introduction of Resolutions.

The unanimous consent of the convention was given for the introduction of the following resolutions:

Resolution No. 220—By Delegate Colpoys, of the Central Labor Union of Washington, D. C.

WHEREAS, There will be held in the city of Washington, D. C., on Independence Day (July 4), 1919, a great Pageant and Parade, to be known as "The Call to Peace;" and

WHEREAS, All the friendly Nations of the World have signified their intention to participate in this grand Pageant and Parade, and be represented by beautiful and historic floats symbolic of their nationality; and

WHEREAS, Organized Labor of the United

States of America, through the American Federation of Labor is invited to participate in this grand Pageant and Parade and be represented therein by a float symbolic of their attitude towards "The Call to Peace;" and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor is recognized as the greatest potent factor in the entire World for the making possible of "The Call to Peace;" and

WHEREAS, There can be no more fitting or appropriate time for the American Federation of Labor to demonstrate to the World in a practical way that the symbol of "Peace" is the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the Thirty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Atlantic City, N. J., instruct the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor to furnish to the committee of the Central Labor Union of Washington, D. C., selected to represent "Labor" in this grand Pageant and Parade, the necessary float symbolic of the aims of the American Federation of Labor toward "The Call to Peace," and render to this same committee such further necessary aid and financial assistance as may be necessary to have Organized Labor make the grand appearance in this Pageant and Parade, as will be compatible with the desires of the delegates to this Convention; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of these resolutions be spread upon the minutes of this Convention and that copies be sent to President Woodrow Wilson, to Secretary Lane, to Hon. John Barrett and to the President of the Washington Central Labor Union.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 221—By Delegate John F. Murphy, of the Rhode Island State Branch:

WHEREAS, In the State of Rhode Island there is a pernicious law which deprives the citizens of that State of the right of suffrage without owning real estate, and

WHEREAS, The Labor movement of that State, through its chosen representatives at the last Convention of the State Branch of the A. F. of L. protested against this un-American law, and has repeatedly held protest meetings and demonstrations at the State Capitol; and

WHEREAS, Rhode Island is the only State in the Union where this property qualification law exists; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to this 39th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirm the previous action of this body, and condemn those responsible for the continuance of the property qualification law which deprives many thousands of loyal American citizens in that State of the right to choose who their representatives shall be; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to render all the aid in their power for the repeal of this nefarious law.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 222—By Delegate Seymour Hastings, of the Motion Picture Players' Union, No. 16,377:

WHEREAS, The Motive Motion Picture Corporation of Los Angeles, California, owned and controlled by members of organized labor, is preparing to produce motion pictures for exhibition to the public through the motion picture theaters of the world, to acquaint them with the problems of labor and thereby obtain the support of public opinion in stabilizing conditions and defeat the efforts of employers to reduce wages from present standards; and

WHEREAS, The Second Triennial Convention of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, at Columbus, Ohio, after thoroughly acquainting themselves with the plans of this company, passed resolution, unanimously, on June 3rd, 1919, approving such pictures, depicting the activities and problems of labor, thus assuring this movement the full support of their members; and

WHEREAS, The officers of this company are all union men and will employ union labor exclusively in all departments; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the plans of this company to produce motion pictures in the interest of labor, and recommend that the members of all unions affiliated with this Federation give their support and aid in every proper way.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Delegate Wilson, Pattern Makers, moved that Thursday morning, June 18th, be set as a special order of business for the report of the Committee on Executive Council's report. The motion was seconded and carried.

Resolution Re-Referred.

Resolution No. 114, relating to the hours of labor of railway postal clerks, referred from the Committee on Resolutions to the Committee on Shorter Work-day.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

Secretary Frey, for the committee, submitted the following report:

Resolution No. 17—By Delegate T. F. Burns, of Tacoma, Wash., Central Labor Council:

WHEREAS, The committees selected by the A. F. of L. Convention are not representative since they are composed exclusively of the officers of national and international unions, while the delegates who represent the central bodies have no voice in determining the character of committees' reports, thus creating an official cast in the labor movement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the Tacoma Central Labor Council, in regular meeting assembled, insist that the delegates who are in close

touch with the labor movement should have proportionate representation on all committees.

Your committee would call attention to the fact that the allegation contained in the resolution is untrue, as the committees of this and preceding conventions have contained delegates representing State Federations and Central Labor Unions. Your committee, therefore, recommends non-concurrence in the resolution.

Delegate Burns, Tacoma Central Labor Council, made a short statement in defense of the resolution, stating that the organization he represented believed the minor bodies were not given sufficient consideration in the selection of committees.

Delegate Frey defended the report of the committee and pointed to the wording of the resolution, which alleges that the committees are composed "exclusively" of officers of national and international organizations. He said a reference to the records of this and past conventions would prove the untruth of that claim.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Delegate Hughes, Coopers' International Union, asked the unanimous consent of the convention to introduce a resolution drafted by the national committee for organizing the men in the steel industry, the resolution to be immediately considered.

Vice-President Duffy: I suggest that the resolution be presented and referred to the proper committee.

After a brief discussion in which Delegates Hughes, Furuseth and Vice-President Duffy took part, the resolution was submitted as follows:

Resolution No. 223—By Delegates A. C. Hughes, Coopers' International Union; J. L. Lewis, United Mine Workers; Thomas Redding, Metal Workers; M. F. Tighe, Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers; S. Heberling, Switchmen's Union of North America:

WHEREAS, The authorities of various towns in the Pittsburgh District, disregarding the fundamental laws and customs of our country, have arbitrarily prohibited the American Federation of Labor from holding meetings for the purpose of organizing workers in the iron and steel industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 39th Annual Convention of the A. F. of L. protests vigorously against this outrageous and illegal action; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Officers of the A. F. of L. stand instructed to take the necessary steps to bring about a Congressional or other investigation of the suppression of the rights of free speech and free assembly in Western Pennsylvania.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

The committee reported jointly on Resolutions Nos. 23 and 59, which are as follows:

Resolution No. 23—By Central Labor Union, Marion, Ohio:

WHEREAS, There are ever recurring controversies between employers and employes over the division of the wealth created by the employes by the use of the machinery of production owned by the employers; and

WHEREAS, At present, when the workers of one branch of an industry go on strike they often lose the battle because other workers of a different branch of the same industry, in the same town or even same establishment, or workers of the same branch of industry in a different locality, or workers of a different industry upon which the industry of the strikers is dependent, being bound by contracts that expire at different times from those who are on strike, remain at work, thus virtually scabbing on their fellow workers and helping to defeat them; and

WHEREAS, If the employees are to win, they must recognize the fact that all workers are brothers; that an injury to one is an injury to all; that in solidarity there is power; that by a united demand often concessions could be gained without a strike, and that in order to win they must put themselves in a position so that when necessary they can make common cause with their fellow workers and all act in concert; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor goes on record as being in favor of all unions in the United States—except those industries in which the state of trade makes it more advantageous to make contracts at a different time—having their contracts with their employers made for only one year, and all to bear date of May 1. May 1 of each year to be observed by union labor as a holiday; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That it is the sense of this convention that all delegates hereto should use their best endeavors to have the principles embodied in this resolution adopted by their various state federations of labor, their central bodies, their national and international and local unions.

Resolution No. 59—By Delegate Max S. Hayes (introduced at request of Marion, Ohio, Central Labor Union):

WHEREAS, There are ever-recurring controversies between employers and employes over the division of the wealth created by the employes by the use of the machinery of production owned by the employers; and

WHEREAS, At present when the workers of one branch of an industry go on strike they often lose the battle because other workers of a different branch of the same industry, in the same town or even same establishment, or workers of the same branch of industry in a different locality, or workers of a different industry upon which the industry of the strikers is dependent, being bound by contracts that expire at different times from those who are on strike remain at work, thus virtually scabbing on their fellow-workers and helping to defeat them; and

WHEREAS, If the employees are to win they must recognize the fact that all workers are brothers; that an injury to one is an injury to all; that in solidarity there is power; that by a united demand often concessions could be gained without a strike, and that in order to win they must put themselves in a position so that when necessary they can make common cause with their fellow-workers and all act in concert; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor goes on record as being in favor of all unions in the United States—except those industries in which the state of trade makes it more advantageous to make contracts at a different time—having their contracts with their employers made for only one year, and all to bear date of May 1. May 1 of each year to be observed by union labor as a holiday; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That it is the sense of this convention that all delegates hereto should use their best endeavors to have the principles embodied in this resolution adopted by their various state federations of labor, their central bodies, their national and international and local unions.

Inasmuch as each International Union must be free to determine at what season of the year it is most advantageous to its membership to enter into contracts with employers covering the terms of employment, your committee recommends non-concurrence in the resolution.

It was moved and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate Hayes stated that the resolution was introduced by him at the request of the Central Labor Council of Marion, Ohio.

Delegates Grow, Machinists; Sullivan, Salt Lake City Federation of Labor, and Strickland, Portland Central Labor Union, spoke in favor of the resolution.

President Gompers in the chair.

Delegate Strickland moved that the last "Resolved" in Resolution No. 23 be made a separate action from the report of the committee and that it be adopted by the convention.

Secretary Frey: The committee has called attention to the fact that international unions must be free to determine for themselves at what season it is best for their membership to enter into agreements. The committee is opposed to the amendment which has just been offered, because it would nullify the effect of the report of the committee.

Delegate Launer, Pulp and Sulphite Workers, defended that portion of the resolution which provides for all agreements expiring simultaneously and referred to an instance in Piedmont, West Virginia, where the paper mill workers were on strike and the members of another trade continued to work.

Delegate Grow, Machinists, moved for a division of the question.

President Gompers: There is but one re-

port before this convention and it is not susceptible to division.

Delegate Furuseth stated it had been the policy of the American Federation of Labor in the past to recommend to its affiliated organizations that all agreements expire simultaneously.

Delegate Nolan, Albany Central Labor Union, speaking in favor of the report of the committee, said he believed that the trade autonomy of the various organizations should be respected at all times, and that each organization should use its own best judgment as to when its agreements should expire.

Delegate Wharton, Machinists, and Delegate Hutcheson, Carpenters, favored the report of the committee. Delegate Hutcheson pointing out that the carpenter trade was governed largely by climatic conditions and that therefore the local organizations entered into trade agreements at all seasons of the year. He further pointed out that such an arrangement made possible the payment of strike benefits if a strike became necessary, whereas, the funds of the organization would not stand the strain if all agreements expired at the same time.

Secretary Frey, for the committee, stated that they could see no possible division of the question, that the proposition called for all agreements terminating on the same date, that it took no recognition whatever of the various forms of industry and the seasonal character of many of these industries and the fact that some international unions, as the result of 25 or 30 years of experience, have found it more advantageous to enter into agreements on January 1st than in the spring or the fall. He said further: It is coupled with a date which, regardless of how trade unionists may look upon it, would be accepted by very many employers, as well as workers, as being connected with the first of May is observed in Europe. This is not the only resolution that has come into convention with May 1st as a date to be considered in connection with the resolution. The adoption of this measure would not only be unwise; it would place the American labor movement in a most ridiculous, impractical and indefensible position.

Upon motion debate was closed.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 25—By Delegate Seymour Hastings, Motion Picture Players' Union, No. 18377:

WHEREAS, The first motion picture to be made by union labor exclusively is now being produced by the members of the Motion Picture Players' Union in Los Angeles, California, under the direction of the Clancy-Super-Play Corporation; and

WHEREAS, This photoplay, called "The Smoldering Volcano," is to bear the label of the Motion Picture Players' Union, and

WHEREAS, The aims and objects of this photoplay are to bring about mutual under-

standing and better relations between employer and employee, and to combat the spread of the influence of Bolshevism throughout the world; and

WHEREAS, The story to be produced has been read and endorsed by the Central Labor Council of Los Angeles; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, delegates to the National Convention of the American Federation of Labor do hereby endorse the first "union-made" photoplay, and ask for it the hearty co-operation and support of all members of organized labor, and of the general public as well.

Inasmuch as your committee could not offer any opinion concerning a photoplay which has not as yet been produced, we recommend that the subject matter be referred to the Executive Council.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 31—By Delegation International Seamen's Union:

WHEREAS, The Seamen's Act, in its Section 13, provides that no vessel shall be permitted to leave an American port unless she has a crew seventy-five per cent of which in each department thereof can understand all of the orders given by the officers of such vessel; and

WHEREAS, The Secretary of Commerce has given to this section of the law such a construction that on American as well as on foreign vessels the shipowners are permitted to continue the same dangerous practice that existed prior to the passage of the Act, and for the abolition of which practice it was designed and enacted; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries of the House of Representatives be requested to use the power with which it is now clothed to make an investigation into this and other failures to properly enforce this Act by the Department of Commerce and to take such steps as will compel the proper enforcement of the law.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 32—By Delegation International Seamen's Union:

WHEREAS, The purpose of the Seamen's Act, as stated by its promoters, was to equalize the wage cost of operating American and foreign vessels and to bring the American to sea; and

WHEREAS, The wages of foreign vessels leaving ports of the United States have since August 1st, 1916, when the act became effective, followed the wages paid on American vessels from the same ports like a cart following a horse to which it is hitched; and

WHEREAS, The wages paid in English ports is the same as paid in the port of New York and the wages paid at Scandinavian ports in the overseas trade is within three dollars (\$3.00) of wages paid at the port of New York; and

WHEREAS, The wage paid from Italy has already risen to within ten dollars (\$10.00) of that paid seamen in American ports; and

WHEREAS, The native American sailing on American vessels from the Pacific Coast ports has arisen from zero to about twenty-four per cent, and on the Atlantic Coast from less than ten per cent to about thirty per cent since the Seamen's Act has become operative; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we denounce the bills introduced by Senator Calder and Congressman Gould to repeal the important clauses of the Seamen's Act as hostile to the national interests of the United States, as hostile to the development of American sea power and as serving the interests of European and Asiatic ship owners who under this act are gradually being compelled to meet the American shipowner in a fair competition on the high seas; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this resolution be submitted to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, to the Committee on Commerce of the Senate, to the Shipping Board, the Department of Commerce and if necessary to the President of the United States.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Delegate Furuseth, Seamen, moved that Resolutions Nos. 31 and 32 and the action of the convention thereon be communicated to all the members of Congress. The motion was seconded and carried.

The committee amended Resolution No. 33 by inserting the word "purchasing" before the word "value" in the second "whereas."

Following is the resolution as amended by the committee:

Resolution No. 33—By Delegates Peter J. Brady and Matthew Woll, International Photo Engravers' Union of North America:

WHEREAS, Great wars of the past have been followed by an inflation of currency and a depreciation in the purchasing power of the monetary unit; and

WHEREAS, One of the influences affecting the present high cost of living is the depreciated purchasing value of the dollar; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be and is hereby instructed to make a study of the problem of establishing a dollar of stabilized purchasing power as it may be presented through legislative effort, or otherwise during the year, and to submit a report upon the subject at the 1920 convention.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution as amended.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 37—By Delegate Meyer Abramson, of the United Umbrella Handle and Stick Makers' Union No. 14,581:

WHEREAS, United Umbrella Handle and Stick Makers' Union No. 14,581, American Federation of Labor, of New York City, have through their trade union activities succeeded in establishing a high standard of conditions for their members; and

WHEREAS, The standards established by United Umbrella Handle and Stick Makers' Union No. 14,581 are higher than the rates paid to workers in this trade in any other part of the country because of the thorough organization and the persistent activities on the part of its members for the protection of their interests; and

WHEREAS, Because of the laxity of proper regulations affecting the importation of umbrella handles and canes into this country from Japan, the interests of the workers in this trade are seriously affected because of the menace of the low wage paid to the Japanese worker, whose product is imported and sold in this country in competition with the high-paid workers in this trade; and

WHEREAS, this dangerous competition caused by the importation of Japanese-made umbrella handles and canes is gradually breaking down the standards of our union and causing the unemployment of many of our members who are forced to seek employment in other lines of industry not as remunerative; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, by the Thirty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, that we go on record in favor of the establishment of a protective regulation against the importation into this country of umbrella handles and canes by Japanese manufacturers that threaten to break down the standards of American workmen; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor stand instructed to give this matter very careful attention and to take such immediate action as may be necessary to stop this unfair competition in the interest and protection of the workers engaged in the umbrella handle and stick making industry.

Your committee recommends as a substitute that the Executive Council be instructed to investigate the situation referred to and to give such assistance as seems most advisable to protect the interests of the United Umbrella Handle and Stick Makers' Union.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 39—By Delegate George Sauter, Central Labor Union, Wilmington, Delaware:

Against cancellation of shipbuilding contracts:

RESOLVED, That the Central Labor Union goes on record as opposing the scuttling of the Government's shipbuilding program because of the effect it would have on industrial conditions, and because of the fact that the Government promised steady employment to the thousands of workers who dropped their other activities and took up the shipbuilding trades. We believe that the present existing contracts should be carried out, and that the American Merchant Marine should be provided for by the present Congress in order that the American flag

shall predominate on the high seas, making America not only the greatest nation on the face of the globe, but the greatest shipbuilding and shipping nation as well.

Inasmuch as the subject is already covered in the Executive Council's report and as the language of this resolution indicates that it is a resolution presented to the Central Labor Union of Wilmington, rather than to this convention, your committee recommends that the resolution be referred back to that central body.

The report of the committee was adopted.

The committee reported jointly on Resolutions Nos. 42 and 191, which are as follows:

Resolution No. 42—By Delegate Sauter, of the Central Labor Union, Wilmington, Del. Removal of Postmaster-General Burleson:

The present Postmaster General has on so many numerous occasions proven that his sympathies are not with the working people of the country, that he stands against co-operation with the other Governmental departments, that the press is practically unanimous in believing him inefficient and incapable of occupying his office, that the Central Labor Union voices its sentiments in this resolution:

RESOLVED, That the Wilmington Central Labor Union goes on record as favoring the removal of Postmaster-General Burleson from his post as head of the Post Office Department, because he has proven his inefficiency on numerous occasions, and because he believes in making slaves and serfs of the employees in his department.

Resolution No. 191—By Delegates Edward J. Gainor, National Association of Letter Carriers; Thomas F. Flaherty, National Federation of Postal Employees; Edward J. Ryan, Railway Mail Association:

WHEREAS, President Wilson in his message to Congress made this declaration: "The question which stands at the front of all others, in every country amidst the present great awakening is the question of labor. The object of all reform in this essential matter must be the genuine democratization of industry, based upon a full recognition of those who work, in whatever rank, to participate in some organic way in every decision which directly affects their welfare or the part they play in industry;" and

WHEREAS, Postmaster General Burleson has pursued a labor policy in direct conflict with this enunciation of principles, and in answer to President Gompers, of the American Federation of Labor, has characterized as "silly" the right of collective bargaining.

WHEREAS, Mr. Burleson has ruthlessly invaded the rights of the employees and has interfered in defiance of law with the proper functioning of their organizations; and has not only refused to recog-

nize the accredited representatives, but has also sought to have repealed the employees' constitutional right of direct petition to Congress,

WHEREAS, This labor policy—a policy fastened upon every governmental agency under Burleson's supervision—is in utter defiance of the wishes of the people and in complete opposition to the expressed words of President Wilson; and

WHEREAS, Burleson's archaic and autocratic attitude has resulted in a demoralized service, discontented and resentful employees, confused and choked industrial processes, and a people wrathful and indignant at a long series of administrative blunders; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, speaking directly for four millions organized wage-earners and firm in the belief that this reflects the sentiments of the vast majority of the American people, request President Wilson to remove Postmaster General Burleson from office.

Your committee recommends the adoption of Resolution No. 191 as covering the substance of both resolutions.

Delegate Gainor, Letter Carriers, and Delegate Flaherty, Postal Employees, complimented the report of the committee and referred briefly to some of the practices under the administration of the present Postmaster-General to which they objected.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Delegate McCullough, Typographical Union, called attention to a circular distributed among the delegates and entitled, "Why Labor is in Favor of a League of Nations," and said it was his purpose to point out an error in a statement contained in that circular.

President Gompers stated that neither Delegate McCullough nor the convention was responsible for the document in question.

Delegate McCullough asked that the delegates compare the document with the printed proceedings of the convention bearing on the report of the American labor mission to the Peace Conference.

Resolution No. 49—By Delegate Harry L. Hartford, of Portsmouth, N. H., Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, On March 1, 1918, the President of the United States approved the expenditure of \$50,000,000 for the housing of shipyard workers, and later, on May 16, 1918, approved the further expenditure of \$50,000,000 for the housing of war workers, to be spent under the direction of the Emergency Fleet Corporation and the United States Department of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The public money appropriated has been used to build houses now occupied by families who are forced to pay abnormal rents, based on the cost

of construction, completed during the war emergency, is an injustice and a hardship on the workers; and

WHEREAS, Property owners have taken advantage of the excessive prices fixed by the Government rent adjusters and carried on a general campaign of profiteering and rent boosting, thereby imposing great hardships on the tenants; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record as protesting the policy of the Emergency Fleet Corporation charging excessive rents for the property built by them with the public money; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a committee of three be appointed with full authority and instructions to convey the sentiment of this convention to all persons and departments concerned and to use all means at their disposal to reduce rents on all Government housing projects to a normal equitable figure.

Your committee recommends that the subject matter of the resolution be referred to the Executive Council for investigation and such action as may seem most advisable for the carrying into effect of the purpose of the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 50—By Delegate C. A. Strickland, of the Central Labor Council, Portland, Ore.:

A Resolution demanding the election of "foremen" by the workmen who must work under their directions.

WHEREAS, Union men must function in a way to benefit the laboring class as a whole or go down in defeat; and

WHEREAS, A great portion of the abuses which are imposed on the laboring class by the employing class could not be successfully practiced were it not for the custom now established of keeping overseers and foremen in charge of work who are entirely heartless and disregardful of the welfare of the workers; and

WHEREAS, The producers of wealth have as much right to decide who shall direct their labors as has the employer; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That on and after May 1, 1920, the workers in any industry shall have the privilege, and are encouraged to demand the right, to "elect" the foreman under whom they shall work, by a majority vote of the entire force of the employees engaged in that industry.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence in the resolution.

It was moved and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

Delegate Walker, (John H.), United Mine Workers, made a strong appeal in behalf of the co-operative movement and referred to the success of that movement in England.

Delegate Strickland spoke in favor of the resolution.

Delegate Grow, Machinists, speaking in

favor of the resolution, referred to strikes which had occurred in Los Angeles and which he attributed to the activities of foremen and managers who he said were more concerned in the interests of the employers than in those of the workers.

During Delegate Grow's statement, Delegate Heller, Ladies' Garment Workers, arose to a point of order, stating that the delegate was not speaking upon the question before the convention.

President Gompers declared the point of order well taken and requested Delegate Grow to confine himself as nearly as possible to the question under consideration.

Delegate Grow then continued his statement, carrying out his contention that the men of organized labor are sufficiently intelligent to hold positions as foremen and managers.

Secretary Frey, for the committee, called attention to the substance of the resolution by way of reminding the delegates that it had nothing whatever to do with the co-operative movement. Continuing, he said: this resolution applies, as its language indicates, not to a co-operative enterprise, but to the privately owned and operated industries of this country. I would call your attention to the fact that in the literature which has been circulated upon the question of electing foremen and in the speeches made in trade union meetings upon this same question, the subject does not stop with the election of foremen, because the argument is then made, and it is a logical one, that the election of foreman would be of no value because the foremen would be under the general manager and the board of directors, and if we could only get the trade union movement to commit itself to the election of foremen in industries, it would logically follow that we would have to elect the board of directors and determine who the general manager would be, it is not therefore a trade union proposition, and I have made this statement so that you will more thoroughly understand what is included in the resolution in purpose, if not in language.

On motion debate was closed.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 57—By Delegate Max S. Hayes, of the International Typographical Union:

WHEREAS, With the rapid demobilization of our valiant soldiers, sailors and marines, there is presented acutely the problem of employment for these men; and

WHEREAS, These men are being taken advantage of by employers who are offering them jobs at starvation wages, thus

threatening and breaking down union conditions; and

WHEREAS, Employing interests have gone so far as to use our former soldiers, sailors and marines as scabs to break strikes, securing these boys through misrepresentations and allurements, and through taking advantage of their necessity; and

WHEREAS, There has been organized an association of ex-service men, banded together as ex-soldiers and sailors for their own protection, in fullest sympathy with organized labor, in strongest opposition to the use of their comrades as strike breakers, as they have shown in those cases in New York when they endeavored to prevent the use of uniformed men in the harbor strikes; and

WHEREAS, This association, known as The Soldiers, Sailors and Marines Protective Association, is organized to secure employment for its members at union wages, and under union conditions, is committed to the shorter workday, vocational training, and a year's pay at \$30 for all ex-service men, and is in thorough sympathy with organized labor; and

WHEREAS, The above association recognizing the evils of autocracy and militarism, its members having given their lives to preserve the nation's peace and democratic institutions, is pledged to these lofty ends; and

WHEREAS, The purposes of the association above mentioned are in accord with those of the American Federation of Labor; be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor call upon its affiliated organizations to encourage and assist morally and financially The Soldiers, Sailors and Marines Protective Association, and similar associations of soldiers and sailors for similar purposes, to secure their just demands and rights.

Your committee directs attention to the fact that the proper and adequate organizations to regulate the terms of employment and the conditions of labor for ex-soldiers, sailors and marines are the existing national and international unions, as recognized by the American Federation of Labor. Your committee recommends that ex-soldiers, sailors and marines be advised that the American trade unions which supported them so vigorously, patriotically and unanimously while they were in uniform are the organizations with which they should affiliate for the purpose of protecting their economic welfare and advancing their interests. Your committee therefore recommends non-concurrence in the resolution.

It was moved and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

Vice-President Green in the chair.

The resolution was favored in statements made by Delegate Birch, Newsboys' Union No. 15834, and Delegate Max Hayes, Typographical Union, both basing their defense of the resolution mainly on the statement that ex-soldiers, sailors and

marines were being used by the employers to hamper the members of trade unions in their demands for better conditions.

In answering a statement made by Delegate Hayes to the effect that the Committee on Resolutions was reactionary and had killed every progressive measure that had been introduced, Secretary Frey pointed to the fact that in nearly every instance the report of the committee had been supported by the convention. Speaking then on the main question Secretary Frey said: I want to make it clear that the argument we have just listened to is confusing and tends to be misleading. The question is not upon the right or advisability of ex-soldiers, sailors and marines organizing. It is upon an entirely different question. The reconstruction program of the American Federation of Labor has made provisions aimed at the welfare of the man who has left off his uniform, which provisions are apparently more extensive, cover a wider field and go further than any attempts that have yet been presented by any of the newly formed Veterans' Associations. There can be no question as to the sympathy we have for these men in their efforts to look after their interests, and nothing that could be said in opposition to the committee's report could be taken as a criticism of the committee. The committee does not in any way oppose the organization of these men as they deem best to look after their interests as ex-veterans. Your committee does not report adversely to the organization of Veterans' Associations, but it does call your attention to the fact that these ex-veterans should be informed that when it comes to the question of hours of labor, wage rates, rules and regulations in the shop, etc., they should join the trade union movement for the purpose of taking these matters up, instead of having another organization.

I am sure that the delegate who opposed the committee's report would be the last one to advocate a dual movement in this country, and yet to endorse this resolution would be in effect to endorse a proposition that we favor a separate movement in this country for the purpose of taking up wage rates or conditions of employment in any particular establishment. I want it distinctly understood that, so far as your committee was capable of interpreting the language of the resolution, it provides for nothing more nor less than a dual movement in our country.

President Gompers in the chair.

Several delegates called for the previous question.

Delegate Deutelbaum, Detroit Federation of Labor: I would like to ask the chair if it is necessary that a delegate calling for the previous question be recognized by the chair.

President Gompers: No.

Treasurer Tobin: What constitutes a sufficient number calling for the previous question.

President Gompers: Thirty.

Treasurer Tobin then stated that on three or four occasions he had attempted to gain recognition on questions before the convention, that he had yielded to other delegates and that before he had an opportunity to speak the previous question was always called for and debate closed.

President Gompers stated that he did not desire to deprive any delegate from the opportunity of speaking on any question before the convention, but that when a sufficient number of delegates called for the previous question he had no other alternative under the rules than to put the motion.

A viva voce vote was taken on the motion for the previous question. The chair being in doubt as to the result, a vote by show of hands was taken, resulting as follows: 161 in favor of the previous question; 114 opposed.

The report of the committee on Resolution No. 57 was again read, and the report concurred in by the convention.

Delegate Sumner, Stereotypers: I would like to ask the chair under what parliamentary rules he finds that the previous question can be called for without some delegate rising and being recognized.

President Gompers: When the question is called for from several quarters in sufficient numbers, it cannot be ignored. The point you raise is not provided for in the rules.

Delegate Duncan, James A.: Isn't it mandatory for any person seeking recognition to first rise and be recognized by the chair?

President Gompers: That is the general practice.

Secretary Frey continued the report of the committee.

Resolution No. 73—By Delegate C. A. Strickland, Ore., Central Council:

WHEREAS, Unrest is rampant thruout the land; and

WHEREAS, This unrest would be mitigated and greatly relieved if all classes of men could express their wishes at the voting polls; and

WHEREAS, Many workers are deprived of the right to vote by having been discharged, purposely, and caused to move away from the precincts where they were entitled to a vote; and

WHEREAS, The day of "Ward-heeling"

and "gang-voting" is passed for ever in America; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the United States Congress and all State Legislatures be and hereby are petitioned to so change the registration laws that every citizen can cast a vote at all elections, who has resided within the precinct where the vote is offered to be cast, for a period of twenty-four consecutive hours previous to the act of voting.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence in the resolution.

Delegate Strickland, Portland Central Labor Union, opposed the report of the committee and urged the adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 82—By C. A. Strickland, of the Portland, Ore., Central Labor Council.

WHEREAS, The only soil in which "dual unions" have rooted is the attempted monopolization of labor's functionings by the crafts, under the tutelage of the A. F. of L.; and

WHEREAS, An aristocracy of union labor would curse the world as sorely as has the aristocracy of capitalism; and

WHEREAS, By the introduction of modern machinery, one unskilled man is enabled to render a large number of skilled mechanics jobless; and

WHEREAS, Through this process of changing the methods of doing the world's work it is not far amiss to state that "there are no crafts at the present stage of industrial development;" and

WHEREAS, The new industrial democracy must be met with entirely new plans of action by the toilers; be it

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-ninth Annual Convention of the A. F. of L., in regular session assembled, that the General Executive Board proceed at once to formulate a plan for the reorganization of the labor movement; to change from the craft-line plan of organization to one being based on the plan of "industries" or "plant unions," making all working cards universally interchangeable. To empower the several shop committees, representing the different classes of work in each plant to form a general shop, or plant committee, invested with powers to legislate in all matters of interest to the workmen of that industry. They shall act, subject to, or not in conflict with their District Central Councils, which Councils shall co-operate with other similar Councils, through and by State federated bodies consisting of delegates from the District Central Councils. These State federated bodies to be bound by and conform to the general constitution of the reorganized American Federation of Labor.

RESOLVED, That the State and National Federation bodies shall hold annual or called conventions as the needs and welfare of labor's interests shall require.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence in the resolution.

It was moved and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

President Gompers: The chair would like to have some information on a certain point, and I presume it would be of some interest to the delegates to this convention. If the convention were to adopt the resolution you introduced, Delegate Strickland, would or would it not involve the reorganization or the dissolution of the present existing national and international unions?

Delegate Strickland: Details can never be agreed to for the future. Details can only apply to conditions as they exist now. There is no time but now; the past is gone forever, the future never was. Then if changes of administration and operation shall be required by the international organizations to suit the reformation which will favor the least favored element of society, where our danger now lies, a danger we must face, then I say that by getting together around a table and deciding on measures as they are going to come from the least favored element of society, we can succeed in forming those legislative bodies and powers without going through a civil strife in the labor world, whereas if we don't begin at the bottom and fix the mud-sills, then I fear for the future. It would call for readjustment, but not for dissolution.

The report of the committee was adopted. Treasurer Tobin requested that some ac-

tion be taken whereby persons who are not delegates to the convention might be seated apart from the regularly elected delegates. He stated that persons other than delegates had voted on questions that had come before the convention.

President Gompers instructed the sergeant-at-arms and the messenger to so arrange the seats at the afternoon session that there would be a distinct line of separation between the delegates and the visitors, and stated that in all future sessions only the regularly accredited delegates would be permitted to sit in the main body.

Resolutions Re-Referred.

Delegate Woll, secretary of the Committee on Executive Council's Report, moved that Resolutions Nos. 87, 147, 181 and 203, all relating to proposals for the increase of officers' and organizers' salaries, be referred to the Committee on Law.

The motion was seconded, and after a short discussion in which President Gompers, Treasurer Tobin and Delegate Woll took part, the report of the committee was adopted and the resolutions transferred to the Committee on Law.

At 12.45 P. M. the convention was adjourned to 2.30 o'clock.

EIGHTH DAY—Wednesday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:30 P. M., June 18th., President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Croaff, Fox (Charles), Donoghue, Cooney, Ott, Iglesias, Rutherford, Howard, Schildt, Harrison, Eily, Dan O'Leary, Hoffman, Fitchie, Harlin, Bryan, Yarrow, O'Donnell (S.), Canfield, Taylor (C. O.), Moran, Willis, Grogson, Bittner, Knutson, Sims, Evans, Raine, Ganey, Hoffman, Framp-ton, Thomas (L. N.), Hourigan, Woodman-see, Wilkinson, McMice, Clark (E. E.), Grass, Cooper, Brogan, Colvin, Setzer, Touri-son, Berger (L.), Fitts.
140 North Broad Street

United States Shipping Board
Emergency Fleet Corporation
Philadelphia, Pa.

June 18, 1919.

Mr. Samuel Gompers,
Hotel Alamac,
Atlantic City, N. J.

Dear Mr. Gompers:

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letters of June 10th and June 11th relative to the naming and sponsoring of the ship

"Afel"—named in honor of the American Federation of Labor—which is to go into the water at Hog Island on June 28th. I am writing to Mrs. Conboy, whom you have designated as sponsor, formally notifying her of the appointment and advising her that details will be communicated by the builders.

Mr. Brush, president of the American International Shipbuilding Corporation, advises me that he has designated a committee of workers at Hog Island to have charge of the launching program, and that he is hopeful that all the officers of the Federation and as many of the delegates to the Atlantic City convention as possible, will be present at the launching.

Very truly yours,
FRANK B. LORD,

Assistant to the Chairman

President Gompers: In addition to this communication I may state that a committee of the employees in the Hog Island shipyards called upon me and informed me

that a committee of the union men in that shipyard has been appointed to have full charge of the program of the launching and the ceremonies in connection with it, that the officers of national and international unions and central bodies are invited to be present and that the only badge of admission necessary to the men and women of organized labor is their union card. All our friends are also invited to be present.

Delegate Steward obtained unanimous consent to the introduction of a resolution and presented the following:

Resolution No. 224.—By Luther C. Steward, Wm. E. Junker, M. J. Leonard, Florence Etheridge, National Federation of Federal Employees.

WHEREAS, The U. S. Navy Department has now under consideration a plan to displace the civilian policemen stationed at the various Navy Yards and Stations by detailing enlisted U. S. Marines to perform these duties; and

WHEREAS, The issuance of such an order would throw a large number of civilian organized employees out of employment, thus causing needless hardships to their families; and therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, now in convention assembled, that it enters a most emphatic protest against the plan contemplated and demands that the present civilian force of policemen be retained; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed to take this matter up immediately with the Secretary of the Navy and take such steps as will retain the present civilian policemen in their positions.

Referred to Committee on Local and Federal Bodies.

Delegate Lennon obtained unanimous consent to the introduction of a resolution and presented the following:

Resolution No. 225.—By Delegate John B. Lennon of the Bloomington Central Labor Union.

RESOLVED, That some members of the Executive Council be and are hereby directed to meet with representatives of organizations of discharged soldiers, sailors and marines with the object in view of co-operation in securing employment for the returned men and also with the object in view of bringing about a co-operation between the Federation and soldiers' organization that will protect the boys in the securing of union wages, hours and conditions of employment.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Delegate Strickland, Portland, Ore., asked unanimous consent to the introduction of a resolution, requesting the Department of Labor to form a Business Agents' Bureau, where reports of business agents can be compiled and sent to all central bodies. Objection was offered and the resolution was not introduced.

Delegate Hannon obtained unanimous consent to the introduction of a resolution and presented the following:

Resolution No. 226.—By Delegate Wm.

Hannon, San Joaquin County Central Labor Council, Stockton, Calif.

WHEREAS, In the City of Rockford, Ill., a group of employers, who control the financial and industrial business, have concentrated all of their resources to destroy organized labor, denying the right of the men and women there, to organize in to Trades Unions, denying them the right of collective bargaining, refusing to inaugurate the recognized, shorter workday, and a living wage scale; and

WHEREAS, The furniture workers, composed of members of the Carpenters' Union and others, have just passed through a bitter strike, to maintain their organization, and at the present time over Eighteen Hundred members of the International Association of Machinists, are on strike, for the same principles; and

WHEREAS, This group of employers are supported by other employers in the Northern part of Illinois and the Southern part of Wisconsin, in the towns of Batavia, Aurora, Elgin, Janesville, Beloit, Madison and others, in the Rock River and Fox River Valley's, where the workers are not permitted to establish legitimate Trade Unions, where the hours of labor are long, and the wages abnormally low; therefore, be it.

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. be requested to send to the city of Rockford, one of their most capable organizers, for the purpose of investigating the conditions of labor in that place and to the other points mentioned in the foregoing paragraph, with the object in view to bring to the attention of every International Organization affected, a report of the exact conditions, as they are found to exist, and that each International Organization interested, be strongly urged to co-operate with the American Federation of Labor to thoroughly organize this section of the country, and establish Industrial Democracy for the men and women of labor.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Delegate Hayes, M. S., Typographical Union, asked unanimous consent to introduce a resolution on educational matters. He explained that the resolution he desired to introduce was on the subject of social and sex hygiene.

Vice-President Duncan asked Delegate Hayes if it were not a fact that such a resolution could have been prepared early in the convention and submitted within the time limit. Delegate Hayes replied that he did not get the resolution earlier. Vice-President Duncan objected and the resolution was not introduced.

President Gompers: The Chair has been instructed to appoint a committee of two for the purpose of endeavoring to adjust the controversy between the Willys-Overland Automobile Company and organized labor. The Chair desires to name on that committee Charles L. Baine, of the Boot and Shoe Workers, and John A. Voll, of the Glass Bottle Blowers.

Secretary Morrison: The name of George Jones is substituted for that of Delegate

Hickey on the special committee on Construction of Concrete Ships.

Secretary Morrison asked that the section of the Executive Council's report under the caption "Jurisdiction Over Shipyard Laborers" be referred to the Committee on Adjustment, as this portion of the report had not been referred to any committee. The request was complied with.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Delegate Frey, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 86—By Delegate C. A. Strickland, of the Central Labor Council, of Portland, Ore.:

WHEREAS, It has recently come to the knowledge of organized labor that in addition to other enormous sums incurred by the late war is an expense of eighty-one dollars and seventy-five cents (\$81.75) per man sent to foreign soil, and realizing that labor in the finality pays all debts; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor respectfully request that the Congress of this United States give some explanation why this was done. We, the organized labor of this country would welcome any information which would explain why our sons were required to offer their lives in the protection of other nations and pay for the privilege of doing so.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence with the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the Committee. The question was discussed by Delegate Strickland who opposed the recommendation of the Committee.

The motion to adopt the report of the Committee was carried.

Resolutions Nos. 88 and 99, dealing with federal civil service laws, were acted upon together. The resolutions are as follows:

Resolution No. 88—By Delegates Thomas F. Flaherty of the National Federation of Postal Employees; Edward J. Gainer of the National Association of Letter Carriers; Luther C. Steward of the National Federation of Federal Employees; E. J. Ryan of the Railway Mail Association.

WHEREAS, The Federal Civil Service laws are defective in not making provision for granting employees the right to appeal from the judgment of officials in disciplinary cases involving the motion or dismissal; and

WHEREAS, This lodging arbitrary power in the hands of officials frequently results in injustices being inflicted upon employees and tends toward the upbuilding of a bureaucracy in our government institutions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-ninth Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the Executive Council to co-operate with the representatives of affiliated organizations of civil service employees in securing the enactment of legislation, granting civil service employees the right to a hearing and to an appeal from the judgment of officials in cases involving demotion or dismissal.

Resolution No. 99—By Delegate George H. Wrenn, of the Massachusetts State Branch of American Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The Federal Civil Service Laws are defective in that they make no provision for protecting civil service employees with the right of appeal from the judgment of department officials in cases affecting their removal or demotion; and

WHEREAS, It has been found that in thus lodging arbitrary power in the hands of executive officials the laws have enabled them to remove or demote employees at pleasure; and

WHEREAS, This power has been at times unjustly used, and that men have been removed for merely doing what Union laborers in industrial employment do unquestioned for merely endeavoring to better the condition under which they and their fellow men work; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor request the National Executive Council to co-operate with the representatives of affiliated organizations of civil service employees in their endeavors to secure the right of an appeal and a hearing before a properly constituted Court of Appeals in cases affecting demotion and dismissal.

Your committee recommended the adoption of these resolutions.

The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 90—By Delegates Thomas F. Flaherty, of the National Federation of Postal Employees, and Edward J. Ryan, Railway Mail Association:

WHEREAS, Thousands of postal employees throughout the postal service are compelled to work nights under conditions inimical to their mental and physical well-being; and

WHEREAS, The Postal Department grants no recognition by either a wage or a time differential of the admitted hardships of night work; and

WHEREAS, The affiliated Postal Employees are endeavoring to eliminate unnecessary night work in the service by securing a reduction in the daily working schedule of fifteen minutes in every hour worked after 6:00 P. M. and prior to 6:00 A. M., a legislative reform beneficial to the men and the service; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention endorse the efforts of affiliated postal workers to minimize night work in the service and instruct the Executive Council to co-operate in securing from the 66th Congress the needed legislation.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the Resolution.

The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 91—By Delegate Florence Etheridge, of the National Federation of Federal Employees.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has from its inception urged the political equality of women on the same terms as men; and

WHEREAS, The last convention of the American Federation of Labor adopted a resolution calling upon its officials to use

their best efforts to secure the passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment through the United States Senate; and

WHEREAS, The passage of the amendment through Congress has now been achieved and the amendment is before the several states for ratification; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention shall urge the ratification of the suffrage amendment by the several state legislatures, and shall do all in its power to aid in the speedy consummation of this last step in woman's enfranchisement, as it has ever aided throughout the long struggle.

Your committee recommends the adoption of this resolution.

The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

Resolutions Nos. 92 and 112, dealing with the retirement of civil service employees upon service annuities, were covered in one report. The resolutions are as follows:

Resolution No. 92—By Delegates Edward J. Gainer, of the National Association of Letter Carriers; William D. Clark, of the Plate Printers' International Union; John B. Colpoys, of the Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union; Charles D. Duffy, of the National Association of Letter Carriers; Edward J. Ryan, Railway Mail Association; Luther C. Steward, National Federation of Federal Employees; Thomas F. Flaherty, National Federation of Postal Employees.

WHEREAS, The retirement of superannuated civil service employees upon service annuities is now generally recognised as justifiable from both a humane and a business standpoint; and

WHEREAS, The United States Government is one of the few in the world that makes no provision for the retirement of its aged civil service workers resulting in one of two conditions; men are heartlessly dismissed after years of faithful service or they are retained upon the pay-roll when no longer able to render efficient service; and

WHEREAS, The compensation of Government employees is insufficient to permit of adequate savings for voluntary retirement in old age; and

WHEREAS, All political parties in their platforms have pledged their support for the enactment of retirement legislation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-ninth Convention of the American Federation of Labor does hereby go on record as favoring an equitable retirement law for superannuated Government employees, as contemplated by the Lehlbach Bill (H. R., 3149), and the Sterling Bill (S. 1699), now pending before Congress, and that the Executive Council is hereby instructed to use every means at its command to secure the enactment of such legislation by the Sixty-sixth Congress.

Resolution No. 112—By Delegate George H. Wrenn, of the Massachusetts State Branch of the American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The employees of the different department of the United States Government upon reaching the age of incapacity are either discharged or obliged to resign; and

WHEREAS, Every other large nation, except China and Turkey have a system of pensioning or retiring aged workers; and

WHEREAS, A measure known as the McKellar-Keating Retirement Bill has been introduced in Congress which would upon its enactment grant a moderate pension to government workers and the workers during their employment, contributing from their earnings for the eventual retirement; and

WHEREAS, Secretary Morrison of the A. F. of L. has already appeared before the House Committee on Interstate Commerce in advocacy of this measure; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Convention of the A. F. of L. request the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to assist the National officers of affiliated government employees' organizations in their endeavors to have this proposed law enacted, and the it further

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. notify members of Congress of this action and request their support of the McKellar-Keating Bill.

Your committee recommends the adoption of Resolution No. 92 as covering the substance of both resolutions.

Delegate Flaherty, National Federation of Postal Employees, suggested that Resolution No. 92, be amended by adding, after the sixth line of the last section, "and the Sterling Bill, S. 1699." The amendment was accepted by the Committee.

The recommendation of the Committee, as amended, was adopted.

Resolution No. 108—By Delegate E. G. Galoway, of the Tri-City Central Trades and Labor Council of Granite City, Ill.

WHEREAS, The committee on reconstruction of the American Federation of Labor has declared: "The very life and properties and free democratic institutions are dependent upon freedom of speech, of the press and of assemblage and association. We insist that all restrictions of freedom of speech, press, and public assembly, association and travel be completely removed, individuals and groups being responsible for their utterances. These fundamental rights must be set out with clearness and must not be denied or abridged in any manner;" and

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has endorsed the foregoing statement in the following language: "We call not only upon the organized workers but upon the whole people of America to bring into a state of active operation the splendid humanitarian and democratic reconstruction program here presented"; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-ninth Convention of the American Federation of Labor demand the immediate repeal of the "Espionage Act" and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the convention instruct the Executive Council to oppose any and all attempts on the part of the present Congress, State Legislatures, City Councils or law-making bodies to enact legislation of a character denounced by the Executive Council, abridging or restricting the constitutional rights of American citizens; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to transmit copies of this resolution to the President of the United States, both Houses

of Congress and the Governors and Legislatures of the several States.

The convention having already acted upon the subject matter contained in the whereases and first resolve, your committee recommends the adoption of the two last resolves.

The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 123—By Delegation of the International Seamen's Union:

WHEREAS, The Supreme Court of the United States has construed section eleven of the Seamen's Act so that foreign and American vessels may pay advanced wages in foreign ports where such practice is not forbidden by law and that such advances are to be allowed in these United States when the seaman is paid off; and

WHEREAS, Section four of the same Act has by Court of Appeals been construed so that one-half of the total wages earned must remain with the vessel for the purpose of keeping the seaman to his shipping contract; and

WHEREAS, These rulings go directly against the means to bring about equalization in wage-cost of foreign and American vessels; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries of the House of Representatives be requested to examine into these rulings and to take such action as shall leave the forces working for equalization in full operation.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

Delegate O'Brien, Seamen, moved to amend by adding to the Committee's report, "and that copies of the resolution be sent to the Representatives in Congress."

The Committee accepted the amendment, and the report of the Committee, as amended, was adopted.

Resolution 129—By Delegate James A. Duncan, of the Seattle Central Labor Council.

WHEREAS, Following the dictates of democracy, and in an effort to secure for our citizenship the fullest possible opportunity for the expression of its sentiment relative to the laws for its government, the American Federation of Labor has for years past stood out as the foremost champion of direct legislation, which has, where placed in operation, proved a boon to popular government, by placing in the hands of the people an instrument, by means of which many progressive measures have been enacted into law; and

WHEREAS, In the interests of co-operation and efficiency in the matter of securing desirable legislation, the officers of the American Federation of Labor have from time to time suggested model and uniform laws to be urged by and for the welfare of the workers of the various states; and

WHEREAS, There is a woeful lack of uniformity in the laws governing our international unions, which condition makes efficient co-operation and team work between the membership of the various international unions extremely difficult and in many instances impossible, which chaotic condition it is eminently desirable to overcome; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the thirty-ninth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor that its Executive Council be, and hereby is instructed to, within ninety days of this date, prepare and send to all international unions, a model initiative and referendum provision as a suggested amendment to their various constitutions, such suggested amendment to be drawn in such manner as will make possible the submission of any given proposition to the whole membership of the American Federation of Labor simultaneously, and in legal manner; the demand of five per cent. of the local unions being necessary to invoke the use of this amendment by any international union at given stated periods; and further be it

RESOLVED, That each international union be urged to take whatever steps may be necessary to secure (if possible) the adoption of this proposed amendment to its constitution at the earliest possible date and notify the secretary of the American Federation of Labor as to the results of its efforts.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence with this resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the Committee.

Delegate O'Donnell, Textile Workers, raised a point of order on the consideration of the resolution, on the ground that the convention had no right to instruct any of the international unions to take a referendum vote at any time.

President Gompers: That point of order is not well taken. The resolution does not undertake to instruct the international unions.

Delegate Duncan, Seattle, discussed the question at length. He opposed the recommendation of the Committee and favored the adoption of the resolution.

Delegate Sullivan, Salt Lake City Federation of Labor, and Delegate Deutelbaum, Detroit Federation of Labor, opposed the recommendation of the Committee and urged the adoption of the resolution.

Delegate Shay, Theatrical Stage Employees, approved the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Grow, Machinists, opposed the recommendation of the Committee and favored the adoption of the resolution.

Secretary Frey, in a discussion of some length, defined the recommendation of the Committee.

Upon motion, debate was closed.

The motion to adopt the report of the Committee was carried.

Delegate Duncan, Seattle, requested a roll call vote on the motion to adopt the Committee's recommendation. The request was supported by thirty-five delegates, not a sufficient number to require the calling of the roll.

Delegates S. Liebowitz and M. Kaufman, International Fur Workers, stated that they desired to be recorded as voting in opposi-

tion to the recommendation of the Committee on Resolution No. 129.

Vice-President Valentine in the chair.

Resolution No. 134.—By Delegates James P. Noonan, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; John Donlin Operative Plasterers' International Association; John J. Hynes, Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance.

WHEREAS, President Woodrow Wilson has recommended to the Congress that the law, which was recently passed for the preservation of food stuffs until peace was declared and the army was demobilized, was no longer necessary, and that it should be modified so as to permit the manufacture and sale of beer and light wines; and

WHEREAS, The absolute prohibition of beer and light wines is not now nor never will be necessary to promote the peace, integrity, education and morality of the peoples of these United States, but it is regarded by many honest working men and women, as well as by a majority of business and professional men, as a detriment to the peace and prosperity of this and other countries, and

WHEREAS, President Woodrow Wilson has also recommended in his message to the Congress the enactment of more suitable laws for the protection of the working men and women of these United States, and also the passage of laws for the abolition of child labor, which laws are beneficial to all mankind and will ultimately result in the co-operation of employers and employees for the amelioration of the human race in all walks of life so that all may enjoy the constitutional right of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; and

WHEREAS, The plans and laws recommended by the President of the United States for the modification of the war-time prohibition laws and for the separation of children from industry, and measures for the general good of all the working people are in accord with the long established policies of the American Federation of Labor, and its several departments; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Building Trades Council of St. Louis, Mo., and vicinity, in regular meeting assembled this, the 28th day of May, 1919, does unanimously concur in the recommendations in the President's recent message, and we demand that the representatives in Congress earnestly and vigorously support the bills favored by President Wilson until they are finally disposed of at the present extraordinary session of the Congress; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the Building Trades Department Convention to be called at Atlantic City, N. J., June 3d, 1919, with the request that they be concurred in by that body and forwarded to the American Federation of Labor convention to be called in the same city on June 9, 1919, for similar action; and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of these resolutions be spread upon the minutes of the Building Trades Council of St. Louis, Mo., and vicinity, and that copies also be sent to Honorable Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States, and to the Honorable President of the United States Senate, and to the Honorable Speaker of the House of Representatives, and also to each of the Representatives

in Congress from the City of St. Louis, Mo., and to the two United States Senators from Missouri. Respectfully submitted, Maurice J. Cassidy. The above resolutions were unanimously adopted by the Building Trades Council of St. Louis, Mo., and vicinity, May 28th, 1919.

MAURICE J. CASSIDY,

Secretary.

Inasmuch as the subject matter has already been enacted upon, your committee recommends that no further action is necessary.

The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 155.—By Delegates Luther C. Steward, William E. Jenken, Martin J. Leonard, Florence Etheridge, National Federation of Federal Employees.

WHEREAS, The report of the U. S. War Labor Conference Board, of March 29, 1918, declared, among other things, "The right of workers, including common laborers, to a living wage," and "in fixing wages a minimum rate of pay shall be established which will insure the subsistence of the workers and his family in health and reasonable comfort"; and

WHEREAS, There has been an abnormal increase in the cost of living in the past three years, but the wages of most Government employees have not been correspondingly increased, notwithstanding the fact that the wages of practically all employees in the commercial world have been increased; and

WHEREAS, In order for the Government to establish proper wage standards among private employers it should become a model employer itself and set an example for private employers by the adoption of a living wage standard for its employees; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled at Atlantic City, N. J., that Congress should immediately take favorable action on the Nolan and Johnson bills (H. R. 1285) for establishing a minimum wage for Government employees and that further legislation should be enacted whereby the wages of all Government employees not affected by said bills are given a substantial increase.

Your Committee recommends the adoption of this resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the Committee.

Delegate Steward asked that the resolution be amended by striking out the number of the Senate bill, which was incorrect, and changing the number of the House bill to 1285.

The Committee accepted the amendment, and the recommendation of the Committee, as amended, was adopted.

Resolution No. 161.—By Luther C. Steward, William E. Junker, Martin J. Leonard, Florence Etheridge, National Federation of Federal Employees.

WHEREAS, Federal employees, through the administrative regulations of certain departments, have been denied leave of absence to

care for important duties devolving upon them as officers in organizations of affiliated Government employees, thus in many instances necessitating their resignation from the service and operating in general as serious handicaps to the existence and progress of such unions; and

WHEREAS, Unless an organization is permitted to properly function, the right to organize is in itself of little value, and arbitrary and unnecessary ruling denying leaves of absence are in effect the denial of the right to organize, which was granted to civil service employees in the Act of Congress of August 24, 1912, known as the "Anti-Gag Law"; and

WHEREAS, Necessary leaves of absence should be granted employees engaged in the work of their respective organizations without either injuring the service or impairing of its efficiency; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor urge upon Congress the enactment of legislation which shall provide for the retention of the civil service status by the officers and unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor who are called upon to absent themselves from their official duties and their reinstatement in the service at a salary no less than that received by them at the time such leave of absence is granted; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That leaves of absence, either temporary or extended, shall be granted the officials of affiliated unions to conduct the work of their organizations without prejudice to their official standing in the Government service.

Your Committee recommends adoption of this resolution.

The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 166—By Delegates J. W. Worthy, Salisbury, N. C., F. H. U. No. 16,895; E. G. Galloway, Tri-City Central Trades and Labor Council, Granite City, Ill.; Harry W. Fox, Pres. Wyoming Federation of Labor; Max S. Hayes, International Typographical Union; Joseph Proebstle, Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers' International Union; John A. Lacey, C. L. U., Norfolk, Va.; O. L. Leonard, Memphis, Tenn., Local No. 16,407, F. H. U.; Oscar Williams, Freight Handlers' Union, Local No. 16,413; John Moore, Pres. Ohio F. of L.

WHEREAS, There is a Senate Joint Resolution, No. 22, and a House Joint Resolution, No. 60 (both identical), pending before the Sixty-sixth Congress, proposing an initiative and referendum amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of its citizens, when they so desire, to vote upon Constitutional amendments and laws; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled this ninth day of June, 1919, demand that the Senators and Representatives of the Sixty-sixth Congress now assembled use their best efforts with the Judiciary Committees of the Senate and the House of Representatives to render a favorable report on such resolutions Numbers 22 and 60 and cast their

votes in the affirmative upon such resolutions when submitted; be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor are hereby instructed to appear before the Judiciary Committees of the Senate and the House of Representatives, in Washington, D. C., in advocacy of such resolutions; be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of these resolutions be mailed to the Vice-President of the United States and each Senator and Representative of the Sixty-sixth Congress.

S. J. RES. 22—In the Senate of the United States, May 28, 1919. Mr. Pomerene (by request) introduced the following Joint resolution, which was read twice and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary: Proposing an initiative and referendum amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of its citizens, when they so desire, to vote upon constitutional amendments and laws.

RESOLVED, By the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein). That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of such legislatures, shall be valid as part of such Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE —

"Section 1.—That upon the submission to the Secretary of State, of the Department of State, at Washington, District of Columbia, of a petition signed by five hundred thousand bona fide voters of the United States, duly certified, praying for a proposed constitutional amendment or law, it shall be mandatory upon him to submit such proposed amendment or law at the next regular congressional election, providing such petition has been filed with him sixty days prior to such election, at which time he shall notify the executive of each State to that effect; and that upon the presentation of a petition signed by one million bona fide voters, duly certified, he shall submit such proposed amendment or law at a special election to be called by the executive of each State after being notified by the Secretary of State, of the Department of State, to that effect, for that express purpose, within sixty days after the presentation of such petition, and that if a majority of the people voting upon such amendment or law submitted at such regular congressional or special election shall vote in the affirmative, such proposed amendment or law shall become effective upon the proclamation of the Secretary of State; and the Secretary of State shall make such proclamation as soon as he receives the certified votes from the executives of the various States.

"Section 2.—That when such petition or petitions have been certified by the citizens circulating them before some person legally competent and authorized to administer oaths under the laws of the various States and Territories they shall be deemed valid by both the executive of each State and the Secretary of State.

"Section 3.—That any fraud committed in any manner whatsoever in circulating the petitions herein mentioned shall be prosecuted and punished under the laws of the State in which the fraud has been committed.

"Section 4.—That all amendments and laws submitted under this amendment shall be placed upon a separate ballot and marked Federal amendment or law, and such ballots shall be preserved for the period of six months, and for a longer period if directed by the Secretary of State, of the Department of State, after the general or special election has been held, so that in case of alleged fraud such ballots may be submitted in evidence.

"Section 5.—That the Congress shall have power to carry into effect by appropriate legislation any constitutional amendment adopted by the people in the manner aforesaid."

H. J. RES. 60.—In the House of Representatives, May 24, 1919. Mr. Emerson introduced the following joint resolution, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary and ordered to be printed. Proposing an initiative and referendum amendment to the Constitution of the United States, extending the right of its citizens when they so desire to vote upon constitutional amendments and laws.

RESOLVED, By the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which when ratified by three-fourths of such legislatures, shall be valid as part of such Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE —.

"Section 1.—That upon the submission to the Secretary of the Department of State, at Washington, District of Columbia, of a petition signed by five hundred thousand bona fide voters of the United States, duly certified, praying for a proposed constitutional amendment or law, it shall be mandatory upon him to submit such proposed amendment or law at the next regular congressional election, providing such petition has been filed with him sixty days prior to such election, at which time he shall notify the executive of each State to that effect, and that upon the presentation of a petition signed by one million bona fide voters, duly certified, he shall submit such proposed amendment or law at a special election to be called by the executive of each State after being notified by the Secretary of State, of the Department of State, to that effect for that express purpose, within sixty days after the presentation of such petition, and that if a majority of the people voting upon such amendment or law submitted at such regular congressional or special election shall vote in the affirmative such proposed amendment or law shall become effective upon the proclamation of the Secretary of State; and the Secretary of State shall make such proclamation as soon as he receives the certified vote from the executive of the various States.

"Section 2.—That when such petition or petitions have been certified by the citizens circulating them before some person legally competent and authorized to administer oaths under the laws of the various States and Territories they shall be deemed valid by both the executive of each State and the Secretary of State.

"Section 3.—That any fraud committed in

any manner whatsoever, in circulating the petitions herein mentioned, shall be prosecuted and punished under the laws of the State in which the fraud has been committed.

"Section 4.—That all amendments and laws submitted under this amendment shall be placed upon a separate ballot and marked 'Federal amendment or law' and such ballots shall be preserved for the period of six months, and for a longer period if directed by the Secretary of State, of the Department of State, after the general or special election has been held, so that in case of alleged fraud such ballots may be submitted in evidence.

"Section 5.—That the Congress shall have power to carry into effect by appropriate legislation any constitutional amendment adopted by the people in the manner aforesaid."

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council for further examination and consideration, with instructions to give their careful consideration to this or any other measures of similar nature which may be introduced in Congress, and if in their judgment it seems advisable to report upon the subject at the next convention.

The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

Secretary Frey: The following resolution was evidently referred to this convention from the convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, as the action of that convention is included in the resolution.

Resolution No. 168—By Delegate Duncan McDonald, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The present bloody war has torn asunder former relations and fellowship of labor unions and kindred organizations, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Illinois State Federation of Labor, in annual convention assembled, fraternally requests all international unions and kindred organizations to call an International Congress of Labor immediately after conclusion of peace, for the purpose of consulting and advising each other with a view to organizing labor of the entire World on an International basis; be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the Labor Press and to all National and International Labor Unions.

Secretary Van Horn: Your committee recommends non-concurrence, but advises that this resolution be taken to the American Federation of Labor.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Inasmuch as an international conference has been called for October of this year, in the United States, your committee recommends non-concurrence with the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 176—By Delegates Luther C. Steward, William E. Junker, Martin J.

Leonard, Florence Etheridge, National Federation of Federal Employees:

WHEREAS, United States Immigration and Custom Inspectors along the Canadian border are required to work from 12 to 14 hours a day for 7 days in the week; and

WHEREAS, These employees are grossly underpaid, the immigrant inspectors receiving an average of \$4.00 and customs inspectors \$3.50 per day; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled demand that these overworked and underpaid workers have their compensation increased and their hours of labor shortened to not more than 8 hours per day and one day of rest in seven; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be directed to co-operate with the National Federation of Federal Employees in securing necessary legislation from Congress in procuring an 8-hour day and a minimum wage of \$5.00 per diem for these employees.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 179—By Delegates Luther C. Stewart, William E. Junker, Martin J. Leonard, Florence Etheridge, National Federation of Federal Employees.

WHEREAS, The practice has grown up during the war of using men and women enlisted in the military and naval reserves of the United States in civilian positions; and

WHEREAS, This practice is being continued now that the war emergency is over, with the result of introducing military standards into employment purely civilian in character; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled that temporary expedients of this nature necessary in time of war become a menace to shop standards if continued in time of peace and that the civilian employment by the Government of men and women enlisted in the military service be discontinued upon the signing of the Peace Treaty.

Your committee recommends adoption of the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 182—By Delegate Duncan McDonald, of the Illinois Federation of Labor

WHEREAS, It has come to the time that we think that there should be something done to check the outrageous grafters and profiteers that are existing, where the laborers get a twenty per cent. increase in wage we have to pay from fifty per cent. to one hundred and fifty per cent. increase for our necessities of life; and

WHEREAS, As an organized body of union people, we can and should help our Government stop all that is an enemy to us and our country, our country is at war and has called every man, woman and child to do their bit, and we must answer the call; everyone must be patriotic and do all we can to whip our enemy, and to crush Prussian militarism out of existence, and establish democracy; and

WHEREAS, We have enemies here, as well as "over there," and it is our duty to enact laws to force those grafters and profiteers to be law-abiding citizens; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we ask that the Legislative Committee draw up a form and introduce it to Congress as a bill, to govern all prices and profits, throughout the country, or as far as possible. First, that all shoes, clothes and factory made garments, all canned goods, packages, bundles, boxes and crates, and all articles that are put up at factories or shops, shall bear factory and shop prices; second, that all dealers, before it reaches the consumer, shall have a license to handle same, and that there be a profit set for the wholesaler and retailer, and that the wholesaler shall be forced to sell to the consumer the same as to the retailer, and that to violate these orders, the same shall have his license revoked with fine and imprisonment.

Your Committee recommends non-concurrence with this resolution.

The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

President Gompers: Before the Committee proceeds I ask the Secretary to read a cablegram just received.

Secretary Morrison read the following cablegram:

(Cable) Amsterdam.

Gompers:

Letters received. Cable mutilated. Date of conference is not second, but July 26. Conference will decide on attitude trade union movement with regard to Congress, Washington. Urge you to come to Amsterdam.

Oudergast.

The cablegram was made part of the records of the convention and referred to the Committee on International Labor Relations.

President Gompers: The delegates to this convention of the American Federation of Labor have, as have the delegates to former conventions, contributed small sums in order that some expression of our sentiment of fraternity and good will might be made to the fraternal delegates. A committee was appointed to make suitable purchases for presentation. The committee has performed this duty and I am directed by the committee to present a few tokens of our esteem to the fraternal delegates.

Whereupon President Gompers presented gold watches to the men fraternal delegates, and to Miss Bondfield a brief case and a necklace. To Mrs. Finney President Gompers, on behalf of the delegates, presented a necklace, and to Mrs. Walsh a ring.

Each recipient expressed thanks for the remembrance, pleasure at the intercourse with the delegates and enjoyment of their stay in this country.

Secretary Frey continued the report of the Committee on Resolutions, as follows: Your Committee has amended Resolution No. 183 by

striking out the word "requires" in the first line of the Resolve and inserting the word "gives," and by striking out the word "incoming" before the words "Executive Council." The amended resolution is as follows:

Resolution No. 183—By Delegates Matthew Wolf and Peter J. Brody.

WHEREAS, The national war indebtedness of our country is of a magnitude requiring the raising annually of large sums of money in taxes; and

WHEREAS, The tendency is to constantly increase the number and scope of Governmental activities entailing increasing expenditures of public moneys; and

WHEREAS, The liquidation of the national indebtedness is a problem which vitally affects the life and welfare not alone of this generation, but of generations yet unborn; and

WHEREAS, It is essential that the financial system of our national Government is placed on a sound basis and that its obligations of operation shall be regulated and controlled by sound principles; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention gives its approval of the principle of a Federal budget system to efficiently administer the financial affairs of our Government, and that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be authorized and directed to investigate the Federal budget systems proposed and to approve and support that budget system, which in its judgment, is best designed and devised to safeguard the interests of the workers and all our people, and calculated to minimize our national expenditures without interfering or retarding the legitimate and helpful activities of our national Government.

Your Committee recommends the adoption of the resolution as amended.

The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 184 was reported on by the Committee. After a discussion by Delegate Etheridge the resolution was re-committed to the Committee to enable the delegates of the National Federation of Federal Employees and representatives of the other organizations of Government employees to appear before the Committee and present their arguments in favor of the resolutions.

Resolution No. 196—By Delegate James A. Duncan, Seattle Central Labor Council.

WHEREAS, The efforts of certain Hindoos to gain for millions of their fellow countrymen a greater measure of freedom and democracy has resulted in a number of these people being compelled to serve prison terms in this country; and

WHEREAS, Some of these men, now in danger of deportation with the likelihood of execution facing them upon arrival in their own land have appealed to various branches of the American labor movement for aid in their plight, believing us to be their friends, and which appeal should not fall upon deaf ears; and therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor enter a vigorous protest to the United States Departments of Justice and Immigration against the deportation of these men when deportation might be the equivalent

of pronouncing their death sentence; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the President of the Federation appoint a committee to investigate the exact status of these cases and render such assistance as the merits of such cases deem necessary.

Your Committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to make such investigation as the subject warrants, and act as circumstances may develop.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the Committee.

Delegate Furuseth: May I ask whether amongst these proposed deportations there are any Hindoos?

Secretary Frey: Your Committee had no information brought to it as to whether that is so or not.

Delegate Furuseth: I am interested in that question because of some information that has come to me, information which I got partly in England and partly here. I understand that men who were sent back to India and who reach there alive have no prospect of living very long after they get there. If what I have been told in England and here is true, then the deportation of a Hindoo is absolutely equal to a death sentence, and I hope the Executive Council will look into that question very carefully and act very earnestly.

Delegate Duncan, J. A., Seattle: I have no desire to have this convention do anything without a thorough investigation, but I feel the convention can well afford to go on record against the deportation of these people. I would like to ask if the representatives of these Hindoos would come to Atlantic City from New York before the convention adjourns, or immediately thereafter, could they have an opportunity to present their case to the Executive Council?

President Gompers: The Chair cannot answer that definitely, but he entertains no doubt that the Executive Council would give a hearing to these representatives.

Delegate Sullivan, Salt Lake City, expressed the hope that the convention would do something to help the men in question.

Delegate Steward, Federal Employee, stated that the matter was within the jurisdiction of William B. Wilson, Secretary of Labor, and he felt the matter could be safely left in his hands.

The motion to adopt the report of the Committee was carried.

Resolution No. 209—By Delegate E. C. Scott, of the Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers & Assistants, 11,773, Washington, D. C.

WHEREAS, The residents of the District of Columbia have for years been disfranchised notwithstanding they have been compelled to bear all the burdens of citizenship without the enjoyment of the full rights and privileges incident thereto; and

WHEREAS, The said residents of the District of Columbia have shown their loyalty to our country by sending their manhood to the front, as well as oversubscribing on every occasion to all loans, Red Cross, Y. M. C. A., Salvation Army and other patriotic occasions; and

WHEREAS, A concerted movement is now in progress in the District of Columbia for its residents looking towards a constitutional amendment enfranchising the residents of the District of Columbia; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record, as has been done by previous conventions, as favoring votes for voteless Washington, and that the Secretary be instructed to send a copy of this resolution to the President of the Senate and the Speaker of

the House of Representatives; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That every delegate to this convention is requested to write a letter to his respective representatives in both branches of Congress, urging their support to the fullest extent of any measure or bill that may be introduced or now pending in Congress, having for its purpose the enfranchisement of the residents of the District of Columbia.

Your Committee recommends adoption of this resolution.

The report of the Committee was adopted.

At 5.30 the convention was adjourned to 9.30 a. m., Thursday, June 19th.

NINTH DAY—Thursday Morning Session

The convention was called to order at 9.30 a. m., Thursday, June 19th, Vice-President Green in the chair.

Absentees—Crooff, McDonald, Donoghue, Iglesias, Rutherford, Schildt, Harrison, Ely, O'Leary, Harlin, Bryan, Yarrow, Dill, Canfield, Griffith, Carroll, Woodman, Galloway, Taylor (C. O.), Priestly, Argo, Noble, Evans (M. G.), Sims, Frampton, Ryan (J. F.), Young (C. B.), Hartford, Bower, Curran, Barr, Woodmansee, Wilkinson, Enright, Tinney, Reardon, Monaghan, Mezzocopo, McGill, Canady, Grass Bodgett, Staley, Clark (E. E.), Colvin, Setzer, Tourison, Birch, Herbert, Fitts, Eklund, Campbell, Spacey, Clarke, Witashkin.

Delegate Edwards, Secretary of the Committee on Credentials, submitted the following supplemental report:

Your committee on credentials reports that we have received credentials for Mr. Louis N. Morones, as fraternal delegate from the Mexican Federation of Labor, and we recommend that he be seated with one vote; also substitute the name of Daniel J. Ahern for Walter N. Reddick of the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders.

Respectfully submitted,

CHAS. F. SCOTT, Chairman,
E. W. EDWARDS,
WALTER V. PRICE, Secretary

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Secretary Morrison read the following communication:

Washington, D. C., June 9, 1919.

Frank Morrison,
Secretary, American Federation of Labor
Convention,
Atlantic City N. J.

The Council of National Defense is cognizant of the thirty-ninth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor and realizes thoroughly the patriotic service rendered to the people and to the government of the United States by the organized labor movement and the workers of America throughout the war. The Council also understands fully the desire of the American Federation of Labor to serve this nation during the reconstruction period which we now face in order that the nation may receive the full benefits of victory. The Council is desirous of transmitting to you its deep appreciation of the national service performed and particularly to acknowledge the great aid of Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor in his work both at home and abroad and his personal effort to make the service of the American Federation of Labor a tangible and

vital thing in the interest of America and her allies.

GROSVENOR B. CLARKSON,
Director of the Council and of the Advisory Commission.

San Francisco, Calif., June 8, 1919.
Thirty Ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor
Frank Morrison, Secretary,
Steel Pier, Atlantic City, N. J.

"San Francisco Labor Council sends fraternal greetings and best wishes to the thirty-ninth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, may the deliberations and resolves of the delegates bring new strength and will to do what is right and just and may Brother Samuel Gompers, the able and esteemed champion of American Labor, be fully restored to health and continue in his work of love and devotion for the cause of all who toll.

WM. T. BONSOR, President,
JOHN A. O'CONNELL, Sec'y.
Denver, Colo., June 16, 1919.

The Officers and Delegates of the American Federation of Labor, care Frank Morrison, Atlantic City.

On behalf of all the people of Colorado I cordially invite you to hold your next convention in the city of Denver.

OLIVER H. SHOUP, Governor.

The communications were made part of the records of the convention.

Delegate Healy, Firemen, stated that engineers and firemen in Atlantic City have been on strike for some time; that several efforts have been made to settle the strike, and although a government conciliator has been in the city nothing has been accomplished. He asked that a committee of three be appointed to confer with the manager of the Chalfonte and other members of the Hotel Men's Association in regard to the matter.

Delegate Flore, Hotel and Restaurant Employees, asked to have a representative on the committee, as members of the culinary workers and bartenders were very much interested in the matter.

Vice-President Green stated that the request would be granted without a motion.

Delegate Weber, Musicians, asked unanimous consent to introduce a resolution dealing with the question of the importation of musicians into this country, and especially with the case of the Boston Symphony Orchestra in arranging to import fifty alien musicians.

Vice-President Duffy objected to the introduction of any more resolutions.

Report of Committee on Executive Council's Report

Delegate Woll, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Your Committee recommends reference of Resolution No. 207 to the Committee on Education, inasmuch as it deals with a subject that is now before that Committee.

The recommendation of the Committee was concurred in.

REPORT OF TRUSTEES OF A. F. OF L. BUILDING

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

The wisdom and good business judgment in constructing and maintaining a fitting office building for the American Federation of Labor at Washington, D. C., is ably manifested in the report of the trustees having directed this business enterprise of our movement.

From a general viewpoint this structure is a splendid monument to the constant development and uninterrupted progress of the American Labor Movement. It fittingly symbolizes the permanent and indestructible character of the American Trade Union Movement.

From a financial point of view the submitted report clearly demonstrates that this venture is not alone self-sustaining, but is designed to liquidate the financial obligation it is carrying within a comparatively brief period of time. While never intended as a profit-making undertaking, we have every reason to conclude that this project is profitable to our movement and its cause from every point of observation.

Your committee therefore highly commends the trustees for the excellent manner in which they have conducted this enterprise in behalf of the American Federation of Labor.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Judicial Construction of Law

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

Under this caption the Executive Council directs attention to the opinion submitted by Mr. Jackson H. Ralston, of Washington, D. C., the attorney for the American Federation of Labor, on the subject of the power of the courts to declare laws unconstitutional.

Your committee considers that nothing is more dangerous to the rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness than to permit any department of government exclusive, absolute and final authority in any matter which directly or indirectly involves or affects the destiny of a people or control over its possessions.

Our nation only recently associated itself with other democratic nations of Europe to destroy the hereditary rule of government over the people. Our nation, in association with other nations of free peoples, has just concluded a victorious war for the rights of all peoples to determine their own destinies. While proud of our accomplishments in behalf of peoples of Europe, we have, nevertheless,

been neglectful of sinister influences constantly at work in our body politic, which are slowly but surely sapping the virus of independence from our institutions and are creating an autocracy equal in power and authority to that exercised by the most tyrannical despot ever known to human history.

Our nation is founded on the principle that every citizen is a sovereign unto himself and that the powers of government extend only to that degree to which the consent of the governed has been freely, fully and fairly obtained. The governmental authority of our nation has been so divided and designed to prevent the usurping of authority and power by any one department of government not fairly and freely delegated to it by the expressed will of the people. Despite all these precautions to safeguard individual liberty and freedom of action, despite the fact that the early constitutional convention denied the right to our courts to pass on the constitutionality of laws enacted by Congress, our courts and judges have been slowly and surely disregarding these restrictions and limitations and now freely and uninterruptedly exercise powers which even the monarchs and kaisers dared not exercise with all their claims to power by inherent divinity.

The power of our courts to declare legislation enacted unconstitutional and void is a most flagrant usurpation of power and authority by our courts and is a repudiation and denial of the principle of self-government recognized now as a world doctrine. The continued exercise of this unwarranted power is a blasphemy on the rights and claims of free men of America.

This usurpation of power by our courts to subordinate the legislative and executive departments to their will and compel the activities of a free people to their whims and dictates is paralleled and equaled only by the further usurpation of authority by our courts to legislate and punish people in direct defiance of constitutional safeguards to personal liberty and freedom of action. By the issuance of injunctive decrees by our courts, by the restraint they place upon the normal and rightful activities of a free people, by the punishing of free men in the exercise of their constitutional rights without opportunity to a trial by jury, by the removal of safeguards thrown around the individual against extreme and excessive punishments and the denial of an opportunity or executive clemency, our courts have vested themselves with a power greater than any despot ever heretofore possessed.

The fate of the sovereignty of American people again hangs in the balance. It is inconceivable that such an autocratic, despotic and tyrannical power can long remain in a democracy. One or the other must ultimately give way, and your committee believes that this convention should declare that, as wage-earners, citizens of a free and democratic republic, we shall stand firmly and conscientiously on our rights as free men and treat all injunctive decrees that invade our personal liberties as unwarranted in fact, unjustified in law and illegal as being in violation of our constitutional safeguards, and accept whatever consequences may follow.

Your committee further recommends that immediate steps be taken by the Executive Council and by all State organizations for the early enactment of adequate laws to deny the further usurpation of these unwarranted powers by our courts, and that Congress be

petitioned to impeach all judges from office who may hereafter exercise governmental functions and authority not expressly delegated to them. It is the viewpoint of your committee that the widest possible publicity should be given this subject and that the public mind and conscience should be fully aroused to the dangers confronting the liberties of our people to the end that the judicial autocracy and despotism which has been slowly developing in our midst will come to an early and definite end.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Coronado Coal Company vs. United Mine Workers

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

A year ago the convention of the American Federation of Labor was advised of the great danger involved in this case and that by the final affirmation of this judgment, the right to strike was not only outlawed, but that the right of the workers to combine and to bargain collectively were likewise seriously attacked. Attention was directed to the fact that this assault and encroachment on the right of trial by jury was a flagrant disregard of constitutional safeguards to the freedom of action guaranteed our people.

At that time we sought to impress the convention with the dangerous principle which the court had invoked to attack the funds of trade unions, to jeopardize the savings of the wage-earners, and thus ultimately destroy the virility and aggressiveness of the trade union movement.

We are now advised by the Executive Council that the appeal of the United Mine Workers in the District Court has been in vain and that the misjudgment of the lower court has been affirmed. While the United Mine Workers of America are preparing an appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States, and while this case is not predicated on the Clayton Act, but is being tried under the terms of the Sherman anti-trust law before labor organizations were exempted from its restrictive regulations; it is, nevertheless, important to note that the tendency of the employing interests today is to hold trade unions responsible financially for whatever alleged ill-advised or wrongful act any one of its members or sympathizers may commit, inadvertently or by design, on the theory that the trade union movement is obligated to discipline and to direct the conduct of all its members.

Our administration of law presents indeed a mass of inconsistencies and contradictions. While organizations of capital are encouraged and protected, combinations of workers are constantly attacked. While employers may unite and combine against workers and against the buying public, the right of the workers to resist encroachments and to right admitted wrongs is constantly being interfered with. While nations laud the instrument of boycott to force recalcitrant nations to observe international rules and ethics, yet when labor attempts to punish a recalcitrant employer by this same weapon we find its path one of embarrassment and obstruction. Whenever an officer of an incorporated financial, industrial or commercial enterprise exceeds the power specifically delegated to him, the courts

declare his act ultra-vires and the company is absolved from all responsibility. But when a labor man at a trade union meeting makes ill-advised utterances, even when such utterances are condemned by those in authority, then the union and its members may nevertheless be robbed of their funds and savings. Such is the awkward contradiction in our administrative law of today.

It was the spirit of the jurisprudence of slavery which forbade the slaves the opportunity to read to defend themselves, and so it is the jurisprudence of employers of today to contrive doctrines which deny the workers a full opportunity of defence. The time has passed, however, when our courts should be longer permitted to devise legal doctrines and design local fictions by which to deny the wage earners equal rights and privileges before the law.

Your Committee therefore is in full accord with all that the executive council has suggested for the disposition of this case, and principles involved. We commend the United Mine Workers of America for the valiant contest they are making. We urge that the officers of the American Federation of Labor be authorized and empowered to cooperate fully with the officers of the United Mine Workers in protecting the interests of all workers and to spare no time, or effort, or money in having this decision reversed by the Supreme Court of the United States and in having the principle of voluntary association and collective bargaining on the part of the workers made secure for all time to come.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Report on Labor Legislation

Under this caption the Executive Council submits a summary of legislation which affects the interest of the workers and which was secured from Congress during the past year through the legislative efforts put forth by the American Federation of Labor.

Fifteen specific measures are reported as having been enacted into law. Your committee has considered these measures and finds that all are helpful to the workers and are designed to promote their best interests. Approval and concurrence is therefore recommended on this part of the Executive Council's report.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Hindrances to Legislation

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption the Committee reported as follows:

On this subject your committee submits the following observations and recommendations. As the power and influence of the workers are constantly growing and extending more subtle and more indirect methods and procedures are adopted and followed by hostile legislators in controverting this power and influence of labor in the legislative halls of our states and nation. Parliamentary procedure, originally intended to clarify issues, expedites their fair and intelligent consideration and to reach an early conclusion, has been diverted into an instrument of confusion, evasion and delay. Legislative measures are apparently favored with knowledge beforehand that ultimate technical parliamentary objections will be invoked to

prevent the enactment of such measure into law and thus the public mind is confused as to the real purpose and intent of our legislators.

Failure of Congress to enact the several legislative proposals into law indicated in the report of the Executive Council is not alone a matter of deep regret. This practice of delay and evasion is a matter for severe criticism and condemnation. We view the action of Congress in adjourning without making adequate provision and appropriation for the continuance of the several needful departments of the Government under the control of the Department of Labor, nothing less than a deliberate attempt to promote the well-being of the few and influential to the detriment of the welfare of the great mass of our people into the nooks and crooks of the dark halls the workers of our nation. We hold that the time is here to direct the light of day into the nooks and crooks of the dark halls and chambers of Congress and remove the angelic cloak by which these misinterpreters of public good shroud their acts of deviltry.

We agree with the Executive Council that the rules of parliamentary procedure of Congress are antiquated, ill-designed and are not used to prove helpful in giving expression to the manifested will of the people. We hold they are used and designated almost exclusively to protect the interests of the possessors of the wealth of our nation.

We therefore concur in the recommendation that Congress be memorialized to make all the required changes in congressional procedure to facilitate and properly care for the legislative needs of the people.

To this end, we concur in the suggestions submitted to the Executive Council's Report and urge that all necessary steps be taken to give realization to their early enactment.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Better Social and Industrial Conditions

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report, under the above caption, the Committee reported as follows:

The subject of better social and industrial conditions is one which has attracted the attention of many theorists and fadists and has also received the serious consideration of men of a practical turn of mind. As set forth in the Executive Council's report this subject relates to a number of activities and relations upon which the American Federation of Labor has clearly and definitely expressed its attitude and determination.

Your committee concurs in the viewpoint that any arrangement or device which leads to the involuntary submission of industrial issues to a national or state tribunal or compels the acquiescence in its findings, decisions or awards is contrary to the rights and privileges of a free people and violative of our constitutional guarantees. Any and all such proposals should receive our unswerving and determined opposition.

Your committee concurs in the need for the extension of the soldiers' and sailors' insurance system to include the civil population in order to assure workmen against the hazards of ill health, accident and death, at the lowest possible rate. We insist, how-

ever, that the first element of insurance is ample compensation for work performed which includes a wage sufficient to permit the laying aside of an adequate saving to meet all the adversities of life. Secondly, we insist on a system of government, as distinguished from private, insurance which is voluntary and not compulsory in character and which excludes the possibility of invading the rights and trespassing upon the homes of the workers by governmental agents or representatives of private concerns.

As indicated in the report of the Executive Council and as evidenced in this brief allusion to this great subject, your committee is of the opinion that inasmuch as the workers are alone required to labor under whatever legislative principles may be enacted into law and which affect only their lives, their conditions of service, their well-being and the welfare of those dependent on them that, therefore, this subject is one in which the workers alone should designate that legislation to which they shall subordinate their activities as free men and that they should not be made to suffer the consequences of the wishes or whims or fancies of so-called reformation agencies or societies or be made the object for amusement or notoriety of so-called parlor reformers with which our country abounds.

Your committee recommends and concurs in the expressions of the Executive Council on this subject and suggests that it undertake to familiarize the affiliated unions and all workers from time to time upon such legislative measures as in its opinion are helpful and which enable the rallying of the forces of labor to the support of such legislation as the accredited representatives of the American Federation of Labor have found best to promote the interests and well-being of all wage-earners of our land.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Unemployment and Lands for Soldiers

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

In this part of the report, the Executive Council relates the earnest, vigorous, but futile efforts which were made during the last session of Congress to provide employment for the unemployed and to engage the unemployed on the unused and undeveloped lands of our country.

While the peoples in many European nations are thinking in terms of land as never heretofore, and while the apportionment of lands has proven one of the great, vexing problems of peace between nations, we here in our own country are permitting valuable lands to remain unused for the want of providing and a lack of determination to break the barrier of vested interests. While the problems of rents and housing are becoming more acute we are loathe to demand of Congress to tax the wealth of the nation and in removing the artificial restrictions which prevent the further development of idle lands and encourage a greater distribution of our people on these lands. While we hear much of unemployment, we find no dearth of opportunity for the profitable employment of both men and

women. Our country is yet young, our lands are not all fully developed, and there is much work yet to be performed in our country Congress may well apply itself to this great and pressing task, if it sincerely desires to serve the well-being of the people.

Your committee, therefore, fully endorses the principles underlying the Kelly and Cresser bills which contemplate new principles of employment by acquiring the land, fitting it for use, placing suitable buildings thereon and disposing of ready-made farms under the most favorable terms and conditions and by providing for the systematic extension of public works and the development of natural resources. These bills failed of passage and we urge their re-introduction and their early enactment into law.

Your committee also endorses the principles and legislative proposals submitted by Secretary Franklin K. Lane to survey, clarify and dispose of soldiers, sailors and workers all unentered and unused lands and aid in their development and settlement on a systematic and comprehensive, beneficial basis.

Your committee recommends that this section of the report of the Executive Council should not alone be endorsed but that Congress should be petitioned to enact these principles into substantive law without delay and without further evasion or equivocation.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 44—By Delegate George Sauter, of the Central Labor Union, Wilmington, Del. Favoring Secretary Lane's Americanization and land for Soldiers' Program:

RESOLVED, That the Central Labor Union goes on record as favoring the propositions that are being advocated by Secretary of the Interior Lane for Americanization, and for the bringing back to the soil of our returning soldiers, sailors and marines, who desire to take up farming through the Government providing them with suitable farms on which to pursue the science of agriculture.

Inasmuch as the subject to which this resolution relates has been fully covered in the report of your committee on that part of the report of the Executive Council dealing with the employment of returning soldiers and sailors, your committee is of the opinion that no further action is required on this resolution and so recommends.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Prohibition of Immigration

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

Contrary to the propaganda fostered and encouraged by employing interests, the problem confronting our people is not one of emigration but of immigration. While it may be true that during the war all immigration ceased, it is equally true that a number of years will necessarily elapse before the industries of our country will have reabsorbed all the discharged soldiers, sailors and war workers under conditions of employment commensurate with the more ad-

vanced standards of compensation for services rendered.

While our immigration laws may be designed to prevent those persons coming to our shores who have little or no faith in our institutions, it is equally essential that our immigration laws are so molded as to prevent unemployment of the workers, which in itself causes so much friction and misery in our industrial relations.

Your committee is, therefore, favorably impressed with the effort made by the Executive Council to prevent the admittance of coolie labor and to avoid the many hardships and difficulties which the admission of coolie labor would necessarily involve. It also favors the approval of legislation suggested by the Executive Council for the prohibition of immigration for a fixed number of years and especially during the period of readjustment.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Gorenstein, Ladies' Garment Workers, in opposing the recommendation of the committee, said in part: "I wish to call your attention to the part of the recommendation of the committee where they commend the activity of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Council in trying to get laws enacted to prohibit immigration to this country for the next few years. I feel it my duty as an immigrant and an American citizen to oppose that as vigorously as I can. I believe the time has come when we can get other measures to prevent unemployment. I feel this American Federation of Labor has talked long enough about all kinds of measures. The American Federation of Labor has been talking about the eight-hour-day as long as my memory serves me. The international organization I represent is composed largely of immigrants, but it has come to its senses and realized what was necessary to do away as much as possible with unemployment. We have established a forty-four-hour week and we do not talk any more about a forty-eight-hour week. It may be well enough to talk about the forty-eight-hour week for some of the allied countries, it may be well enough for Japan, but it is not good enough for this country any more. It is up to the men who have power to do it to get something better than the eight-hour-day. Establish the six-hour day and you will not have to restrict immigration. There may be some people on the other side who will have to leave their countries because of oppression. Is it the desire of this convention to close the doors to those people that are oppressed and persecuted? I hope you will vote down the recommendation of the committee."

Delegate Duncan, Seattle: I move that the part of the report of the committee stating that we favor the absolute restriction

of immigration for a given period be stricken from the report. (Seconded.)

Delegate McCullough, Typographical Union, said in part: "I know, or think I know, the aspirations, the hopes, the ambitions of the men and women of Europe and other countries who have turned to the United States as a spot where they can realize their ambitions and enjoy those things that have been denied them in the land of their birth. We must realize that today, with society in a fluid condition, with the government of the world in an unsettled state, it behooves us as patriotic citizens, as devoted advocates of the best interests of humanity, to adopt for the time being such prudent measures as will safeguard our institutions and make us secure in those things we labored so long and so earnestly to achieve.

If it were proposed to make this a permanent affair no one would oppose this measure with more vigor than myself. It is only a temporary device to help us bridge over the time during which none of us can see what will happen. It is not alone Europe that we have to deal with, it is the other nations of the world, it is Asiatic immigration that is staring us in the face. We are about to enter into a pact with all the nations of the world; I think it is as certain as anything can be that the League of Nations pact will be signed. We have no means of telling in advance just what effect that is going to have on our laws and on our institutions. We all hope that it will be for good, yet it is just as well to make prudent preparations, to be ready in advance for whatever may happen.

I think the report of the committee endorsing the recommendation of the Executive Council is one of the most important things that is coming before this convention, and with all the sympathy in the world for the men and women who have come to this country from abroad to make their homes here, and with those who hope in the future to come here to make their homes, I favor the adoption of the report of the committee."

Delegate Sweeney discussed the question and opposed the report of the committee.

Delegate Sumner, Stereotypers: I would like to ask the Secretary of the committee if this action would bar immigration from Canada.

Secretary Woll: The bill introduced does not affect immigration from Canada.

Delegate Sumner: If Canada and certain others are specifically excluded I think there is discrimination. Why one nation should be excluded and others included ought to be a matter of serious concern to this convention. I read this morning that one of the experts for the Government says there will be emigration from this country of

1,200,000 aliens this year. I fail to understand what all the excitement is about in trying to keep out immigrants. I can understand why certain immigrants should not be desired, the coolie labor, for instance; but I cannot understand why we should undertake to have an omnibus bill covering all those who really are the friends of this nation excluded for two years. We ought to go slow about this immigration exclusion act; I am not in sympathy with it and I am not in sympathy with the committee's report, which is so general in its terms. I am perfectly willing to have certain immigrants excluded, for we don't want to flood the country, but I object to its general provisions.

Secretary Morrison, in discussing the question, said in part: "I am in favor of the committee's report. The committee's report is simply a proposition to prevent an influx of immigration to this country during the reconstruction period. I am informed that there is a great number of people unemployed in this country at the present time, and I do not believe it is the province of the convention of the American Federation of Labor to assist the great employing companies, the steel trust, the timber barons of the West, and others to bring about the condition that existed in this country prior to the war, when there were three men for every job. I believe we have a right to protect the citizens of this country and see that they secure employment. A most perniciously active campaign has been carried on by the great interests through the newspapers, national feeling has been appealed to by the clever writers of the representatives of capital, for the purpose of forcing the trade unionists and the wage workers of this country back to the conditions we had prior to the war, and I am opposed to it.

"President Gary, of the steel trust, and their attorney, in a speech made in Chicago when the war was on said: "There are four million Chinamen we can secure to do agricultural work." Of course they were not wanted in the steel industry, but what they did want was to bring these men into this country as wage workers in the fields, to relieve the farm laborers for the steel trust; in other words, because of the cheap labor, to drive them out into other industries.

"Do not be fooled by this specious reasoning. The great representatives of capital are not dead, neither are they sleeping; they are working day and night. We are going to face a condition of unemployment in this country, and if you are wise you will assist in stopping immigration for a limited time for the purpose of readjustment and giving our workers that are here, our soldiers and sailors, an opportunity for employment. The American Federation of Labor and others have been petitioning Congress in an en-

deavor to get appropriations to assist in preventing unemployment, and hardly any appropriations have been secured. The great interests are opposed to appropriations; they want unemployment; they want cheap labor.

"There should be legislation to provide that every soldier, sailor, and war worker should be paid during his unemployment, until he secures employment that will enable him to live in reasonable comfort, and then when our people are employed the ban can be lifted. I have no feeling against any nationality coming into this country, with the exception that I am unalterably opposed to the Orientals coming into this country. I believe that our civilization cannot withstand the coming into this country of millions of Orientals. A professor in Toki said that the Oriental race will survive the Occidental, and his reason was that twenty Orientals can live for what it will take for one Occidental, and therefore they can underlive the Occidental, or white race, and the yellow race will survive. If there is going to be a struggle between the Orientals and the Occidentals I want to see the white race in America and the Oriental race across the ocean. So I am in favor of the committee's report for self-defense. We have no right to assist in bringing over aliens to this country to be exploited. I do not want immigration until such time as our own workers have secured sustaining employment.

Delegate Furuseth, Seamen, spoke in favor of the report of the committee, and said, in part: "I want to call your attention to the fact that in the League of Nations and in the labor charter based upon it there is a provision for the regulation of labor—regulation of labor so that it will be where most needed. And then it voted down the proposition that there shall be no involuntary servitude within the jurisdiction of the League. After three days' fight, in which Mr. Gompers did yeoman work, they were compelled to put into that instrument "In no case shall any of the high contracting powers be asked or acquired, as a result of the adoption by the conference of any recommendation or draft mentioned, to diminish the protection afforded by its existing legislation." The only reason I now call your attention to this thing is that it uses the words 'existing legislation.' And what I am praying for is that this bill to stop immigration may be passed before the League of Nations is adopted, because afterwards there is serious doubt whether it can be passed at all. After that the power of a sovereign nation may be so impaired that we will have to get the permission of Orientals and others to adopt it. I hope you will con-

sider this matter and that in this particular instance you will sustain the report of the Committee."

Delegate Lewis, J. L., Mine Workers: Did I understand the Secretary of the Committee to say that this expression of the committee applies only to European immigration?

Secretary Woll: It applies to those coming from foreign ports and therefore would not apply to anyone on the North American continent.

Delegate Lewis: In order to vote intelligently on this I must know to what degree we are legislating against immigration. The Mexican immigration problem is a vital one with my organization and if the committee's report does not cover Mexican immigration I shall propose to the convention a motion which will cover that particular feature of immigration.

Vice President Green: There are two resolutions dealing with that particular subject that will come before the convention in proper order.

Delegate Lewis: Insofar as this expression of the convention is concerned, which will be the final expression of the Committee on Executive Council's report and this convention, and to which Congress and the world will look to determine our attitude, I must know to what degree this question is covered in this report.

Delegate Wilson, Chairman of the Committee: The Executive Committee in its report directs attention to the bills now pending in Congress with reference to the subject of immigration. This provides that the bill which was reported favorably from the committee and then died with the adjournment of Congress, be pushed to passage in the present Congress of the United States. The Committee's report recommends the endorsement of the action of the Executive Council. There is no bill of this character available to the Committee, consequently the committee is not in a position to give you the contents of the bill at this time, but we judge that as the Executive Council was recommending this to the convention it is a bill that properly takes care of the interests of the workers of the country. On a question of such vital importance as this particular matter is.

Delegate Lewis: May I ask what the motion before the house is?

Vice-President Green: To strike from the Committee's report the endorsement of the bill for restricting immigration for a period of years.

Delegate Lewis: Then before I can offer an amendment, the amendment of which you speak must be disposed of. In that event I move to table the amendment.

Vice-President Green, in replying to ques-

tions from the floor, stated that the motion to table the amendment would table the entire subject.

Delegate Lewis then moved to close debate. (Seconded.)

Vice-President Green ruled that Delegate Duncan, the mover of the amendment, would be given an opportunity to speak before debate was closed.

Delegate Duncan, of Seattle, in discussing the question, said in part: We have heard that this provision was placed in the report to safeguard us from the Orientals. While I am in hearty accord with the part of the report which protects us from the Orientals or any other kind of immigration coming in here that would break down our standards, while I am in favor of the literacy test and all other safe-guards we might place around the conditions we have built up—and which I have done as much as any other person to build up during the time I have been in America—I am opposed to this provision because I know just exactly where my constituents stand on the question. I am opposed to it because I know if it is put across by this convention, there will be a counter move from Seattle, taking issue with this convention upon this question, and we then would get a nearer expression from the rank and file at least of one district of America which has a right to be heard, and is in the habit many times of making itself heard.

There are thousands upon thousands of citizens of other nations who desire to go back home, and yet the laws of this nation say, 'You can not go home.' They cannot go out and they cannot come in, according to our reasoning. I say to you that, in my judgment and in the judgment of the people I stand here to represent, such legislation is nothing more or less than an amendment to the espionage law we have gone on record to put out of business. It is a move upon the part of some individuals throughout this country to prevent intercourse between the workers of the various nations of the world, and I am opposed to placing any obstacle in the way of the freest possible intercourse between any nation and all the nations of the earth. I want to know from people who might come from Russia, if you please, just exactly what is going on in Russia. I want the bars thrown down, at least for people who can pass the literacy test to come in here and tell us the truth with regard to what is going on in the various nations of the world. You are not getting it through the press; you cannot get it through the press. If you were getting the truth thru the press the sentiment throughout this nation, I dare say, would be very different from what it is today.

Then I would turn to the Irish in this convention, whom I supported a few days ago, and say to them, 'If anything blows up in

Ireland after this legislation is on the books the bars will be up and your Irish brothers and sisters and my Irish brothers and sisters cannot come over here.' We have put the bars up and they will not come over. This is not any longer an asylum for political refugees, as we boasted so long and so loud it was. There are sufficient safeguards running through the report to take care of the interests of the workers of the United States of America, and that is all we want. We are not here to take care of the predatory interests.

Delegate Lewis asked if his motion to close debate upon the amendment would also close debate upon the committee's report.

The Chairman replied that it would.

Delegate Lewis then desired to withdraw the motion to close debate. The Chairman replied that that could not be done, as a sufficient number of delegates had asked for the previous question, and as soon as the Secretary of the Committee had spoken the question would be put.

Delegate Lewis: After the disposition of the entire matter the adoption or rejection of the Committee's report, may I be recognized then for a motion upon this subject?

Vice-President Green: The chair will promise to recognize you.

Delegate Sillinsky, Tailors: I rise upon a point of order. You have ruled that the Secretary will be given the floor. Rule 17 provides that the mover of a resolution shall be the last one to speak. The Secretary of the Committee is not the mover of the resolution.

Vice-President Green: Secretary Woll moved the adoption of the Committee's report and therefore he has a right to be heard.

Secretary Woll, in discussing the question, said in part: Our report does not confine the Executive Council to any specific bill, but says that during the period of reconstruction legislation should be enacted to prohibit immigration that interferes with the problem of unemployment that we in America have to contend with. We know it is unquestioned that all the propaganda which now prevails is encouraged and financed by commercial and industrial interests to permit of uninterfered-with immigration of foreign labor, not for the interest of the workers but, on the contrary, to their detriment. The exclusion of immigrants for a short period of time may be selfish in nature and character, and yet I say I am heartily in accordance with that sort of selfishness if it will give employment to our returning soldiers and sailors, and all unemployed workers who are looking to you for an opportunity to be employed and make a living.

The convention has, by unanimous vote, when the report of the Committee on Resolutions was made, called for many things to

be done by the government in order to give employment to our unemployed. Even if those measures are adopted today or tomorrow it will take a year or two for many of the projects to be put into practical operation, and during that time we have the problem of demobilization, the problem of transferring the workers again to peace industries, and I say to you that our problem, first of all, is to take care of our own before we attempt to take care of the world as a whole.

"The adoption of the committee's report does not restrict the Executive Council to any specific legislation; it endorses the principle and under it the Executive Council has the authority to disapprove such legislation as will not carry out the purport of your committee's report, and that is to prevent unemployment and to see that every soldier and sailor will find early and profitable employment. I hope the committee's report will be adopted."

Delegate Birch, Seattle, arose to speak on the question. The chairman stated that no further discussion would be allowed, as a motion to close debate was pending.

The motion to close debate was carried by an almost unanimous vote.

Delegate Gorenstein asked for a roll call on the motion to amend.

The amendment proposed by Delegate Duncan, of Seattle, was lost.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Delegate Lewis, Mine Workers: I move that the principle of this proposed legislation apply also to Mexican immigration. (Seconded.)

The question of Mexican immigration is a most vital one to the coal-mining industry. There has been a disposition on the part of certain mining interests of this country to import Mexican labor to displace American labor in the mines in certain producing territory. It is also a question of moment to the metalliferous miners and to the maintenance of way employees on the various railroad systems. There are a certain number of prohibitive regulations respecting Mexican labor, but there needs to be a greater restriction and the purport of the motion is to simply include Mexican immigration upon the same basis as is contemplated by the committee's report affecting immigration from other countries.

Delegate Birch and Delegate Duncan, Seattle, asked a number of questions in regard to the classes to be excluded, and especially if the exclusion applied to labor only.

Delegate Lewis: It does not say that. It asks that the principle of this legislation also apply to Mexican immigration.

Delegate Brown, Machinists: What effect

will it have upon those organizations whose jurisdiction extends into Mexico?

Vice-President Green: In the opinion of the Chair it will have no effect.

Delegate Brown: If this is adopted will the membership of the organization I belong to come across the line from Mexico?

Vice-President Green: Certainly not.

Delegate McCullough discussed the question briefly.

Discussion upon the subject was then closed by unanimous vote.

Delegate Sweeney raised the point that the motion of Delegate Lewis really amended the report of the committee or was an addition to it.

Vice-President Green: The Chair is of the opinion that this is a subsidiary motion and is perfectly in order.

Delegate Grow asked if the motion included all workers, both hand and brain.

Vice-President Green: It says "all immigration."

The motion proposed by Delegate Lewis was adopted.

Delegates Liebowitz and Kaufman, Fur Workers, desire to be recorded as voting in the negative on the above proposition.

Engineers, Steam Shovel and Dredgemen

The committee reported upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption and upon Resolution No. 200, as follows:

Resolution No. 200—Atlantic City, N. J., June 10, 1919. To Samuel Gompers, President, American Federation of Labor.

Dear Sir and Brother:

On behalf of the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen, as president of that organization, I herewith appeal through you to the officers and delegates of the Thirty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled against the action of the Executive Council in suspending the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen.

This appeal is based on the grounds that the report of Committee on Executive Council's Report, of St. Paul Convention, relative to Resolution No. 54, as adopted by St. Paul Convention, did not authorize the Executive Council of A. F. of L. to suspend either organization for failure to accept the plan of amalgamation as submitted by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

I, therefore, request that this appeal be given proper consideration. Fraternally yours, International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen.

W. M. WELSH,
General President.

Your committee believes that an error has been committed in suspending the charter of the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen and while we regret the failure to provide terms of amalgamation mutually satisfactory, the committee

recommends the immediate reinstatement to membership of this organization and further recommends that this subject and the points in controversy be referred back to the Executive Council with direction to cause an early conference to be held between the representatives of the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen, the International Brotherhood of Steam and Operating Engineers, the Building Trades Department, and the Mining Department of the A. F. of L., for the purpose of making additional efforts to bring about amicable and satisfactory terms of amalgamation.

Delegate Snellings, Steam and Operating Engineers: We are opposed to the report of the committee. The St. Paul convention referred this entire matter to the Executive Council, with instructions to bring about amalgamation of the two organizations. Several conferences were held. At the final one, before the Executive Council, a plan of amalgamation, reported by the Council, was drawn up. The engineers accepted the decision of the Council; we were ready to accept and are now ready to accept every member of the Steam Shovel and Dredgemen in our organization. We felt the matter was settled until the Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen refused to comply with the decision. Then the matter was referred to this convention by the Executive Council's report. If the report of the committee is adopted it means another year of turmoil, strikes, and lockouts in the building industry of this country.

The Steam Shovel and Dredgemen have recently sent out circulars to our employers telling them they are ready to furnish engineers on building construction, and guaranteeing there will be no strikes where their men are working. We do not send out circulars of that kind, because we are always ready to strike in defense of ourselves and others. These matters and others were submitted to the Executive Council, and the Council in its judgment saw fit to suspend this charter and order amalgamation.

Delegate Hutcheson, United Brotherhood of Carpenters, discussed the question briefly. He referred to the conditions that have prevailed in the building industry, caused by the conflicts between hoisting engineers and steam shovel and dredgemen, and in concluding his discussion said: "I am not going to make any comments on the action of the Executive Council other than to say that it was going to be the means of bringing about a settlement of this controversy and leaving the building industry in a condition to proceed uninterruptedly, and I hope the report of the committee will not be concurred in but that the action of the Executive Council will be, because it will mean bringing about an adjustment of the controversy so that men in other trades

may proceed with their work without interruption and the building industry proceed in a harmonious manner.

Delegate Walker, Mine Workers, stated that he felt that some agreement could be worked out by which amalgamation could be brought about. He referred to the turmoil caused by the dispute between the two organizations in the past, and in concluding said: "These men, I think, earnestly and honestly want to bring about an amalgamation. I do not think they want anything but an agreement that will enable them to protect their interests as steam shovelmen. I believe they would be willing to go into the engineer's organization on a basis that would satisfy them if they could have that provision made for their protection. I do not believe they will go on any other basis, and my opinion is that if the Executive Council's recommendation is adopted and the report of the committee defeated, instead of bringing about harmony, as Delegate Hutcheson apparently believes, it will cause more dissension than anything else will do. If you defeat the committee's report and attempt to enforce the recommendation of the Executive Council the only thing you will succeed in doing will be to drive about 8,000 good union men out of the labor movement."

Vice-President Mahon and Vice-President Duffy discussed the question and called attention to the conferences held between the two organizations and members of the Executive Council, and the final meeting in which a plan was drawn up which was agreed to by representatives of both organizations.

Delegate Donlin, President of the Building Trades Department, described the turmoil in the building trades industry caused by the dispute between engineers and the steam shovel and dredgemen. He stated that the Building Trades Department opposed the recommendation of the committee and desired to have the jurisdiction claim settled. He recommended that the committee's report be defeated and the report of the Executive Committee adopted.

President Gompers in the chair.

Vice-President Green discussed the question and said in part: "I think it can safely be said that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor always moves deliberately and with very great care when dealing with the jurisdictional rights of organizations. There was no exception in this case. In accordance with the instructions of the St. Paul convention every effort was made to bring about an amalgamation between the engineers and steam shovel and dredgemen. The council made a decision, sent it out, and my impression is that both organizations accepted it. Now we find the steam shovel and dredgemen refusing to acquiesce in a decision they agreed to accept and come before this convention

appealing from the action of the Executive Council. I cannot understand how we are going to bring about amalgamations of trades so that jurisdictional disputes shall be minimized and if possible eliminated, unless the processes by which they are brought about are approved by the action of organizations in the American Federation of Labor convention."

Secretary Woll: I arise to make an explanation for the committee. The committee in basing its report, so far as the suspension of the organization was concerned, was guided by the statements that were made to the committee and by the report of the committee on Executive Council's report last year, which report did not specifically delegate to the Executive Council the power of suspension.

I am free to say, and the Chairman of this committee agrees with me, and other members of the committee have voiced their opinion since this report has been made, that if they had known of an agreement between the two contending parties they would be

guided by the terms of an amalgamation that would be determined by the Executive Council and live up to it, this committee would be the last to recommend that there is no honor in contracts, that there is no honor in agreements to abide by decisions reached. Your committee's report was founded entirely on information we had received. Those members of the committee who have voiced their opinion to the chairman and secretary agree with us in our position that had we known that both organizations had agreed to abide by whatever award would be made by the Executive Council we should have sustained that report of the Executive Council.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was lost.

Delegate Cannon asked for a roll call. The roll was not called, as the request was not supported by a sufficient number of delegates.

At 12.30 the convention was adjourned to 2.30 p. m.

NINTH DAY—Thursday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2.30 p. m., Thursday, June 19th, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Clarke, Sharon, Rincker, Leonard, Coogan, Fitts, Herbert, Elliott, Berger, Hastings, Catterson, Shea, Schultz, Lounson, Johnson (E. D.), Mullen, White, Setzer, Colvin, Stethmeyer, Lawson, Enright, Dawson, Simpson, Chandler, Wilkinson, Ashmun, Rynerson, Bower, Broderick, Draper, Young (C. B.), Thomas (L. N.), Ogletree, Framp-ton, Hoffman, Newmyer, Gildas, Galloway, Dill, Yarrow, Bryan, Harlin, Davis (E. F.), Ely, Howard, Iglesias, Croaff, Furrell.

President Gompers: The report of the committee on the Engineers, Steam Shovel and Dredgemen was defeated. What is the pleasure of the convention?

Delegate Berry, Printing Pressmen: I move that the action of the Executive Council upon this subject be endorsed and that they be instructed to call a conference of representatives of the Mining Department, the Building Trades Department, and the two international unions interested, with a view of carrying into operation the amalgamation plan submitted by the Executive Council. (Seconded.)

Delegate O'Connor, Longshoremen: In the arrangement made for a conference neither of the parties mentioned represents the dredgemen; the dredgemen are one hundred per cent. part of the International Longshoremen and have been for eighteen

years working under closed-shop agreements made by the Longshoremen. This resolution as proposed by Delegate Berry does not provide for the dredgemen. The Longshoremen have no objection to the dredgemen belonging to the Steam Engineers, they have no objection to their belonging to the Steam Shovel Men, but if they work on a dredge it is a sure thing they are going to belong to the Longshoremen. We have had those men for eighteen years and we are not going to give them up under any such arrangement as is being provided for here. There is nobody here speaking for those men. I would request that the word "dredgemen" be stricken out of these whole proceedings. You cannot make men amalgamate without giving them a hearing.

Delegate Berry: I have no objection to including the Longshoremen in my motion.

Delegate Snellings: We will be perfectly happy to have the Longshoremen help us.

The motion proposed by Delegate Berry was carried.

Electrical Workers—Engineers

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, your committee reports as follows:

Your committee was deeply impressed with the grave consequences involved in any decision that may be made in this controversy; and because of its highly tech-

nical features your committee recommends that the President of the American Federation of Labor be authorized and directed to select a committee of five men who by training and experience are competent to judge the technical trade questions involved to make an investigation of the points at issue and that this committee submit its report to the Executive Council, which, after further conference with the two organizations in dispute, shall render such decision and make such disposition of this controversy as in its opinion the results of the investigation warrant.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Jewelry Workers, Metal Polishers, Machinists

Your committee recommends approval and endorsement of the report of the Executive Council on this subject.

The committee also reports on Resolution No. 51, which is in effect a request to reopen this matter. The resolution is as follows:

Resolution No. 110—By Delegate A. Greenstein, of the International Jewelry Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, Upon request of the Metal Polishers and Buffers' Union and the International Association of Machinists, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has ordered the International Jewelry Workers' Union to segregate and transfer part of its members to the above mentioned unions; and

WHEREAS, Said decision of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor was, in the judgment of the International Jewelry Workers' Union, based upon inadequate information regarding conditions prevailing in the jewelry industry; and

WHEREAS, After presenting more data and additional evidence proving the impossibility of retaining the International Jewelry Workers' Union intact, after the transfer of so-called polishers and so-called tool makers to the above-named unions, a new hearing was not granted by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates in the Thirty-ninth Convention assembled grant the appeal of the International Jewelry Workers' Union to re-open the case of jurisdiction dispute between the International Jewelry Workers' Union, Metal Polishers' Union and Machinists' Association; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council after the close of this convention invite the three unions involved in this dispute to settle the matter in dispute by an amicable understanding for the mutual benefit of all concerned.

Your committee, in considering this resolution, was advised by its introducer that if a re-opening of the controversy was allowed it would agree to abide by whatever further decision would be made in this mat-

ter. Your committee thereupon prepared a statement to that effect to be signed by the introducers of this resolution which, however, the introducers declined to agree to. Your committee therefore recommends non-concurrence in this resolution.

It was moved and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in.

(The discussion which followed was jointly on the recommendation of the committee on that portion of the Executive Council's Report under the caption, "Jewelry Workers-Metal Polishers-Machinists," and the recommendation of the committee on Resolution No. 110. The vote, however, was taken separately on the two propositions.)

Delegation Greenstein, Jewelry Workers, in defending his position in refusing to sign the statement referred to in the committee's report, stated that he had no authority to do so without consulting the membership of his organization. He referred to their difficulties with the Bastian Company in Rochester, N. Y., and asked that the case be re-opened, so that a full and impartial investigation might be made.

Delegate James Wilson, chairman of the committee, stated it was the desire of the committee to bring about the thing the Jewelry Workers desired, and with that in mind submitted to the delegate representing that organization a statement addressed to the President of the American Federation of Labor in which it was proposed that the Jewelry Workers would abide by whatever decision was reached. The refusal of the delegates to sign this statement left no other alternative for the committee than to bring in the report as submitted.

Delegate Koveleski, Hotel and Restaurant Employees, made a statement and read letters to show that the Bastian Company was willing to recognize the demands of organized labor, and that it was organized through the efforts of the American Federation of Labor and the Central Body in Rochester.

Delegate Sullivan, Salt Lake City Federation of Labor, spoke in behalf of the appeal of the Jewelry Workers, and made statements to the effect that the Metal Polishers and Machinists had made no effort to organize the men now in controversy until after the Jewelry Workers had begun operations.

Delegate Leary, Metal Polishers, and Delegate Brown, Machinists, denied the statement made by Delegate Sullivan relative to the failure of their respective organizations to organize the men in question.

Delegate Beardsley, Jewelry Workers, defended their position and concurred in the statement of Delegate Greenstein that they had no authority to sign the statement as requested by the committee without consulting their membership. He then dealt

in detail with the jurisdictional feature of the matter and explained why they believed they should have control over the men they were claiming, namely, the die and tool makers.

President Gompers: The Chair desires to ask a question of the Jewelry Workers' representatives. The Chair assumes, and thinks he assumes fairly, that there is no desire to do an injustice to the Jewelry Workers. The committee reported that the representatives of the Jewelry Workers appeared before the committee and orally stated that if the case were re-opened they would abide by the decision, but they declined to sign a statement to that effect. Will the delegates from the Jewelry Workers' International Union pledge to this convention that they will submit to the rank and file of their membership the proposition that, upon the re-opening of the case and the making of an investigation and the rendering of the award, the membership will, within thirty days, pledge themselves through the officers to abide by the finding and the award?

Delegate Beardsley: In answer to the question I will state that we will submit such a question to our membership.

President Gompers: And within thirty days obtain an answer and a vote conferring the power to agree to the decision reached?

Delegate Beardsley: We will.

President Gompers: Does your colleague agree with that declaration?

Delegate Greenstein: Whatever decision will be rendered by this convention will be submitted for referendum vote to the membership of the Jewelry Workers' International Union, and after they have been given time to vote the vote will be sent to the American Federation of Labor.

Secretary Woll, of the committee, stated that Delegate Greenstein, after agreeing to sign the statement requested by the committee, later refused to carry out that promise, and that in his viewpoint he did not believe the delegate was sincere in the matter.

In answering Secretary Woll, Delegate Greenstein said that, after consulting his colleagues, he agreed to sign the statement if it was not injurious to his organization and if there was some provision in it whereby their rights would be guaranteed. He further expressed the opinion that the statement submitted to him was injurious to the membership of his organization.

Delegate Brown, Machinists: May I ask Delegate Greenstein a question, through the chair? In the event an investigation is made and the result is submitted to the rank and file of the Jewelry Workers, will the delegates recommend their membership that they concur in the wishes of this convention, or rather in the findings of the investigation?

Delegate Greenstein: The members are the sole judges of their action.

Delegate Hilfers, Essex (N. J.), Trades Council, advised the Jewelry Workers' representative to recommend to their membership that they abide by the decision rendered.

Upon motion debate was closed.

The report of the committee upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption, "Jewelry Workers—Metal Polishers—Machinists" was adopted.

Delegate Greenstein then asked the following question. Does that mean that if we do abide by the decision of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, we have to do no more nor less than recognize that those metal polishers come under the jurisdiction of the Metal Polishers' International Union and that the International Association of Machinists has jurisdiction over tool and die makers? Does it mean more than that?

President Gompers: The chair can only answer the question by saying that the report of the Executive Council as adopted by this convention declares distinctively upon these subjects. It means neither more nor less.

The report of the committee on Resolution No. 51 was adopted.

Resolution No. 51—By Delegates W. W. Britton, George Leary and H. C. Diehl, of the Metal Polishers' International Union.

WHEREAS, The International Jewelry Workers' Union have persistently refused to obey the mandates of the American Federation of Labor as expressed by the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. and the St. Paul convention of the A. F. of L., and are continuing to solicit and accept as members into their organization those workers who rightfully come under the jurisdiction of the Metal Polishers' International Union, the International Sheet Metal Workers' Amalgamated Alliance, the International Association of Machinists; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-ninth Convention of the American Federation of Labor suspend the charter of the Jewelry Workers' Union until such times as they comply with the mandates of the American Federation of Labor as expressed by the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., and the St. Paul Convention.

Your committee recommends reference of this resolution to the Executive Council with authority to suspend the charter of the Jewelry Workers' Union, but preceding such action it is the opinion of your committee that further efforts should be made to have his organization comply with the decisions of the American Federation of Labor and to adjust the differences at issue.

It was moved and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate Connors, Switchmen: The committee's report, as I understand it, authorizes the suspension of the charter of the Jewelry Workers' Union, after an investi-

gation by the Executive Council. As I understand the constitution of the American Federation of Labor, a charter can only be revoked by a two-thirds majority vote of this convention. Is that correct?

President Gompers: A revocation of the charter, yes, but the committee's report does not recommend revocation. Conventions of the American Federation of Labor have recognised the difference between a revocation and a suspension. An organization whose charter is revoked cannot have that charter restored to it except by direction and due application for the charter. A suspension of a charter implies that, immediately upon the organization complying with the decision of the convention, it automatically is reinstated.

Delegate Greenstein, Jewelry Workers, raised objection to the reference of Resolution No. 51 to the Committee on Executive Council's Report, claiming that since it involved a jurisdictional dispute, about which he knew nothing, it should have been referred to the Committee on Adjustment.

President Gompers stated that he had been guided by his best judgment in assigning the resolution to the Committee on Executive Council's Report, which was dealing with other matters pertaining to the Jewelry Workers, and that if a request had been made for a re-assignment of the resolution to some other committee that request would have been given due consideration.

The report of the committee was adopted. Vice-President Duffy in the chair.

Reconstruction Program

On this subject your committee submits the following report and recommendation. The dislocations in our social, industrial and political relations by reason of the necessities of war have been as varied in nature as they have been grave in character. One of the most pronounced and most far-reaching results is the realization of the workers' rights, duties and responsibilities in the structure of society, industry and of government.

Conscious as never heretofore of its power, labor will no longer rest content under a system which treats the workers as a commodity or an article of commerce. The workers have reached that status and have come to that determination which demands treatment of equality with all other men and women in modern society. They now insist on the full observance of their rights of free men to the opportunity of a full value and a full compensation for services rendered on a basis that will enable all to enjoy the higher things in life rather than merely exist near the line beyond which we find human misery and which spells human bankruptcy.

The great value of the Report of the Special

Committee on Reconstruction, which has received the unanimous approval of the Executive Council, lies in its compilation in consecutive order of the fundamental, the most important and most urgent subjects and relations to which organized labor must apply itself diligently and unwaveringly if the workers are to make permanent progress and gain in the struggle between democracy and autocracy in our industrial life.

The reconstruction program submitted in brief recommends: Remedies against unemployment; demands adequate wages; declares labor's rights to fix its own working hours; demands protection of women and children in industry; favors co-operative institutions of farmers and similar producing agencies; favors curbing the power of the courts to make and unmake laws; favors full participation of labor in politics; but disapproves of partisan politics, favors public ownership or control or regulation of public and semi-public utilities; favors public extension of waterways and public ownership and development of water power; urges a minimum of land tendencies and favors farm ownership with public aid; would curb corporate power; insists upon a full return of freedom of speech and press; would prohibit immigration for two years and restrict it thereafter; would tax in proportion to the income of persons or property; favors state colleges for workingmen's children and demands a voice for labor in conducting industrial education; urges government aid in building homes; opposes large standing armies; favors help for soldiers and as an urgent and immediate remedial measure urges the payment of salaries to returning soldiers and sailors for a limited period after discharge.

Your committee recommends approval of this program, not because it belives it all comprehensive but fundamental; not because of its idealism but because of its practicability; not because of its novelty but because it is founded on experience and justice. Your committee believes the program highly constructive in character and excellently designed to benefit not only a part of society but to bring to all the people greater hope for a better day, a brighter life, greater liberty and a larger degree of prosperity and happiness.

It was moved and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in.

In response to an inquiry by Delegate Schlesinger, Lady Garment Workers, as to the nature of the committee's report, Secretary Woll stated that it had reference to continuing the labor policies heretofore framed by the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Schlesinger: Does the American Federation of Labor go on record as being opposed to the new labor parties formed in several States?

Secretary Woll: That subject will be acted upon under another head.

Labor's Political Policy

Your committee having considered this subject presents the following for your consideration:

No one will gainsay or deny the importance of political action on the part of wage earners in their constant struggle to right the wrongs and to secure to the workers a full and equal opportunity to life and liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Differences arise not on the principle of political action but to the extent to which economic trade union determinism should be supplemented by political parliamentarism and the methods and procedure by which the political power and influence of the wage earners should be manifested.

As indicated in the report of the Executive Council the American Federation of Labor has not attempted to interfere with the attitude or inclination of any of its affiliated international unions either to encourage, limit, restrict or prohibit their membership in this field of endeavor though it has counselled and advised that procedure which would permit of full development and uninterrupted advantages of economic trade union determinism. In that counsel and advice it has been followed by nearly all, if not all, of the international trade unions. Nearly all, if not all, have predicated membership in their organization on the guarantee of the right to political freedom. Recognizing the necessity for legislative redress in more general affairs they have designed their rules and regulations to encourage the workers in the exercise of their political suffrage so as to favor helpful legislation and promote to public office and authority aspirants who are known to be friendly and helpful to labor regardless of their political affiliations.

The wisdom of this attitude and procedure is well demonstrated by the many efficient and proficient economic trade union organizations which now dominate in our industrial life.

Insofar as Central Labor Unions are concerned, equal freedom is allowed and the same counsel and advice is extended, though the activities of these federated bodies are further restricted in that they are prevented from invading the rights and prerogatives and from disregarding the guarantees to the complete autonomy accorded to all affiliated international unions.

Considered from this point of view the relations, attitudes and activities of the many organizations comprising the American Federation of Labor cannot be interfered with without subjecting ourselves to the dangerous and harmful consequences which necessarily and logically follow the sweeping aside of the

rights, privileges and guarantees of our associated organizations.

That there is room for improvement in the efficient exercise of the political power of the wage earners is freely admitted. The dangers of exercising this power from a purely partisan political stand-point is convincingly portrayed in the report of the Executive Council. With the increasing tendency to place employes in public and semi-public utilities under public and governmental control there is an increasing need of more closely solidifying the forces of labor in all their varied manifestations and in such a manner as not to interfere with the workers freedom of choice and freedom of action. To render ineffective or to hamper in any degree or to lessen the importance and value of trade union economic determinism merely to attain possession of political authority to place into dominance political parliamentarism will not have been a gain but a loss to the advancement of the workers, to a fuller, a freer, a better and a nobler life.

For these reasons and for those contained in the Executive Council's Report, as well as for the reasons set forth in the report of the Committee on Reconstruction, your committee recommends concurrence in the guidance of the Executive Council on this subject, and further recommends the continuance of the policies which have heretofore governed the political activities of the American Federation of Labor.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Department of Labor

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, your committee reports as follows:

The Executive Council has presented a most interesting report on the Department of Labor and upon the obstructive attitude that Congress has persistently displayed toward this department of the Government, which has so much to do with the welfare of the workers of America.

The purposes of this department are to foster, promote and develop the welfare of the wage-earners of our nation and to improve their working conditions and to advance their opportunities for profitable employment. Yet every effort made to attain these ends has been frowned on by Congress. While the purposes of the organic act creating this department are broad and comprehensive in principle, Congress by technical interpretation and by parliamentary rules and procedure has narrowly circumscribed the functions of this great governmental bureau.

No more astounding disregard to the interest and well-being of the workers of our country has been manifested than in the niggardly appropriations which Congress has al-

lowed this Department to advance the workers' opportunities for profitable employment.

We are advised by the Executive Council that Congress in its last appropriation allowed only the sum of \$4,171,320 to advance the interests of the workers, and who constitute the great majority of the people, while \$25,583,206 was contributed to promote the commercial interests, the employing financial speculative interests of our country. Still more astounding is the fact that while only \$4,171,320 was allowed to promote profitable employment of the wage-earners, \$31,691,562 was allowed by Congress to promote the interests and advance the value of the possessions of the farming interests of our nation.

These figures not only indicate that Congress considers money, cattle and the like of greater value than the welfare and well-being of men, women and children, but they also present remarkable proof of a subtle political influence at work to dominate and control the destiny of our government and its people.

Your committee does not desire to restrict or limit or to interfere with the proper encouragement and development of the agricultural interests of our country, or limit the commercial endeavors of our people, but as expressed by the Executive Council, we do believe that the wage earners of our nation are entitled to equal consideration and to an equal appropriation allowed to all other departments of the government. We therefore urge that all local unions take immediate steps to impress this demand on their respective senators and congressmen and that the officers of the American Federation of Labor manifest this demand to the President of the United States and impress it strongly upon Congress. Your committee urges that efforts be made to secure adequate appropriations to efficiently maintain all such departments within the Department of Labor which it deems helpful and needful for the promotion and advancement of the interests of the wage-earners.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Resolutions Nos. 11, 38 and 198, all dealing with the same subject matter, were reported upon jointly. The resolutions are as follows:

Resolution No. 11.—By Delegate John B. Colpoys, of the Washington Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, After many years of effort on the part of the American Federation of Labor, through its President, Executive Council and the International Unions, there was created by act of Congress, a department of the government, known as the Department of Labor, the organic act creating it stating as its fundamental duties to be, "To foster and promote the interests of the working people," and

WHEREAS, This Department has been presided over by Hon. William B. Wilson, under whose guidance yeoman service has been rendered to the cause of humanity, through improvements which have been brought about in the conditions of the working people by the aid and assistance given them by agencies of this department; and

WHEREAS, During the period of the war several new divisions were created which have proved to be of invaluable assistance to the working people of this country and the continuance of which will materially aid their conditions if they are allowed to be made permanent adjuncts to this department; and

WHEREAS, The potency of the Department of Labor can be raised or lowered in accordance with the sympathy towards the just aspiration of the toilers, in so far as its official head may know these needs, together with appropriations which Congress may pass for the maintenance of this department; and

WHEREAS, The Departments of Agriculture and Commerce, two departments of our government which have been created to render assistance to the farmers and business interests, respectively, have been dealt with liberally in the matter of appropriations by which they have been of material assistance to the classes they represent; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates to the Thirty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, commend the Hon. William B. Wilson for the able manner in which he has directed the work of the Department of Labor and that we pledge ourselves to lend every assistance in having Congress appropriate funds that this department may grow in efficiency in its efforts to further the conditions of the toilers; and further

RESOLVED, That the Legislative Committee be instructed to render every assistance possible toward having Congress appropriate money for the expansions which will aid the toilers and that the delegates from the State Federations and City Central Labor Unions have their Secretaries write to the Senators, from their States and the members of the House of Representatives urging upon them to aid in having the Department of Labor adequately provided for in the matter of appropriations; and further

RESOLVED, That the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor send a copy of this resolution to each city and State body affiliated, and to the President of the United States, Senate and the Speaker or the House of Representatives.

Resolution No. 38.—By Delegate George Sauter, of the Central Labor Union, Wilmington, Del. Continuation of the United States Employment Service of the U. S. Department of Labor.

RESOLVED, That the Wilmington Central Labor Union goes on record as favoring the continuation of the United States Employment Service of the Department of Labor, on lines as comprehensive as the service was conducted during the period of war was on; this organization realizing fully that the public employment office system

is a necessity to bring in closer contact the jobless man and the manless job.

Resolution No. 198—By Delegate T. M. Daly, New York Central Federated Union.

WHEREAS, The United States Employment Service was of very great benefit to the unemployed workers of the country for more than a year; and

WHEREAS, It brought many thousands seeking work into contact with employers seeking labor, to the mutual advantage of both; and

WHEREAS, The Department of Labor was compelled to reduce this very necessary public service through the failure of the Senate of the United States to pass the appropriations for the continuance of the United States Employment Service; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor do earnestly request the present Congress to grant the appropriations asked for by the Secretary of Labor for the continuance of the Free Employment Bureau before the beginning of the next fiscal year; and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of these resolutions be forwarded to the President of the United States, to the Secretary of Labor and to members of both Houses of Congress.

These three resolutions deal with the same subject, which matter has been favorably acted on by the convention on the report of this committee on Resolution No. 113. In view of this action of the convention, your committee believes that no further action is required on these resolutions, and so recommends.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Resolutions Nos. 64 and 190 were acted upon jointly by the committee. The resolutions are as follows:

Resolution No. 64—By Delegate C. F. Grone, of the International Association of Machinists, and Delegate J. P. Noonan, of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

WHEREAS, The workers of America are paying an enormous toll in life and limb in industrial accidents, there being over 700,000 accidents, including 25,000 fatalities, considered by compensation boards each year; and

WHEREAS, A large proportion of these accidents could and should be prevented; and

WHEREAS, There are important industrial sections in which there is little or no public action being taken to prevent such accidents; and

WHEREAS, There is great need for improvement in and extension of methods and devices for safeguarding the lives of the workers, and of crystallizing the very best practice into sets of rules for various branches of industry, thus making for greater efficiency and uniformity in safety standards; and

WHEREAS, The Federal Government should actively participate in the development and formulation of such safety standards; and

WHEREAS, The conditions of labor have already been greatly improved by the Working Conditions Service of the Department of Labor by the application of the Federal safety standards in Federal industrial establishments, by

the safety work of the Bureau of Mines, in the mining industry, and by the general safety work of the Bureau of Standards, particularly in investigations leading to uniformity of requirements, and in the consulting engineering service rendered state and city authorities; and

WHEREAS, A recent conference called by the Bureau of Standards and attended by delegates of nearly a hundred national organizations, representing all interests concerned, agreed upon the need for developing a set of national industrial safety codes; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That in the interests of labor this work should be actively continued and extended, and that adequate support should be provided for the active participation of the appropriate Government bureaus in the undertaking; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be transmitted to the members of the Committee on Labor of the United States House of Representatives, and of the Committee on Education and Labor of the United States Senate, and to the Secretaries of Labor, Commerce, Interior, War and Navy.

Resolution No. 190—By Delegate Harry W. Fox, of the Wyoming Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Secretary of Labor William B. Wilson caused to be created, as a war necessity, certain bureaus or services in the Department of Labor that have been found in peace time as well as in war; and

WHEREAS, The Appropriation Committee of the last Congress failed to recommend an appropriation to carry on the work in an effective manner of certain of these services, to wit, the Woman in Industry Service, and the Working Conditions Service, and so limited the appropriation for the Employment Office Service that this was first seriously crippled and threatens to suspend operation; and

WHEREAS, In our opinion, the continued operation and conduct of these various services are essential to the best interests of the industrial population of this country; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in Thirty-ninth Annual Convention assembled, that we heartily endorse these various services and the splendid work performed by the Federal Department of Labor and demand that the present session of Congress enact such legislation as will make these a permanent part of the Labor Department and pass the necessary appropriations for their maintenance.

These resolutions are intended to secure sufficient appropriations for the maintenance and efficient continued operation of certain bureaus and services in the Department of Labor. In view of the fact that this subject has been fully covered in the committee's report relating to that part of the Executive Council's report having to do with the Department of Labor, your committee recommends reference of these resolutions to the Executive Council to be considered in connection with the authorization and direction recommended for observance by the Executive Council in this matter.

Proposed Amalgamation of Textile Workers

Your committee has not only considered the report of the Executive Council on this subject, but has given careful consideration to the repre-

sentations made to it by all parties at interest. Your committee is firmly impressed with the necessity of co-ordinating and amalgamating all of the several branches of work within the textile industries. We believe it wrong for any branch of an industry so closely interwoven with all other branches to remain aloof from the general movement. We find, too, that the terms of amalgamation proposed by the Executive Council in its report are just and fair and well designed to bring unity among all the branches within the textile industry.

Your committee therefore recommends approval of the Council's recommendations on this subject, urges the extension of time for the amalgamation recommended by the Council, calls upon those not at present associated with the United Textile Workers of America to affiliate themselves with that organization, and directs the Executive Council to continue its good offices and efforts in this direction.

It was moved and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate Fleming, Spinners, opposed the report of the committee, mainly on the grounds that the spinners were a separate and distinct industry and were in existence many years before the organization of the textile workers.

Delegate Conboy, Textile Workers, refuted certain statements made by Delegate Fleming in his discussion relative to the textile workers and presented figures to show the growth of the organization in recent years.

Delegate Golden, Textile Workers, also made a statement in defense of the position of his organization, and challenged a remark made by Delegate Kingsley, Newport, Rhode Island Federation of Labor, to the effect that in the opinion of many people in New England, the success of the recent strike in Lawrence was due to the I. W. W. and the independent factions of the textile workers.

The report of the committee was adopted by the convention.

President Gompers in the chair.

Resolution No. 177—By Delegate Urban Fleming, International Spinners' Union.

WHEREAS, The conventions of the American Federation of Labor at Buffalo and St. Paul adopted resolutions, etc., proposing an amalgamation of textile unions, with the hope and purpose of bringing all the national and local textile unions into one harmonious organization; and

WHEREAS, There appears to be no possibility of bringing about such a result upon the basis proposed by the representatives of the United Textile Workers of America, or of the committee of the A. F. of L., because of their failure to take into consideration all the factors entering into such a proposition as the entire and unified amalgamation of all existing organizations; and

WHEREAS, There are now outside the fold of the United Textile Workers such national organizations as the Wool Sorters and Graders, Loomfixers, Weavers, Full-fashioned Hosiery

Workers, Lace Operatives, Carders, Spinners and Slaughter Tenders; and

WHEREAS, The membership of these organizations is about 40,000, and who, under present conditions, refuse to sacrifice their national entities and affiliate with the U. T. W. as local unions; and

WHEREAS, There are some 900,000 unorganized textile workers in this country that should be organized, but whom it is impossible to bring into the organized labor movement as at present proposed by the U. T. W.; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention approve the real amalgamation of the above-mentioned national unions, and the organizing of the unorganized; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., within sixty (60) days after the adjournment of this convention, or as soon thereafter as possible, shall call for a convention of representatives of these various organizations with the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., for the purpose of securing their assent to amalgamation into an international federation of textile workers, providing for the craft autonomy of each, their craft affiliation with the A. F. of L., and their harmonious and successful prosecution of an organizing campaign; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the conclusions reached by this convention shall be reported back to the next convention of each organization represented, and that the representative or representatives of said organizations shall urge its acceptance by their conventions.

Because of the reasons set forth on the subject of the proposed amalgamation of the textile workers, we recommend non-concurrence in this resolution.

It was moved and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

The question was discussed briefly by Delegate Fleming, of the Spinners' International Union, and by Delegate McMahon, of the United Textile Workers, after which the report of the committee was adopted.

At this point President Gompers presented to Fraternal Delegate S. Finney, representing the British Trades Union Congress, a gold watch as a souvenir of his visit to the convention.

Delegate Finney made a brief speech in which he thanked the delegates for their cordiality and for the gift.

Secretary Woll continued the report of the Committee on Executive Council's Report, as follows:

Porto Rican Conditions and Porto Rico

Under these captions there is set forth in detail the intolerant conditions to which the wage-earners of Porto Rico have been constantly subjected. Your committee cannot too strongly impress this convention with the necessity of making every possible effort to right the wrongs which are being perpetrated on the wage-earners of this possession of our nation. Unfortunately, the Bureau of Insular Affairs of the War Department has failed to exercise that power it

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possesses over Porto Rico to the advantage of the people of this island, and it is our belief that the control over this possession of our nation should be transferred to the Department of Interior.

Your committee is also of the opinion that the Executive Council should give every possible assistance in furthering the legislative program proposed by the Porto Rican trade unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

We are in full accord with the complaint of these workers regarding the evils and oppression of the monopolies whose profits are taken from the industrial masses by compelling the wage-earners to labor under the lowest and most miserable conditions of work. All necessary and adequate steps should be taken to relieve this situation and to subject the non-resident owners to the same restrictions and conditions which apply in the United States.

Your committee also urges that the charges against Arthur Yager, Governor of Porto Rico, should be again presented to President Wilson and that organized labor's protest should be continued until he has been removed from this position of power and influence.

If we are to aid the trade union movement of Porto Rico, it is essential that we exercise that support and influence during this period of reconstruction so as to increase the number of organizations and membership, which now approximate 143 organizations, with 18,000 members, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

It is reported that the Porto Rican American Tobacco Company, since December 31, 1918, has locked out all of its employees, involving approximately 15,000 men and women. This industrial conflict covers seventeen cities and towns and involves almost the entire tobacco industry. We here in America can and should assist these workers by refusing to purchase goods manufactured by this or other oppressive corporate combinations.

Your committee is of the firm conviction that proper labor conditions are of more importance to Porto Rico than any other proposal that can be suggested; and to attain improvements in these conditions, your committee recommends that the President of the American Federation of Labor be authorized and directed to appoint a committee of three to visit the island for the purpose of investigating labor conditions, to submit their report to the Executive Council, and that thereafter the Executive Council take such steps to give the widest possible publicity to the information obtained of existing conditions to the end that the recall of Governor Yager may be hastened, that necessary legislation may be enacted to give to the people of Porto Rico a civil form of government and that the affairs of this island may be taken out of the hands of the Bureau of Insular Affairs of the War Depart-

ment in order to bring into the lives and homes of these people the hope for a better and a freer life and greater opportunities for the enjoyment thereof.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Workmen's Compensation

Under this caption the Executive Council records the difficulties encountered in the application of existing workmen's compensation laws where the question of state and national jurisdiction is involved. Your committee is not prepared, nor does it believe, that it is required to submit a remedy on such a highly technical legal question. Your committee fully appreciates the necessity of overcoming the difficulties presented and recommends that the Executive Council shall be vested with authority to give this subject further attention and to employ legal counsel if necessary to assist it in determining the best remedial legislative measures which should be favored in overcoming the difficulties involved.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Delegate Brown, Machinists, asked whether or not it was possible to say whether the convention would complete its work by the end of the week.

President Gompers stated the answer to Delegate Brown's question would depend upon the amount of time consumed by the delegates in speaking on the questions before the convention.

Delegate Brown then moved that the convention remain in session beyond the adjournment hour provided in the rules, until such time as it saw fit to adjourn.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Health Insurance

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption your committee reports as follows:

It must be apparent to all who have given this subject serious attention that it is one possessed of great good and at the same time fraught with much danger. Your committee regrets that time did not permit the Executive Council to give this subject that consideration so essential to a fair and intelligent determination of the principles involved, as well as to the methods of application and procedure necessarily entailed. Because of the importance of this subject, and by reason of the vast consequences involved, your committee recommends concurrence in the request for further investigation and consideration of this matter by the Executive Council, and for similar reasons, expresses the opinion that the final conclusion which may be reached by the Executive Council shall be referred to the next coming convention of the American Federation of Labor for final disposition.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Year Book

The problems of labor are admittedly the gravest social and economic problems emerging out of the world's conflict. Quite a number of thoughts, many of them old, but expressed in more modern phraseology, are being advanced for the solution of these complexing and perplexing problems. It is therefore essential that the wage-earners of America should have accurate knowledge of the many difficulties which the wage-earners have been called on to overcome heretofore. It is still more essential that they should be thoroughly familiar with the methods the American labor movement has heretofore applied in the solution of the difficulties which have continually presented themselves.

In the affairs now confronting our people the American wage-earner will be either a bewildered spectator or a conscious director, dependent upon the preference in America of the American mind. We must know the labor movement of America as it has developed in our own country to understand the movements and methods necessary to meet the economic wants and needs of the wage-earners of today and tomorrow.

Your committee therefore welcomes the publishing of the Year Book by the A. F. of L. and this attempt to supply this knowledge to the American wage-earners in a concrete, understandable form. We believe this Year Book a splendid guide in the solution of the many problems confronting the wage-earners, and that it is a work worthy of the highest commendation. This book should be in the hands of every wage-earner, every trade union official, every library—private as well as public—every publication and every student and sympathizer of the labor movement of America.

Your committee therefore urges that the officers of the American Federation of Labor and the officers of affiliated organizations take adequate steps to the end that this work may enter the home and influence the mind and thought of every wage-earner throughout North America.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Canadian Trades and Labor Congress

As indicated in the report of the Executive Council, the appended report of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress and the address of the fraternal delegate of the Canadian labor movement, the trade union movement of Canada and of the affiliated local and international unions in the Dominion of Canada are passing through the trying ordeal of conflicting emotions, passions and moods through which every permanent institution is subjected at some time or other.

While old doctrines and theories, tried and found wanting, are again seeking dominance in Canada, we are confident that out of this clash, turmoil and confusion the trade union movement will emerge stronger, more powerful and influential than ever before in that its soundness and validity will not only have been clearly demonstrated, but that the forces arrayed against the legitimate trade union movement and its activities will have been weakened, if not destroyed.

It is not sufficient, however, that we should remain calm and quiescent in this hour of trial; it is our duty to assert ourselves and help in this period of stress by advice, counsel and active assistance of the older and more experienced leadership of staple organizations of "wage-earners."

Your committee therefore believes that the suggestion of the Executive Council for a readjustment of the method of financial contributions in behalf of directly affiliated local unions with the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress is well directed. The committee is of the further opinion that all affiliated international unions should consider following a similar procedure and that no time should be lost to give proper advice and counsel to their respective membership in Canadian local unions either by communication or personal visitation and by calling their attention to the dangers lurking behind the appeals which are so alluringly made to them and which will divide the wage-earners into separate movements and destroy the effectiveness of their organized forces.

Your committee therefore concurs in that part of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Lithographers—Photo Engravers—Pressmen

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption your committee begs to report that an understanding has been arrived at between the organizations involved to make another effort to adjust existing differences. Your committee therefore recommends holding in abeyance the enforcement of the action of the previous convention until advised by a majority of the three unions involved that the differences cannot be amicably adjusted, at which time the action of the convention will become effective. The understanding arrived at is as follows:

Atlantic City, N. J., June 10, 1919.

Mr. Samuel Gompers, President,
American Federation of Labor.

Dear Sir and Brother:

The undersigned have met in conference as requested by you in a communication under date of April 30, 1919.

We have entered into the subject relative to the jurisdictional controversy and recognized the necessity for a mutual understanding, and consequently it was unanimously agreed that

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each of the associations involved meet through their executive offices in joint conference on or about August 4, 1919, in the city of Chicago.

GEORGE L. BERRY, I. P. P. & A. U.

MATTHEW WOLL, I. P. E. U.

PHILIP BOCK, A. L. of A.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Resolutions Nos. 12 and 30 were reported upon jointly. The resolutions are as follows:

Resolution No. 12—By Delegate J. O. Putnam, of the Panama Canal Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, At the present time there are approximately 3350 American citizens employed by The Panama Canal and Panama Railroad Company on the Canal Zone; and

WHEREAS, About 80 per cent of this force are members of organized labor; and

WHEREAS, The rules and regulations under which they work and live are established by Presidential Executive Orders and Official Circulars, promulgated by the Administration of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad Company; and

WHEREAS, In the drafting, preparation, consideration and adoption of such rules and regulations, these employees have neither representation nor voice as organizations, or the right of franchise as American citizens; and

WHEREAS, The result of such policy of administration, determination of all new laws, rules and regulations affecting large numbers of American citizens, who have no voice or vote, is detrimental to the general welfare of organized labor on the Canal Zone; and

WHEREAS, The issuance of such new rules and regulations from time to time, directly affecting every-day living conditions of employees on the Canal Zone without any reference to them, has caused much discontent; and

WHEREAS, The application of such administrative rule is contrary to American standards and general practice, and directly opposed to the tenets and principles of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The interests of organized labor demand that they be given at least the privilege of review before such rules and regulations become effective; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Panama Canal Federation of Labor (Central Labor Union) call on the officers of the American Federation of Labor to use all means in their power to secure equitable adjustment of these existing conditions; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this resolution be presented to the convention of the American Federation of Labor to be held in Atlantic City, New Jersey, on June 9, 1919, by the delegate from this Central Labor Union, with the view of having same incorporated in the proceedings of the convention.

Resolution No. 30—By Central Labor Union of Balboa, Canal Zone:

WHEREAS, At the present time there are approximately 3350 American citizens employed by the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad Company on the Canal Zone; and

WHEREAS, About 80 per cent of this force are members of organized labor; and

WHEREAS, The rules and regulations under which they work and live are established by Presidential Executive Orders and Official Circulars, promulgated by the Administration of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad Company; and

WHEREAS, In the drafting, preparation, consideration and adoption of such rules and regulations, these employees have neither representation nor voice as organizations, or the right of franchise as American citizens; and

WHEREAS, The result of such policy of administrative determination of all new laws, rules and regulations, affecting large numbers of American citizens, who have no voice or vote, is detrimental to the general welfare of organized labor on the Canal Zone; and

WHEREAS, The issuance of such new rules and regulations from time to time, directly affecting every-day living conditions of employees on the Canal Zone, without any reference to them, has caused much discontent; and

WHEREAS, The application of such administrative rule is contrary to American standards and general practice, and directly opposed to the tenets and principles of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The interests of organized labor demand that they be given at least the privilege of review before such rules and regulations become effective; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Panama Canal Federation of Labor (Central Labor Union) call on the officers of the American Federation of Labor to use all means in their power to secure equitable adjustment of these existing conditions; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That these resolutions be presented to the convention of the American Federation of Labor to be held in Atlantic City, New Jersey, on June 9, 1919, by the delegate from this Central Union, with the view of having same incorporated in the proceedings of the convention.

These resolutions are identical in form and substance and are in the nature of an instruction to the Panama Canal Federation of Labor, rather than being addressed to the American Federation of Labor. Your committee, however, has given consideration to the subject contained therein, despite its erroneous address, and is favorably impressed with the facts set forth. Your committee therefore recommends that the officers of the American Federation of Labor use all means within their power to secure an early and equitable adjustment of the conditions complained of and which it finds, after a careful investigation, to be just grievances.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Resolution No. 69—By Delegates of the National Association of Master Mates and Pilots, National Marine Engineers' Beneficiary Association, and International Seamen's Union.

WHEREAS, The Recruiting and Training Service and the Sea Service Bureau of the United States Shipping Board are asking Congress for an appropriation under which those

war institutions may continue during peace; and

WHEREAS, Both of these institutions are useless for any practical purpose, and, if we really mean to build up a personnel for a merchant marine, we should return to the system of training men on board ships actually engaged in the ocean and coastwise service and under the direction of the ship officers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the convention hereby enter an emphatic protest against any further appropriation being made for the continuance of the above-mentioned institution; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That these resolutions be forwarded to the Appropriation Committee in Congress.

The committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Resolution No. 76—By Delegate E. G. Hall, of the Minnesota State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There are in a number of cities organizations of police or peace officers who are under one form of civil service rule or another, and whose sympathies are with the principles of the American Federation of Labor, as well as its policies; and

WHEREAS, In many cities, city employes under civil service are being admitted through Federal unions to the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That all police or peace officers be admitted to membership to Federal Unions the same as other city or county employes under civil service laws in compliance with the constitution of the American Federation of Labor.

Inasmuch as the Committee on Organization has reported favorably on a similar resolution, your committee is of the opinion that action on this resolution is not required, and so recommends.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 77—By Delegate Geo. Rincker, of the Sign and Bulletin Board Hangers, No. 14872.

WHEREAS, The expenses allowed fraternal delegates have not been increased for several years; and

WHEREAS, In the performance of their duties the cost at the present time is almost one hundred per cent more than formerly; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That an increase be granted the fraternal delegates correspondingly with the increased cost of living.

Your committee recommends reference of this resolution to the Executive Council for favorable consideration when the subject of expenses to be allowed fraternal delegates is being considered by it.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolutions Nos. 111 and 152 were reported upon together. They are as follows:

Resolution No. 111—By Trades and Labor Assembly of Mascoutah, Ill.

WHEREAS, The necessities of life have reached such proportions that it is almost beyond human efforts of the average workman to secure a substantial living; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we ask of the officials of the American Federation of Labor, at the convention assembled, to take such measures at the convention to urge upon the U. S. Senate and House of Representatives to act at the earliest moment and legislate such laws as outlined below:

1st. That the United States Government grant to citizens the use of land and provide financial assistance at least equal to that so successfully provided by the Canadian Government.

2d. That penal sentences be imposed upon all persons convicted of connections with combinations fixing prices upon the necessities of life.

3d. That the willful destruction of food be made a penal offense.

4th. That the hoarding of foodstuffs in cold storage plants, warehouses, or otherwise, where such hoarding increases the price thereof to the ultimate consumer, be made a penal offense; that all such foodstuffs so stored be confiscated by the Government and sold to the people at actual cost covering seizure and sale.

5th. That the maximum rents be regulated by basing the rental upon the actual valuation of the property rented.

6th. That where the production of any article of food is not equal to the demand, the price of such article shall be regulated by the Government on the basis of the cost of production.

7th. That the income of any person in money or its equivalent in value be limited.

Resolution No. 152—By Delegate John G. Owens, of Cleveland Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The cost of living is steadily increasing as far as rents, food, clothing, etc., are considered, thus absorbing increases of wages that may be obtained by the organized workers through negotiations and strikes; and

WHEREAS, This condition is unjust and unbearable to the masses of people; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, delegates to the Cleveland Federation of Labor, hereby request that a special grand jury be appointed to investigate this problem and make public their findings and also indict all individuals and concerns that are violating the statutes against trusts, conspiracies and committing other lawless acts; be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the A. F. of L., be instructed to present a similar proposition to that body and urge that this question be made a national one.

Your committee is fully in agreement with the purport and intent of these resolutions and heartily concurs in the declaration that speculation and gambling and profiteering in the necessities of life should be tolerated no longer and all get-rich-quick programs of the few at the expense of the many should be barred forever from civilized society.

Your committee believes, however, that the remedies proposed in these resolutions may not

be appropriate in all cases of profiteering and speculation and that additional remedial legislation may be devised to prove helpful in curbing these anti-social activities of profiteers in the necessities of life.

Your committee therefore recommends reference of these resolutions to the Executive Council for the approval and early enforcement of such remedial measures as are indicated in these resolutions and such additional measures as the Executive Council will find helpful in making speculating, gambling and profiteering in the necessities of life equally dangerous to other methods of perjury and extortion and rid ourselves of these human parasites.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Flint Glass Workers—Machinists.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption your committee reports as follows:

Your committee deeply regrets that an adjustment has not been arrived at between the two organizations involved in this controversy. Your committee is of the opinion that a resort to force and compulsion now will not tend to bridge the difficulties involved or render effective an adjustment which will prove mutually agreeable and acceptable.

Your committee believes this end can be best attained by further conciliatory efforts, and therefore urges that the Executive Council use its good offices during the coming year in helping to bring about an adjustment which will prove satisfactory to all parties concerned and which will in no way jeopardize the interests of either party, and report to the next convention.

In connection with this subject, the introducers of Resolution No. 40 requested its withdrawal, and your committee concurs in the request.

Delegate Clarke, Flint Glass Workers: I did not intend to say anything on this subject, but I was much interested in the question propounded by Delegate Brown of the International Association of Machinists to the delegate representing the Jewelry Workers' International Union, when he asked him if he would recommend to his organization that they abide by the decision of the American Federation of Labor. I believe I am justified now in asking Delegate Brown and his colleagues if they will recommend to the International Association of Machinists that they will go along with the numerous decisions rendered in this case.

Delegate Wharton, Machinists: The Machinists' organization will go along with every decision of this body if every other organization affiliated therewith will do likewise.

Delegate Clarke: I submit to the intelligence of the delegation the evasive reply. As a further point, the name of the dele-

gate who answered is Wharton, not Brown. I will again propound my question to you, Brother Brown.

Delegate Brown, Machinists: When Delegate Clarke asked the question he added, "delegation." My reply is "Amen" to Brother Wharton.

Delegate Clarke: I am not going to spoil the pledge I have made to myself or the committee, but I want it clearly and distinctly understood that we are not waiving any of the prestige that has come to the "Flints" in the numerous decisions rendered by convention after convention and by the Executive Council at the Laredo and San Antonio meetings, and I would ask that this statement be made a matter of record for the benefit of the institution I represent, as some one else may be called upon to deal with it at the next convention.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 100—By Delegate George W. Wrenn, of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Organized Labor in this nation has clearly demonstrated its loyalty and patriotism, standing shoulder to shoulder with our great President and the American people to winning this war; and

WHEREAS, Many changes in labor conditions have taken place since the declaration of war, both in wages and employment, particularly in the employment of thousands of men and women in new industries created since the war; and

WHEREAS, It is evident that these workers will seek other employment, especially in large cities of our country, together with the returning to civil life of our gallant soldiers and sailors, will require serious attention of the labor movement of this nation and the government itself so that the standard of wages and conditions brought about by Organized Labor will not be affected and the re-employment of soldiers and sailors will also be a matter of careful forethought and consideration; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention request our President to appoint Federal committees in each State and our Governors to appoint State committees to study this question now, and that this convention through its Executive Council, adopt such methods as will be of benefit to the wage earners.

Your committee is of the opinion that the appointment of the many committees by the national and state governments suggested will prove of little real value in solving the questions involved in the returning of discharged soldiers and sailors to civil life and for the safeguarding of standards, wages and conditions secured by organized labor. Inasmuch as more efficient remedies are reported in other sections and divisions of your committee's report on the report of the Executive Council, non-concurrence is recommended in this resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

On motion by Delegate Mullen, the convention adjourned at 5.55 p. m., to reconvene at 9.30 o'clock Friday morning, June 20th.

TENTH DAY—Friday Morning Session

The convention was called to order at 9.30 a. m., Friday, June 20th, Vice-President Duncan in the chair.

Absentees—Russell, Crooff, McDonald (D.), Cooney, Iglesias, Bonz, Rutherford, Howard, Schildt, Harrison (W. L.), Ely, O'Donnell (M. J.), Mahony, Stewart, O'Leary, Davis, (E. F.), Harlin, Bryan, Dill, Canfield, Denteibaum, Block, Griffith, Woodman, Wagner, Canfield, Galloway, Taylor, Priestly, Richter, Evans, Sims, Boisse, Ganey, Heffman, Frampton, Ogletree, Ryan, Draper, Broderick, Curran, Barr, Wilkinson (J.), Simpson, Sauter, Enright, Cooper, McGill, Ringer, Grice, Bodgett, Berdlow, Pitts, Eklund, Leonard, Birch, Berger, Lane, Jackson (S. A.).

Vice-President Duncan announced the following special committee appointment:

Committee on Hotels, on Engineers' and Firemen's Matter—William J. Brennan, Huddell, Edward Flore, James Wilson, Timothy Healy.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EXECUTIVE COUNCIL'S REPORT

Secretary Woll, for the Committee, submitted the following:

Resolution No. 151—By Delegate John T. Smith, of the Central Labor Union of Kansas City, Mo.

WHEREAS, There is a shortage of wholesome dwellings in practically every community in the country; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That each city and town should be authorized and encouraged to build enough houses to meet the needs of its inhabitants, providing with each a tract of land suitable to the locality, and that the Federal Government participate in the production of a full supply of suitable homes by continuing the Housing Bureau, to aid, encourage and stimulate the building of dwelling houses.

Your committee recommends approval of this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 156—By Sam Griggs, Stone Cutters.

The following resolution was adopted by the Thirteenth Annual Convention of the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, and by action of that convention, was referred to the Thirty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor for its co-operation and support:

WHEREAS, The public buildings bill legislation that failed of passage at the last session of Congress; and

WHEREAS, This legislation was necessary of passage for the reconstruction program of the United States Government; and

WHEREAS, The failure of the last Congress to provide for any plan wherein the Government could go ahead with their building program; and

WHEREAS, The public buildings bill carried with it provision for the immediate erection of many postoffices throughout the country, therefore, the failure of the last Congress to provide the needed money to carry out the Government's building program; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirteenth Annual Convention, through its officers, petition Congress to pass as quickly as possible the public buildings bill that failed at the last Congress, so that the United States Government can go ahead with their building projects, that will give employment to many thousands of building mechanics, and will tend to quickly stabilize the building industry of our country; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this department, for itself, and requesting the A. F. of L. to co-operate, call upon both Executive Councils to memorialize our Federal Government to encourage building construction of public buildings as soon as the above funds are available, and give out contracts immediately, rather than defer such building until February, 1920, as provided for in a recent ruling of the Treasury Department.

Your committee recommends approval of this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 138—By Delegates John Donlin, William L. Hutcheson and John J. Hynes.

WHEREAS, The so-called Baker-Gompers' agreement consummated on June 19, 1917, was intended as a war measure only; and

WHEREAS, The period in which it was expected to serve has passed, also the institution that functioned in its affairs has automatically dissolved; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor will consider the aforesaid agreement null, void and in every way canceled on or before July 1, 1919.

Your committee recommends approval of this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 157—By Delegate Harry L. Hartford, Portsmouth, N. H., Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, War has demonstrated the urgent need of adequate housing facilities, to provide decent homes for the American workers; and

WHEREAS, There has been demonstrated the necessity and advisability for such housing facilities to promote the efficiency of the workers, and to establish and promote the community and home environment, necessary to full industrial production and good citizenship; and

WHEREAS, The Government has recognized the necessity and advisability of providing such environment and housing facilities, as a military necessity, during the war, by appropriating funds to construct such houses for war workers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the A. F. of L. go on record as favoring the establishment of a permanent housing bureau, for the purpose of providing homes for the workers of this country; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That our officers be instructed to try and secure a representative of labor on the board, to see that the interests of the workers are fully protected.

The committee recommends approval of this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 169—By Delegates John Moore, Ohio Federation of Labor; Max S. Hayes, International Typographical Union; John A. Lacey, Norfolk, Va., Central Labor Union; J. W. Worthey, Salisbury, N. C., Federal Union No. 16,395; Oscar Williams, Freight Handlers' Local No. 16,473; O. L. Gernary, Memphis, Tenn., Local No. 16,407; E. G. Galloway, Tri-City Central Trades & Labor Council, Granite City, Ill.

WHEREAS, There is a bill No. 1473 pending before the Sixty-sixth Congress, namely: To provide for public improvements, needs, and employment of discharged soldiers, unemployed and other citizens of the United States; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled this tenth day of June, 1919, demand that the Senators and Representatives of the Sixty-sixth Congress now assembled, use their best efforts with the Banking and Currency Committee of the House of Representatives of the Sixty-sixth Congress, to render a favorable report on such Bill 1473 and cast their votes in the affirmative upon such Bill when submitted; be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this Resolution be mailed to the President and Vice-President of the United States and each Senator and Representative of the Sixty-sixth Congress:

Sixty-sixth Congress, First Session, H. R. 1473. In the House of Representatives, May 21, 1919. Mr. Sherwood (by request) introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency and ordered to be printed.

A BILL

To provide for public improvements, needs, and employment of discharged soldiers, unemployed, and other citizens of the United States.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of

Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That whenever any State, Territory, county, township, municipality, or incorporated town or village deem it necessary to make any public improvement or for its needs, it shall deposit with the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States a non-interest bearing twenty-five year bond, not to exceed one-half of the assessed valuation of the property in such State, Territory, township, municipality, or incorporated town or village, and such community depositing its bond in accordance with this act shall be required to return the principal of such bond in legal tender Treasury notes at the rate of four per centum per annum until such bond is paid in full.

Section 2. That whenever the foregoing section of this act has been complied with it shall be mandatory upon the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States to have engraved and printed Treasury notes in the denominations of \$1, \$2, \$5, \$10, \$20, \$25, \$50, \$100, and \$500 each, which shall be a full legal tender for all debts, public and private, to the face value of such bond, and deliver to such State, Territory, county, township, municipality, or incorporated town or village 99 per centum of such notes, and retain 1 per centum for expenses of engraving and printing the same.

Section 3. That after the passage of this act it shall be compulsory upon every State, Territory, county, township, municipality, or incorporated town or village to give employment to any idle discharged soldier, unemployed, and other citizens applying for such work, and that the rate be not less than 40 cents per hour for common labor and 80 cents per hour for team and labor, and that eight hours per day shall constitute a day's labor under the provisions of this act.

Your committee recommends reference of this resolution to the Executive Council, with authority to take such action which a careful investigation and analysis of the bill in question leads it to believe is best calculated to promote the interest of the workers and the people generally, in the subject to which it refers.

The report of the committee was adopted. International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers vs. Building Trades Department, A. F. of L.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption your committee recommends that this subject be re-submitted to the Executive Council.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 175—By Delegate Wm. T. Griffith, El Paso, Texas, Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, It has come to our attention that carpenter work and other craft, employed by the Constructing Quartermaster Department of the U. S. Army at Fort Bliss, Texas, on new quarters for soldiers and other work at that place, is being paid at a rate below the scale fixed by the War Labor Board as a just and equitable basis for Government work in this district; and

WHEREAS, The men doing this work are chiefly not only un-American in their ways, and non-union, but also aliens, owing their allegiance to another country, and have as a class on numerous occasions proven

themselves unfriendly to the United States; and

WHEREAS, It has been the practice of the Quartermaster Construction Corps to transport, free of charge, these aliens to and from their place of work to the international bridge between El Paso, Texas, and Juarez, Mexico, in motor trucks of the U. S. Army driven by U. S. soldiers; and

WHEREAS, These aliens living for the most part in Juarez and Agua Prieta, Mexico, do not spend their salaries earned in America and on American work in this country, but on the other hand spend the same in Mexico with Mexican merchants; and

WHEREAS, These aliens are employed obviously in preference to discharged American soldiers; be it

RESOLVED, That we, first, as American citizens who have at all times upheld our Government in its course and have contributed to the support of its policies even when such action sometimes caused self-denial and hardship; and second, as men of labor who believe in a just and equitable arrangement of all labor to Americans, and who have accepted and do abide by the fixed scale of wages as adopted by the War Labor Board, do most earnestly protest against such procedure; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we do urge the necessity of employing red-blooded American citizens, and the justice of giving this work to men who are citizens of the United States, whose every interest is identical with the interests of America, and that their salaries be in accordance with the accepted scale, and especially do we urge the employment of discharged American soldiers, many of whom have given evidence of their true Americanism in a furnace that proved their worth as men, where the dawn-lit hills of France were red with the flaming blaze of Hell; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we condemn this policy on the part of the Construction Quartermaster Corps of the United States Army in this city as unwise, un-American and unjust, and we earnestly protest that its continuance will work a most serious detriment to American labor; be it further

RESOLVED, That the El Paso Central Labor Union hereby instructs its delegates to the National Convention of the American Federation of Labor to request that body to go on record as protesting the action of the constructing quartermaster at Fort Bliss, Texas, and at all other places where construction work is now, or may in the future be done by the United States Government against the practice of employing aliens on any work for the Government of the United States under any conditions.

Your committee is impressed with the facts set out in the preambles of this resolution and for the purpose of correcting evils complained of in a manner which will not involve our Government in difficulties or controversies with other nations, we recommend reference of this resolution to the Executive Council for such action as it finds advisable, feasible and helpful.

It was moved and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate McCarthy, Carpenters, made a brief statement relative to construction work in the Presidio in California, where the constructing quartermaster is employing men at rates of pay considerably lower than the prevailing wage rate, and expressed the hope that the intent of the resolution would be fully carried out.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 178—By Delegates M. Snellings, H. M. Comerford, A. Peterson, and E. L. Edgerton, International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers.

WHEREAS, At the St. Paul convention of the American Federation of Labor, the oil well workers presented an application for a charter which was protested against by several international organizations; and

WHEREAS, After numerous conferences between organizations of the protesting organizations and the oil well workers, the oil well workers presented a signed agreement agreeing to take no person into their organization coming under the jurisdiction of any organization now chartered by the American Federation of Labor, whereupon the protests were withdrawn; and

WHEREAS, The oil well workers are now taking in and claiming jurisdiction over engineers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention instruct the oil well workers to cease taking in these engineers and transfer those already taken in into the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That in the event of their refusal to comply and cease their encroachments on the jurisdictional rights of other international unions, the Executive Council stand instructed to suspend their charter until such time as they do comply with the order of this convention and agree to live up to their signed agreement with the international unions.

Inasmuch as there has been no conference between the organizations involved in this complaint, your committee recommends reference of this resolution to the Executive Council for the purpose of calling the parties into conference to adjust the grievance complained of, as provided by the laws of the American Federation of Labor.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 192—By Harry W. Fox, Wyoming Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Certain employing interests have resorted to the importation of Mexican laborers in an effort to beat down wage standards in sugar beet raising States; and

WHEREAS, These laborers are being encouraged to accept employment in different lines of effort, to the detriment of labor standards and with the avowed intention of breaking down these certain established wages that have obtained as a result of the war; and

WHEREAS, This practice is detrimental to the best interests of the nation and can only result in hardship to American workers on this and other callings; be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in thirty-ninth Annual Convention

assembled, that we condemn this practice and urge upon the immigration officials that the closest watch be maintained over the granting of permits for the importation of alien laborers to the end that the interests of American laborers be safeguarded.

Your committee is impressed with the need for safeguarding the interests of American wage-earners against unfair competition and discrimination by men of other nations. To avoid international complications, however, care should and must be exercised and your committee therefore recommends reference of this resolution to the Executive Council for such action as it finds advisable, feasible and helpful.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Extension of Jurisdiction of Brewery Workers

Your Committee recommends approval of this portion of the report of the Executive Council.

The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 204—By Delegate E. O. Scott, Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers & Assistants, 11,778, Washington, D. C.

WHEREAS, The office employees of the United States of America are among the poorest paid of all crafts, and are compelled to work longer hours than any trade; and,

WHEREAS, The cost of living has increased by leaps and bounds, making it impossible for such workers to decently support their families on the wages now paid by the various labor organizations; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention go on record as favoring the minimum wages now paid in the offices of the President of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, Washington, D. C., namely, \$30.00 per week for clerks, and \$35.00 per week for stenographers who qualify after thirty to sixty days' probation for permanent positions, and that this Convention use its good offices in having the American Federation of Labor and all affiliated national and international unions adopt these minimum wages for their office employees.

The principle involved in this resolution is based on the false premise that the American Federation of Labor has authority and power to direct and instruct affiliated international unions in matters which the constitution of the American Federation of Labor clearly provides shall not be interfered with by the Federation. It is equally erroneous for the organization involved to endeavor to fix and regulate the wages of its members by legislative action of the American Federation of Labor, rather than through the process of negotiations by local groups and associations of the workers involved.

Your committee therefore recommends non-concurrence in this resolution.

After a brief statement by Delegate Scott, Stenographers' Union No. 11,778, in support of the resolution, the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 207—By Delegate E. C. Scott, Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers & Assistants, 11,778, Washington, D. C.

WHEREAS, For some time past the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks has been seeking and securing for membership in that organization all office employees in the executive offices of the Southern Railway Company, Washington, D. C., notwithstanding the fact that Section 78, Constitution, for the government of lodges under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge or the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, contains the following clause: "All white persons, male or female, of good moral character, who have had at least three months' actual experience as clerks, freight handlers, baggagemen, station helpers, switch tenders, or callers in the service of a railroad, steamship or other freight transportation company, and who, at the time of making application, are in the employ of such a company, shall be eligible to membership"; and

WHEREAS, The above-quoted clause of Section 78 in nowise indicates jurisdiction over stenographers, typewriters or bookkeepers; and

WHEREAS, The charter and jurisdictional rights of Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers & Assistants' Union 11,778, granted in 1904, gives autonomy to this organization over stenographers, typewriters, bookkeepers and office assistants; and

WHEREAS, The above irrefutable facts indicate unqualifiedly a trespass by the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks upon the legitimate jurisdictional claims granted the Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers & Assistants' Union 11,778; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record as instructing the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks to transfer to the Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers & Assistants, 11,778, within sixty days, all stenographers, typewriters and bookkeepers within the folds of that organization who are now employed in the executive offices of the Southern Railway Company, Washington, D. C.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence in this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 202—By Delegates E. C. Scott, Stenographers, Bookkeepers and Assistants' No. 11,778, Washington, D. C.; Patrick J. Cahillane, City Employees' Local No. 15,951, Harry L. Fincke, Counter Timekeeper and Clerks' No. 18,599; Thomas O. Spacey, Stenographers, Bookkeepers, Typists, Office Assistants' Union No. 14,491, Denver, Colo.

WHEREAS, There are approximately forty locals of office workers in various cities throughout the United States; and

WHEREAS, A large number of these locals, involving approximately 80 per cent. of the membership are petitioning for the issuance of a charter for an international organization of office workers; and

WHEREAS, The field of organization in this class of work is as large, if not larger, than that of any organization now affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, No material progress can be made without the aid of an international organization, and all organizations must start on a small scale, as is evidenced by the fact that there are now approximately thirty national and international unions with a membership of 1,800 or less; and

WHEREAS, Approximately 75 per cent of the members of the above locals are not employed in labor union offices, and it is totally inconsistent and at variance with trade union principles and policies for the officers of any labor union employing office help to put any obstacle whatsoever in the way of the advancement of fellow unionists and thus prevent the formation of an international and its subsequent undoubted growth; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled at Atlantic City, N. J., issue an international charter to the local unions throughout the United States, with the jurisdiction now assigned to these various local unions.

Your committee is favorably impressed toward the formation of an international union of stenographers, bookkeepers, typists and office assistants under such conditions as will attract the affiliation of the men and women employed in commercial offices as distinguished from governmental departments, national, state and municipal and as will prevent discriminatory requirements and assure a common application of accepted and recognized trade union ethics and standards to all classes of employers. Your committee is likewise impressed with the need of clearly defining the jurisdiction of the international organization herein recommended to avoid unpleasant and unfortunate trade and jurisdictional controversies.

To accomplish these ends your committee recommends reference of this resolution to the Executive Council for the purposes herein indicated and in the event difficulties should arise which may retard the full development of the plans herein recommended, the Executive Council is authorized to present such difficulties to the next convention of the A. F. of L. for further consideration.

It was moved and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

Delegate Scott, Stenographers' Union No. 11,778, spoke briefly in commendation of the report of the committee and requested that the committee add to the report a provision that a conference be called by the Executive Council within six months.

Delegate Forrester, Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, stated that he had no objection to the issuance of an international charter to the stenographers, bookkeepers and assistants, if their jurisdictional lines could be so outlined as to keep them from interfering with the rights of the international organizations that are now affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Secretary Woll, of the committee, stated that the action of the convention, just pre-

viously taken, in denying the request of the Stenographers' organization contained in Resolution No. 207, has confirmed the jurisdiction of the Railway Clerks over those they now have in their organization. He stated further that the committee did not approve of the suggestion made by Delegate Scott that a time be set for a conference, as he believed this could be best determined by the Executive Council.

Delegate Spacey, Stenographers' Union No. 14,491, of Denver, favored the granting of an international charter and told of some of the things which had been accomplished for the office workers in Denver. He stated further that he had consulted with Delegate Forrester of the Railway Clerks, and was of the opinion that an amicable understanding had been reached between them in reference to jurisdictional lines.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted unanimously.

The committee reported jointly on Resolutions Nos. 84 and 46. The resolutions are as follows:

Resolution No. 84—By Hatters' delegates.

WHEREAS, The union label of the United Hatters of North America at the present time is only used in felt, straw, Panama and wool hats; and

WHEREAS, Union men who desire to wear cloth hats and caps which contain a union label recognized by the American Federation of Labor cannot do so because the United Hatters of North America, the only organization in the head gear industry affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, have no jurisdiction over that branch of the industry; and

WHEREAS, The recent convention of the United Hatters of North America instructed its delegates to the Thirty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor to ask for an extension of the charter rights of the United Hatters of North America, so as to cover the entire head gear industry for men, women and children; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled extend the jurisdiction of the United Hatters of North America so as to include the making of all fur, felt, wool, straw, Panama, velvet, cloth and silk hats for men, women and children, also the making of hats or caps of any other material which might be used in the head gear industry.

Resolution No. 46—By Delegates M. J. Sillinsky of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America, and Max Gorenstein of the I. L. G. W. W.

WHEREAS, As a result of the jurisdictional controversy between the United Hatters of North America and the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America over the millinery trade, the latter organization was suspended from the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The United Hatters at their last convention held in the City of New York during the month of May, 1919, have,

according to press reports, changed their attitude, to the cap trade and decided to claim jurisdiction over the trade, which is practically one hundred per cent organized under the banner of the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America; and

WHEREAS, With this new attitude of the United Hatters, the jurisdictional tangle and strife between them and the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers will naturally grow still more bitter and prejudicial to the interests and progress of all the headgear workers; whether felt hatters, millinery workers on cloth hat and cap makers; and

WHEREAS, The United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers are known to favor amalgamation with the United Hatters, and have introduced a resolution to that effect at the Buffalo Convention of the A. F. of L.; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That with the United Hatters now claiming jurisdiction over the entire membership of the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers, they cannot reasonably refuse amalgamation with this latter organization and that the Executive Council therefore be instructed to call a conference of both organizations for the purpose of bringing about amalgamation between them.

Your committee recommends approval of Resolution No. 84 and favors the extension of the jurisdiction of the United Hatters of North America as therein indicated. We urge and recommend further that the Executive Council and the officers of the American Federation of Labor use their good offices to the end that all employed in the making of cloth hats and caps will join and affiliate themselves with the United Hatters of North America.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence in Resolution No. 46.

It was moved and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate Heller, Ladies' Garment Workers: A point of order. According to the constitution of the American Federation of Labor and the ruling of the President of the A. F. of L. in yesterday's decision in the case of the steam shovel men, there can be no charter rights given unless a charter has been revoked. To my knowledge the charter of the Cloth Hat and Cap Makers has not been revoked as yet; they have only been suspended.

Vice-President Duncan: The point of order is not well taken.

Delegate Sillinsky, Tailors, spoke at length in behalf of the hat and cap makers and claimed that the charter of that organization had not yet been revoked.

Vice-President Duncan: I am authorized by the Chairman and the Secretary of the committee to say that if it will facilitate matters they have no objection to a division of this subject, so that the two resolutions can be considered separately.

Delegate Lennon, Bloomington Trades and Labor Assembly, I object to a division of the subject.

President Gompers: I think there is no delegate in this convention who is more desirous than I that the decision of the American Federation of Labor shall be lived up to to the fullest. I know something of the two organizations involved in this entire matter, one existing for a long, long period of years, the other growing up and strengthening under the very observation of those who knew and understood the work. I was very closely attached to the industry of cap making; there were a number of members of my family, quite near, who were cap makers. I know of the misery, of the poverty, and of the long hours in that industry; I know of the light that has been brought into the life and the work of the cap makers. I am not going to eulogize that body, I simply want to call attention to a fact.

The Cloth Hat and Cap Makers unwarrantably interfered with the jurisdiction of the United Hatters of North America, refused to abide by the laws and the decisions of the American Federation of Labor, flagrantly violated them, and for that offense that organization was suspended from the American Federation of Labor until it complies with the decision rendered. If that which is before us now is adopted; and supposing tomorrow or next week the Cloth Hat and Cap Makers' organization would come to the office of the American Federation of Labor, or send a letter, stating that the organization now yields to the decision of the American Federation of Labor, what will be the consequence? The organization, automatically reaffiliated and reinstated, finds that the decision of the American Federation of Labor in another matter involves their practical disbandment.

I realize it is hardly fair, after a delegate has spoken, to offer a motion which practically cuts off debate. Therefore I am not going to offer it as a motion, after addressing the convention, but I do suggest that the entire subject matter be referred to the Executive Council for such action as it may deem advisable, and that the action of the Executive Council, whatever it may be in the premises, shall stand as the action of this convention.

Delegate Schlesinger, Ladies' Garment Workers: I desire to offer, as an amendment to the report of the committee, the suggestion offered by President Gompers. (Seconded and carried.)

The report of the committee, as amended, was adopted.

Delegate Lawlor, United Hatters, arose to request that he be permitted to speak on the resolution which he had introduced.

Vice-President Duncan ruled that the subject matter had been disposed of by the convention.

Secretary Woll continued the report of the committee.

Resolution No. 208—By Delegate Martin T. Joyce, of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

WHEREAS, The insurance agents have made many attempts to organize, to shorten their hours of labor, and better their working conditions, but every attempt has been met by wholesale discharge; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as instructing the Executive Board to take up the matter of granting the insurance agents a charter.

While favorably impressed, your committee is nevertheless of the opinion that the question of organizing insurance agents should first be investigated by the Executive Council as to the advisability and feasibility of such an organization and that it be authorized to take such action as its investigation may warrant.

We, therefore, recommend reference of this resolution to the Executive Council to be considered and acted on in accordance with this opinion and recommendation.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 210—By Delegate Harry L. Spencer, of the Texas State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There are thousands of skilled mechanics and laborers engaged in the construction and repair of wooden ships in the United States; and

WHEREAS, In order that matters of vital interest concerning those employed in wooden shipbuilding and repairing may be given adequate attention, it is deemed advisable that a department covering all these workers be created; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Texas State Federation be instructed to have this matter brought before the Thirty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, by its duly elected delegate, urging the creation of a department for those employed in the construction and repairs of wooden ships; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the creation of this department shall in no wise affect other trades departments of the A. F. of L. already in existence.

Your committee believes that the subject of this resolution is one for consideration by the international unions directly interested, and in order that this subject may be called to their attention, we recommend reference of this resolution to the Executive Council for this purpose.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

President Gompers offered the following motion: That in all cases where resolutions have been withdrawn at the request of the introducers, the introduction of the resolutions, the requests for their withdrawal, the reports of the committees, and all reference to these resolutions be expunged from the

record. The motion was seconded and carried.

Prohibition of Immigration

The Executive Council, in its report, calls attention under this caption, to the passing of Mr. Burnett and directs attention to his staunch championship and advocacy of labor's demands and for the furtherance of the interests of the people generally. Your committee regrets to learn of the loss of this friend of labor and recommends approval of the appreciation for helpful services rendered to the wage earners of our country by Mr. Burnett, as expressed in the report of the Executive Council.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Resolution No. 227—By Committee on Executive Council's Report:

The committee has been advised that musicians have been exempt from the operation of the Alien Contract Labor Law on the claim that they are artists.

This exemption is made in spite of the fact that the law does not specifically exempt musicians.

This practice subjects the American musicians to competition of foreign musicians imported under contract.

In the opinion of the committee the term "Artists" applies only to such producers in the intellectual field who in their quest for employment are not affected by the element of competition; namely, sculptors, painters, musical composers or virtuosos, and does not apply to musicians who work for wages and who in all else are subjected to and affected by the same conditions as all other wage workers. For these reasons the committee recommends that the Executive Council call the injustice and error of exempting musicians from the operation of the Alien Contract Labor Law to the attention of the Secretary of Labor and requests its correction and take all other necessary steps to secure to musicians the protection of the Alien Contract Labor Law.

It was moved and seconded that the recommendation of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate Weber, Musicians, in discussing the question said, in part: "You all remember the action of the government in deporting the conductor of the Boston Symphony Orchestra, who refused to play the National Anthem during the war. That is the only non-union orchestra in the United States today. The owner of the orchestra, Mr. Higginson, a multi-millionaire, said some years ago that he would see to it that the American Federation of Musicians would be put out of business. He has not been successful yet. What he has been successful in doing was to swamp this country with musicians from abroad. He got musicians from central Europe, kept them in the or-

chestra for several years, and then the Federation of Musicians has to take care of them. The American Federation of Musicians proceeded to break up that aggregation of foreigners, if you please, and we have succeeded in convincing about thirty of those leading musicians that their place is with organized labor. Two days ago I received a letter from Boston saying that the Boston Symphony Orchestra is going to bring a number of musicians from Europe. I hope the delegates will adopt the report of the committee.

The motion to adopt the recommendation of the committee was carried unanimously.

Conclusion

A careful review and unbiased observation of all the activities and accomplishments of the American Labor Movement, as related in the report of the Executive Council demonstrates conclusively that our movement is the peer of all organized efforts to protect and defend the rights of man and to bring into being a better life, greater happiness and a larger degree of justice and democracy.

The trade-union movement, as exemplified in the report of the Executive Council, in its broadest terms is the effort of men to live the lives of men. It is the systematic struggle of the masses to attain more leisure and larger economic resources. It is the conceived movement for self and others directed against oppression in every form. It is a constant recognition of the fact that men and women of the mine, the shop, the mill, the factory, are men and women—not cattle or articles of commerce. It is a movement of protest against all conditions that tend toward the degradation of humanity.

Your committee is cognizant of the fact that all our successes and achievements are not attributable solely to one man or set of men and that without the united support of all organized wage-earners, little progress would have been realized. Your committee, however, appreciates the value of keen, intelligent, loyal and devoted leadership, which qualities have been clearly and abundantly manifested on all occasions by the President of our Federation, Mr. Samuel Gompers.

Your committee therefore urges an expression by this convention of appreciation in behalf of the workers of America for the loyal, devoted, self-sacrificing and extremely helpful services contributed by President Gompers to our movement, to our nation, and to all lovers of freedom, justice and democracy, and to express to him our deep and heartfelt sympathy for the great sorrow and loss which he experienced during the past year and for the unfortunate injury to which he was subjected in the recent past.

To the Secretary, the Treasurer and all members of the Executive Council, your committee likewise recommends expressions

of our sincere appreciation for the great and valuable services rendered, and for the helpful manner in which they have at all times responded to the tasks imposed and duties required.

The services performed by all the officers of the American Federation of Labor accentuates the fact that our movement is founded on a love that gladly sacrifices for the common good and that the force of our movement lies in the attempt to bring into established order the idea of human development which has animated sages and prophets of all ages.

Respectfully submitted

Committee on Report of Executive Council—James Wilson, Matthew Woll, George L. Berry, Martin Lawlor, T. V. O'Connor, Frank Farrington, Jere L. Sullivan, Frank X. Noachang, William P. Clark, Victor Olander, William A. Campbell, A. O. Wharton, Thomas S. Kearney, H. B. Perham, Joseph N. Weber.

The report of the committee as a whole, as amended, was unanimously adopted.

Delegate McGowan, Boiler Makers: I would like to ascertain what organization the committee has in mind with reference to the matter of creating a department for those employed in the construction and repair of wooden ships.

Secretary Woll: The resolution does not indicate what particular organizations are mentioned. The committee recommends that it be referred to the organizations that are or might be interested.

Delegate McGowan: The International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers wishes to be placed on record as asking to be notified when that conference is to be held.

Secretary Woll: We do not recommend a conference; we merely recommend that this resolution be called to the attention of the international unions directly interested.

President Gompers in the chair.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Delegate Frey, Secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

The Committee on Resolutions recommended that Resolution No. 86, introduced by Delegate Sauter, Wilmington, Del., be withdrawn. The convention concurred in the motion for leave to withdraw and the resolution was withdrawn.

Resolution No. 184 was recommitted to the committee after it had been discussed in the convention. The resolution is as follows:

Resolution No. 184—By Delegates Luther C. Stewart, William E. Junker, Martin J. Leonard, Florence Etheridge, National Federation of Federal Employees.

WHEREAS, Under the present system of conducting the Federal Service thousands of low-paid employees are outside the classification laws and are consequently subject

to dismissal upon any change of administration; and

WHEREAS, This system is equally unjust to the supervisory officers of the United States service in that most positions which are executive in character, yet subordinate in rank, such as assistant secretaries of departments and assistant bureau heads, are outside the classified service, and for that reason political in character, so that individuals occupying them are invariably required to resign with every change of administration, to the detriment of departmental work and the discouragement of capable executives from undertaking the Government service as a career; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the civil service should be so extended as to guarantee to all officials and employees of a rank lower than cabinet officers, permanent tenure during efficient service; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States, the Chairman of the Reclassification Commission.

The views of your committee not having been changed by anything presented to it after the resubmission of the resolution recommends non-concurrence with it.

Delegate Etheridge, Federal Employees, opposed the recommendation of the committee and made a plea for the adoption of the resolution. She stated that the adoption of the report of the committee would encourage the reactionary interests and give them a chance to say that the American Federation of Labor is opposed to civil service.

Secretary Frey stated briefly the position of the committee in non-concurring, and said in part: "Your committee is of the opinion that the adoption of such a law would transfer our government from the representative republican form of government to the bureaucratic form, to which it is opposed. If we continue our present form of government it seems to us but reasonable that those who are responsible as members of the Cabinet should have the right to surround themselves by those of their own selection. Nothing would create a more impossible condition than the election of truly progressive representatives and then to find that the members of the Cabinet of that government did not have it in their power to choose their own immediate assistants and representatives. Bear in mind that the adoption of this resolution would approve the establishment of a bureaucratic form of government, such a form of government as would make it absolutely impossible for a Cabinet to function successfully. We report as we do, not because the committee is opposed to the extension of civil service for government employees, but because we are opposed to anything tending to fasten upon the American people a bureaucratic form of government.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 13—By Delegate Peter Bol-

lenbacher of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The railroad managers are constantly interfering with the efforts of the Government to make Government ownership of railroads a financial success, by piling up needless expenses and by placing all manner of obstacles in the way of efficient administration; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor make an investigation of these conditions in this State, and that we call upon the American Federation of Labor Convention to make similar investigations in other parts of the country.

Your committee submits the following as a substitute for Resolution No. 13:

That this convention instruct the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to co-operate with the railway employees' organizations dealing with this subject.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

The committee reported on Resolutions Nos. 78, 141, and 199, dealing with the same subject matter, as follows:

Resolution No. 78—By Delegate C. A. Strickland, of the Portland, Ore., Central Labor Council.

WHEREAS, Back of all wars of conquest is the spirit of brutality, greed and commercialism. And back of all revolutionary wars for redress of wrongs is the spirit of independence, liberty, justice and democracy; and

WHEREAS, Much credit is always due, but usually denied, to the extremist who urges and advocates radical and revolutionary reform measures for application to our industrial order, inasmuch as his keen vision is always precursory to a discovery of existing evils; and

WHEREAS, All adjustments and supplements are of the nature of a compromise and the conclusion arrived at could not be of an advancing nature except for the extreme measures and need of changes put forth by these radicals; and

WHEREAS, Our Government, while we boast of maintaining an asylum for political offenders of the entire world, has, during recent years been most extremely severe with such "alleged" offenders; and

WHEREAS, In a vast majority of cases the victims of prosecution or persecution under the espionage act have appeared more in the light of violators of "a legal" protection, claimed by the predatory interests and of "vested rights" than as enemies of our free institutions; and

WHEREAS, None, not even the most imperialistic, among the European governments are so ceaselessly continuing to punish their labor leaders and radical reformers for the use of "free speech and a free press" as is the Government of the United States of America; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in regular session assembled, at Atlantic City, N. J., that this body recommend and urge all state, central and local unions to at once petition Congress and all legislative or executive powers to immediately have released from all prisons in America all men and women held as violators of the

espionage act and similar laws which were enacted as a war emergency or for other reasons, except those persons proven guilty of high treason. Also to demand the immediate repeal of all such laws tending to restrict the rights of free speech, a free press and the peaceable assembling as is guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States of America.

Resolution No. 141—By Delegate Benjamin Schlesinger, Max Gorenstein, Jacob Heller, Al Laporta, I. Feinberg, and M. Freidman, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, urge upon the Government of the United States to grant complete amnesty to all political prisoners convicted under the special emergency laws enacted by Congress during the war, and the repeal of all such laws as interfering with the normal exercise of American liberties guaranteed by the Constitution.

Resolution No. 199—By Delegate J. Mahlon Barnes, of the Cigar Makers' International Union of America.

WHEREAS, Thousands of American citizens, by reason of prosecution under the espionage act—a war-time measure—are now incarcerated or under sentence, or prosecution for conscience sake, or for exercising their constitutional rights of free speech, free press or free assemblage, or for industrial activities in behalf of the working class; and

WHEREAS, Public meetings are yet being broken up, speakers jailed, the press muzzled and personal letters rifled; and

WHEREAS, It was claimed and popularly understood that the espionage law was adopted to protect the United States against enemies of the country and particularly against spies; and

WHEREAS, These men and women are not criminals, but are victims of the alleged spy law, upon which the Supreme Court has repeatedly sidestepped a decision. A law under which no spy was ever brought to Court; and

WHEREAS, Federal Judges have acquired the habit of saying ten years, twenty years or more, in many cases practically life sentences; and

WHEREAS, These Court sentences upon civilians, in the aggregate, amount to about 24,000 years, more drastic than that of any modern civilized nation, and this is exclusive of the extra severe and vicious sentences imposed by military court-martial upon selective drafters, mostly religious conscientious objectors; and

WHEREAS, Political prisoners in a democracy is an innovation and a tragedy, many other countries having already freed their war-time political and industrial prisoners, and that organized labor is demanding in every country the release of those yet in bondage; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we demand from the Federal authorities the re-establishment and maintenance of American political and civil rights, free speech, free press and free assemblage; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we demand the immediate release of all persons in the United States, prosecuted or now in prison for political opinion, industrial activities or religious belief.

Your Committee recommends the following as a substitute for Resolution No. 199:

That this convention express its insistent demand that immediately following the signing of the peace treaty all laws in any way limiting or infringing upon the right of free speech, of a free press, and freedom of assembly which were enacted as war measures, shall be repealed. No recommendation is presented for a general pardon of all those who have been sentenced under the espionage act or in connection with industrial crimes. There are instances where commutations of sentences or pardons are warranted; there are undoubtedly many instances where the sentences imposed were fully justified.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Schlesinger, Ladies' Garment Workers, in discussing the question, said in part: "I desire to speak on this resolution, although some of the delegates, and particularly some of the representatives of the press will probably say that some of those speaking in favor of this are not Americans and are not loyal, as was said yesterday or the day before when one of our resolutions was discussed. It is true I am a garment worker; it is true I am an immigrant, but I have done as much to help the workers in this country as anyone here. I have been in the movement twenty-five years and I have done as much as I could during that time for the labor movement.

I do not see any reason whatever for the committee's recommendation on that resolution; I do not see why they do not make reference to those political prisoners who were arrested during the war. In Russia, even in the time of the Czar, amnesty was often granted. When Czar Nicholas was married—I suppose he felt very happy over it—he granted amnesty to many prisoners; when his first daughter was born there was another amnesty, and as he had five daughters there were five amnesties, and when his son was born he gave a double amnesty. I see no reason why this country should not be so happy over the ending of the war that we cannot do what was done in Germany and Russia, grant an amnesty.

There may be some men in prison who, perhaps, do not deserve to be locked up, but inasmuch as they are locked up it is our duty to see that they are not kept in prison. It shows a feeling of vengeance to keep them there, and I do not like to see that in the labor movement. I do not think I am acquainted with more than half a dozen of the men who are in prison under this law. Those I do know I am sure are not criminals,

and I hope they will not be kept behind the bars. I am perfectly agreeable to the proposition of the Committee on Resolutions when it speaks of calling upon Congress to repeal the espionage law and restore the right of free speech and free assemblage, and I want to move as an amendment that the "Resolve" of Resolution No. 141 be adopted as a part of the report of the Committee."

President Gompers: The amendment is not in order. The committee offers a substitute for that resolution and others.

Delegate Schoenberg, Machinists, in opposing the recommendation of the committee, said in part: "I am fully aware that to speak against the report of the committee and in favor of the resolutions introduced is not taking the popular side in this convention, especially from one of those who has come from the other side of the Atlantic. But while I came from the other side I am an American citizen, and not by accident either, but by choice. And I intend to be just as good and just as loyal as any of those who are here accidentally. I have lived in Germany, France, South Africa, and other countries, and I was always a good standing member of the so-called bona fide trade unions; but during all these years I never saw as much despotism as I have seen in this free country of the United States. During the war in Germany the imperial German government, one of the most autocratic governments, did not dare to arrest men so deliberately as men were arrested in this country. Make a comparison between Karl Liebknecht and Eugene Debs of this country. When Karl Liebknecht was arrested he was given five years for a bigger crime in the eyes of the German autocratic government than the crime committed by Eugene Debs in this country, in the minds of the American people.

While I was working in Germany, Austria and some of those other monarchical countries I was given the right to strike; and I had the honor to be on the firing line in many of these countries. I have been on the firing line in this country, and here I find the strikers are thrown in jail because they have the audacity to strike and picket. Some of our men are in jail because they would not stand for these conditions. I am in favor of the resolutions as they were submitted by the delegates and I am opposed to the report of the committee."

Secretary Frey: Some of the statements which have just been made call for a reply. I happen to be fortunate enough to be an American by accident. If I were a world trotter and discovered that the country in which I lived had the most despotic form of government I should probably move to some other country and not stay in that one. We have listened to a comparison of the liberty

of the German government as compared with the despotism of the American government. At least we hold our conventions without police supervision. We have no representative of the Government sitting on the platform to see that the debate follows along circumscribed lines—lines circumscribed by the Government. The trade union movement of Germany has been unable to function except when under direct police supervision. In attending meetings of trade unionists in Germany I found to my surprise that police officials were on the platform and the moment a speaker said anything contrary to what the police thought was in accord with the desires of the imperial German government, that speaker stopped instantly.

As long as the question has been brought up and comparisons are made to the disparagement of the country of which I am a citizen, I want to say that when representatives of the German trade union movement have been sitting in conventions of international labor, and not only conventions of the International Federation of Trade Unions but in conventions of the International Socialist Party, the German delegates have stopped meetings and called conferences because of the introduction of resolutions by American delegates calling for something in the line progressive action which the German delegates told the American delegates they could not even listen to and return to their own country. They begged the American delegates to withdraw those resolutions so that they might not be forced to leave the conference. Talk about your liberty? Well, we don't want that kind of liberty in these United States.

You have had your attention called to a sentence imposed upon one German because of his views. The delegate has very carefully refrained from calling your attention to the large number of German workers who were killed by machine guns, fired by German troops, because they endeavored to express some of their opinions while the war was in progress in Germany, and I ask him whether in this country machine guns have been turned upon American workers even when they struck in defense of their rights while the war was on.

I should not have referred to the matters I have just mentioned were it not for the very unfortunate comparison made on the floor of this convention as between the freedom enjoyed by the workers of Germany and the freedom enjoyed by the workers of the United States in an effort to make it appear that the workers in the American trade union movement have not the opportunity to function because our government is more despotic than the former German government and the government that has existed in Germany during the war.

Your committee recommends that upon

the question of the liberation of all those now under sentence because of crimes committed under the espionage act or crimes that have been classified as industrial crimes—that unquestionably some of those who were sentenced should have their sentences commuted or they should be pardoned. On the other hand there were undoubtedly many who received sentences that they were justly entitled to receive, and had they committed those same crimes in Germany or in Europe during the war they would not be in prison—they would be six feet under the sod.

Delegate Weaver, Musicians, in supporting the recommendation of the committee, said in part: "In my humble opinion it takes a great deal of hardihood to introduce resolutions of that character at this time, and a great deal more hardihood to defend them, because no matter how gulleless the impulse which inspired them, I say to you that in the high court of public opinion they are going to be interpreted as an insult to every man who wore the uniform of a United States soldier. Out our way we feel pretty deeply upon this subject, because so many of the stars upon our service flags have turned to gold.

"Just a few days ago, in the city of Des Moines, Iowa, we received back the remnants of the 168th Regiment, the Iowa unit of the unconquered and unconquerable Rainbow Division. I use the word 'remnants' advisedly, because out of that little company 742 are sleeping today where the June-time poppies bloom and where the European stars radiate upon them the benediction of everlasting peace. On Memorial Day I was called to Fort Des Moines Hospital where there are nearly 200 boys with shattered lives, some minus arms, some legs; 200 from whose eyes the light of reason has forever fled, and in that wonderful company the thing that touched the very depths of our nature was the wonderful cheerfulness of the company. There was not one word of fault-finding, not one word of bitterness.

"When these boys were suffering all the cruel tragedy of the war, when the best blood of America was mingling with the blood of other nations, I want to ask the authors of these resolutions where were the jail-birds for whom they are making such voluminous apologies at this hour? While German intrigue was poisoning the wells from Belgium to France these men who today are enjoying a merited incarceration were poisoning the wells of Americanism and doing everything in their power to hamper the eleventh-hour efforts this country was making to save itself.

"You talk about your constitutional rights! What was it that brought some of you people over there? While in the long night of European oppression hope deferred had made your hearts sick, across the tempestuous

billows of the Atlantic you saw the purple flush of a new day, a day in which liberty was to have a broader, a richer, a sweeter and a holier glow than you had ever before known. And you came over here and you found that from the standpoint of liberty and freedom the half had not been told. But in an evil hour you began to place a misconception upon the term of American liberty; you got it into your benighted minds that liberty and license are synonymous terms, but they were and they never will be in the history of the American nation.

Mr. Chairman, I hope in behalf of the sons of America who have given what Lincoln characterizes as 'the last full measure of devotion' that the action of this convention will be endorsed by an avalanche of pro-American votes."

Delegate McCullough, of Typographical Union, in discussing the recommendation of the committee, said in part: "Certain individuals, some of them citizens by accident, some of them citizens by choice, but a great many of them not citizens at all, living in our communities and enjoying all the benefits of citizenship refuse to accept any of the responsibilities. They defied the law and in doing so they defied the people of the United States. If they had been successful in their defiance of the law they would have been successful in breaking down the great purpose for which the people of the United States entered the war and to which they had pledged every man and every dollar of all the citizenship and all the wealth of the country to succeed. And because these men were thwarted in their purpose, because they were made to suffer the penalty that was prescribed and which they voluntarily and insolently invited, we are now asked to recommend that they be pardoned—as what? As political prisoners? For treason! If they had committed the acts they committed in this country in any of the other nations engaged in that war they would not have faced the judge and jury, they would have faced a firing squad.

"What must the boys whom we see walking along the street with the red chevron on their arms think of those conscientious objectors who were given honorable discharges from the military service of the United States, with back pay, and restored to their full rights of citizenship? Oh, what a travesty on justice! And when a clamor went up against that action an investigation was made and a committee finally reported that out of all that 700 who were liberated from the disciplinary barracks at Fort Leavenworth on the ground that they were conscientious objectors, there were only 89 who professed any religious belief and creed or dogma."

A large number of delegates asked that debate be closed. President Gompers ruled

that the authors of the resolutions would be given a chance to defend them before he would put the question.

Delegate Strickland, Portland, Ore.: I am going to try to be a good citizen in any country I shall happen to be in. As for my loyalty to the American Federation of Labor, I had the privilege of shaking hands with our honored President twenty-five years ago in Salt Lake City, and I supported him and the Federation on any action I had notice of during that period. I have been in good standing all that time, but I will admit in many instances I have turned around and beckoned them to come on and see the glory of the new world that is coming.

Summing it all up, I say that war is war and where labor is robbed war will ensue. That is why I want the labor movement to pay attention to the least-favored element of society, and they can never fulfill their purposes until they make that a special effort. I am heartily in accord with the first part of the committee's report demanding an appeal of the espionage law. That is what the capitalists are willing to concede because they know they will have to concede it; the second part of the committee's report is exactly what the capitalists want, and that is exactly why I am opposing it.

Delegate Friedman, Ladies' Garment Workers, in defending her resolution, said in part: "I am a citizen by the good will of my fellow citizens of New York State, so I have an advantage over some of you in that way. I, too, have paid something to this war, not through my neighbors but through the people who are dearest to me. My best friend, the one I liked most, lost a leg in the army. I lost three of my cousins in the trenches during this war. I lost many, many of my friends, and many others are disfigured for life. This does not in any way make me get up and shout cheap sentiment; that will not bring them back.

"I have not had the experience of living in any other countries than Russia and America. I freely admit that I like America best because it offered me the freedom to strike and the freedom of my opinion, which I have cherished since I was a little girl; and just for that reason I would like to see our resolution accepted. I believe that America is great and the American labor movement is stronger than any other movement in the world, for the reason that here we are able to fight our opponents openly, we are able to look them straight in the face, be they political opponents, be they our employers, capitalists or anyone else that oppose us.

"During this war a law was enacted prohibiting people from speaking against the war. At that time I did agree partly with the decision of Congress. I said: 'We are

at war with an imperial government and it is our duty to see that we win it and win it right.' But today the men who are in jail are not there because they refused to grant the government their lives and their dollars. The dollars remained in the United States, and my friend left his leg in France. The dollars remained here in the hands of the capitalists and the Rainbow Division and others went to France, where some of them remain."

Delegate Friedman discussed briefly the nature of the offenses committed by the men for whom clemency is asked, the nature of their trials, etc., and in concluding said: "We were willing to let them remain in jail until the war was ended, but the war is finished; we are through with the German Kaiser and through with many more autocratic governments, because the defeat of the German Kaiser meant the defeat of imperialism all over the world. Now we can come to our own fellow citizens and let them have their say. If they are more powerful than we are, we American citizens, it will be a sign they are right, because the majority rules in this country. If they are not right they will have to take a back seat."

Delegate Barnes, Cigarmakers, in defending the resolution he introduced, said, in part: "I am sorry the amendment proposed by Delegate Schlesinger was not accepted. There is no alternative proposition now to vote upon, and the committee's report in its beginning is so splendid a declaration regarding the one proposition that we are not in a position to vote against it. The committee has ignored entirely the question of political prisoners in America. That we cannot come to a vote upon unless we vote down the committee's report and then adopt one of the resolutions. Because of my inability to vote on the question of political prisoners I am going to vote against the report of the committee, much of which I like, in order that we can get action particularly upon Resolution No. 141.

"Let us face the fact squarely. It is admitted in high circles. Mr. Gregory, ex-Attorney General, reported to the President that a considerable number of the sentences were unjust and cruel. He recommended a number of reductions. I hold that the whole number of these victims of war legislation should be released, and I take the position more particularly on that point because of the recent remarks of President Wilson and the long-established practice in England. England is the one country in the world that is upholding the right of free speech and has found it the safety valve against riots and disturbances through all the ages. President Wilson said a month ago in Paris that he was unqualifiedly in favor of free speech. The people we ask to be released from jail number 2,000, and their sentences

aggregate 24,000 years. The war is over, its purposes has been accomplished; now let us have the element of freedom in the United States. The people whose release is contemplated in this resolution are not those who have committed overt acts against the government; they are suffering for the sake of conscience or for sympathy with the labor movement and sentences were imposed upon them far beyond anything they deserved."

The motion to close debate was carried.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

President Gompers introduced to the convention Mr. Frank J. Hague, the Mayor of Jersey City. In making the introduction he stated that Mr. Hague had shown by his conduct and attitude as well as his utterances a great sympathy for the cause of the laboring man.

**ADDRESS OF MR. FRANK J. HAGUE,
MAYOR OF JERSEY CITY, N. J.**

Mr. Chairman and Delegates: I deem it a great privilege to be invited here to address you. Jersey City has a population of over 340,000 and I feel we have more labor controversies and disputes than any other city of its size in this country. I am proud that I am one official who has taken the position that strike-breakers and thugs should be eliminated from Jersey City during my administration. I have taken the position that if it is a violation of law for a laboring man to protect his life and property, it is also a crime to import into our city thugs, guerrillas, and ex-convicts to shoot down the laboring men.

We have been very successful in labor controversies in Jersey City, more so than in any other city in the United States. Only recently we were very successful in settling a car strike in Jersey City. During that strike not even a stone was thrown, and the public service advertisements in all the papers throughout the state of New Jersey and New York contained the statement that no strike-breakers need apply. We served notice that if an attempt was made to import into that city armed thugs we would not only arrest them but we would arrest those who imported them. We also served notice upon the presidents of the various railroads during the tie-up of the entire water front, "You have no right to import into this city armed thugs to take the places of honest workmen. We will settle this dispute as all disputes should be settled, by arbitration. The strike was settled by arbitration that was satisfactory to the laboring men.

We had a strike in the stockyards recently, and when my attention was called to the fact that strike-breakers were being imported into our city and were permitted to sleep in the stockyards, I served notice upon the Chief of Police to remove those men,

and in two days we successfully settled that strike.

I am interested in the cause of the laboring men of New Jersey and in the cause of laboring men generally. Two years ago I addressed your convention at Baltimore; at that time I was Director of Public Safety of Jersey City. When the employees of the Standard Oil Company at Bayonne struck, when the decent, honest workmen were being shot down like dogs, we had a sympathetic strike in the Standard Oil plant at Jersey City. The moment the strike was declared I marched down there with 250 police, took possession of the property, placed every strike-breaker under arrest, put them aboard a boat and shipped them back to New York City. The strike was settled in two days. We settled it as it should be settled, not with shot guns, but around a table with the officials of the city who are interested in their citizens.

We had an express strike recently; 4,000 men were on strike; not one man was arrested, not a wagon moved, and that strike was settled in a peaceful way. In 1910 the express company had exactly the same kind of strike, but on that occasion armed thugs with rifles on their shoulders marched through the streets, men were shot down and property destroyed. The city was sued by the express company for not affording them proper police protection. They claimed that \$2,000,000 of damage was done to property. On that occasion thugs and guerrillas were permitted to go into the city and try to shoot down the labor man. During the recent strike I prohibited thugs entering our city.

You may ask how I did these things. Because I felt it was the law. I felt that no man had a right to import armed guards to protect his property when there was an organized police department appointed by the officials elected by the people. Is there anything a laboring man hates more than he does a thug and a strike-breaker? Isn't that the cause of all our bloodshed? Isn't it a fact that today they are endeavoring to settle those labor disputes at the table and not out on the street with shot guns and rifles?

I am interested in labor because I was reared and educated in a district composed of laboring men. I come from the poorest section of our city. I have represented the people of that city for three years as Mayor, and I am proud of the record I have established. I am proud of the fact that when anyone now goes to the city of New York to employ thugs and guerrillas and is asked where he is going to take them and he says he is going to take them to Jersey City he is told "No, that guerrilla mayor you have over there will not allow us to send them to Jersey City." I am proud of that.

I am inaugurating a movement today in the state to have a bill passed prohibiting those men who establish labor agencies, under the guise of detective agencies, to supply strike-breakers, from operating. In Jersey City there is not one detective agency, because we have the power to grant the licenses. Why should the officials of every city not take the position that no man has

a right to settle any labor dispute by force? The manufacturers of Jersey City are my friends. I have never lost the friendship of a man who had a labor controversy. The moment I discover that such a controversy is about to take place I send for the officers of the company and do not allow them to be influenced by these detective agencies. These men go to the manufacturers and paint a beautiful picture of how they are going to break the strike and how they are going to protect the property. I send for them and say: "Jersey City is responsible; Jersey City will protect your property. Jersey City will not permit you to bring in armed thugs and guerillas to settle this strike." I feel

that is the law. I feel I have a right to do that. I have a right to send for any man and have him come to my office in time of trouble and accept proper advice; not the advice of people who will try to mulct his company of every dollar possible; not to permit him to bring in people who will incite riots and destroy property in order that they may obtain a large fee.

I feel it is a great honor to be privileged to address you and I appreciate the invitation that was extended to me to attend your convention.

At 12.30 the convention was adjourned to 2.30 p. m.

TENTH DAY—Friday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2.30 p. m., President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Russell, Crooff, Mordecai, Cooney, Iglesias, Rutherford, Harrison (W. L.), Lacey, Stewart, O'Leary, Davis (E. F.), Hoffman, Bryan, Yarow, Dill, Canfield, Dentselbaum, Carroll, Woodman, Wagner, Canfield, Galloway, Taylor, Priestly, Argo, Greyson, Noble (J.), Gildas, Frampton, Francq, Ogletree, Thomas (L. N.), Young (C. B.), Hartford, Bower, Cunan, Wilkinson (A.), Barr, Wilkinson, John, Lemke, Enright, Campbell, Canody, Clark (E. E.), Burk, McDougall, Cooper, Herbert, Birch, Fitts, Gould, Selser.

Delegate McNulty, Electrical Workers, moved that the election of officers be taken up as a special order of business at ten o'clock Saturday morning, June 21st. (Motion seconded.)

Delegate Fox, Wyoming State Federation of Labor moved as an amendment that the selection of the next convention city be taken up at that time also. President Gompers stated that would be included in the motion.

The motion offered by Delegate McNulty was adopted.

President Gompers: The time for the special order of business having arrived to hear the report of the Committee on International Labor Relations, we will now listen to that report.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS.

Secretary Woll, for the committee, submitted the following:

International Labor Relations

The past has gone forever. Autocracy and militarism, we hope, are buried with

it. The future is our immediate concern. Ignoring what has gone before except so far as the lessons taught, we shall build along the lines of reason, judgment and the experiences gained.

Typifying democracy and its true spirit, the labor movements the world over, if they be true to themselves and to the best interests of the masses for which they speak, must recognize that democracy in its truest sense, and act on the fundamental principles of equality, justice and humanity.

All elements of society are necessary for the highest development and greater progress in civilization, economically, socially and politically.

The world's war brought to a triumphant conclusion has prepared the world for democracy on the political field. The mere ending of the war, however, has not insured democracy and justice for the workers on the industrial field. It has not materially changed working and living conditions, but it has aroused fresh hope and quickened aspirations and labor's ambitions. It has created the opportunity whereby the workers regardless of abode can, if functioning through trade unions, more readily, more freely and more effectively carry forward the work of securing justice and safeguarding for labor a fuller measure of democracy in industry. It is the first duty of our own trade union movement, and in our judgment it ought to be that of the movement of other countries, to see to it that this opportunity is not destroyed by diverting the minds of the workers or by delving into the alluring

realms of unproven speculative theories which judged by experiences are false and destructive in their nature.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Labor's Missions Abroad and Report of Fraternal Delegates to British Trades Union Congress.

Your committee has given the subject matters contained in the report of the Executive Council under this caption its absorbing attention. We note that the Executive Council's authority for sending these missions was given by the Buffalo Convention, 1917, and again by the St. Paul convention in 1918. The reports and resolutions authorizing these missions are cited in the E. C. report.

The work performed by the missions was of inestimable value to our allies who, after four years of struggle upon the battlefields of Flanders, France and Italy were rapidly approaching a point which would try the souls of the most sturdy and heroic of all mankind. War weary with the ceaseless, merciless contest, they sorely needed the encouragement and assurance that America, with all its vigor and manhood, its resources, industrial, financial and economic, was with them to win the struggle to obtain democracy, freedom and justice.

The able manner in which this assurance was conveyed, especially to the war-ridden working masses, had its immediate stimulating effect and brought new hope and courage and a determination to carry forward the battle against autocracy and militarism to a triumphant conclusion.

Our missions undoubtedly strengthened the morale of the people of the countries visited and thus made for an earlier victory than would otherwise have been achieved and thereby saved many precious lives and the expenditure of vast sums of money. If they saved the life of only one American citizen their work was not in vain.

Your committee congratulates the forethought and judgment of the Executive Council for its prompt action in sending these missions at the psychological moment, and we express our gratification at the able and effective manner in which the members of the missions performed their delicate and arduous duties.

This part of your committee's report refers to the two missions sent last August to Great Britain, France and Italy, the first of which also attended the Inter-Allied Labor and Socialist Conference in London last September and two members of which were the fraternal delegates to the British Trade Union Congress.

The two missions to which this report refers were as follows:

Missions to Great Britain, France and Italy:

Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor.

John P. Frey, Member International Molders' Union of North America.

Mr. C. L. Baine, Secretary Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.

Edgar Wallace, Editor United Mine Workers' Journal.

William J. Bowen, President Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union.

Guy Oyster, Secretary of the Mission.

Mission to Italy:

James Wilson, President Pattern Makers' League of North America.

F. J. McNulty, President International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

John Golden, President United Textile Workers of America.

Michael Green, President United Hatters of North America.

Peter Josephine, Member Granite Cutters' International Association of America.

We note by the Executive Council's report that Mr. J. A. Franklin, President of the Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, who was elected by the St. Paul convention as one of the fraternal delegates to the British Trade Union Congress, was unable to fulfill that mission. The Executive Council therefore selected President Gompers to act with Mr. William J. Bowen, the other fraternal delegate.

The able manner in which the delegates to the British Trade Union Congress upheld the dignity, virility and potentiality of the American Labor Movement merits the recognition and commendation of this convention.

Your committee recommends that all historical reports, including those of the missions of labor sent abroad since the war started, be chronologically arranged and published in a separate pamphlet and be preserved in the archives of the American Federation of Labor.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Peace Terms and Delegations Representing American Federation of Labor

Your committee has given to the subjects under these captions its serious attention. We note with satisfaction and approval that the Treaty of Peace formulated at Paris acknowledges:

"That the well being physically, morally, and intellectually of industrial wage earners is of supreme importance,"

and "holding as they do that labor should not be regarded merely as an article of commerce they think that there are methods and principles of regulating labor conditions which all industrial

communities should endeavor to apply so far as special circumstances will permit."

The labor clauses, among other things, specify the right of association for all lawful purposes by the employed: Of a wage adequate to maintain a reasonable standard of life as this is understood in their time and country; adoption of an eight-hour work-day; a weekly rest of at least twenty-four hours; abolition of child labor and equal pay for equal work performed regardless of sex. This marks the first time in history that so definite a recognition of labor and its interests has ever been accepted.

The establishment of the draft convention, that is, an international organization with annual conventions of an international labor conference for the discussion and formulation of measures calculated to protect and promote the rights, interests and welfare of the workers of all the nations in the world is the first instance in history in which such a declaration has been written into a peace treaty or an international treaty of whatsoever kind.

Attention is called to the preamble of the draft convention adopted by the Commission on International Labor Legislation and approved by the Plenary Peace Commission and incorporated as part of the Peace Treaty. The preamble is as follows:

Commission on International Labor Legislation

"A Draft Convention Creating a Permanent Organisation for the Promotion of the International Regulation of Labor Conditions. Preamble

WHEREAS, The League of Nations has for its objects the establishment of universal peace, and such a peace can be established only if it is based upon social justice; and

WHEREAS, conditions of labor exist involving such injustice, hardship and privation to large numbers of people as to produce unrest so great that the peace and harmony of the world are imperilled; and an improvement of those conditions is urgently required; as, for example, by the regulation of the hours of work, including the establishment of a maximum working day and week, the regulation of the labor supply, the prevention of unemployment, the provision of an adequate living wage, the protection of the worker against sickness, disease and injury arising out of his employment, the protection of children, young persons and women, provision for old age and injury, protection of the interests of workers when employed in countries other than their own, recognition of the principle of freedom of association, the organization of technical and vocational education and other measures;

WHEREAS, Also, the failure of any nation to adopt humane conditions of labor is an obstacle in the way of other nations which desire to improve the conditions in their own countries.

The High Contracting Parties, moved by sentiment of justice and humanity, as well

as by the desire to secure the permanent peace of the world, agree to the following convention:

In connection with the term "convention" as used in the title of the labor draft convention as adopted by the Commission on International Labor Legislation, the term "convention" is understood to mean a covenant or agreement.

Your special attention is directed to the protocol of Article 19, page 28, first days proceedings, which reads as follows:

"In no case shall any of the high contracting parties be asked or required as a result of the adoption of any recommendation or draft convention by the conference to diminish the protection afforded by its existing legislation to the workers concerned."

We agree with the Executive Council that the treaty embodying the covenant of the League of Nations is not a perfect document and that perfection is not claimed for it. Your committee agrees "that it marks the nearest approach to perfection that has ever been reached in the international affairs of mankind." It is calculated to and does "provide the best machinery of procedure yet devised for the prevention of war." It provides that international disputes between nations shall be settled in the calm light of reason and justice, rather than by the arbitrariness of war, with its consequent slaughter of priceless human lives and destruction of untold wealth.

No human being in possession of his moral senses can deny the adoption of a measure that will tend to prevent the indescribable horrors of another world war. Civilization must turn to a point where international disputes will be settled in the calm light of reason, rather than by the repetition of the horrors we have just witnessed. While the covenant of the League of Nations with its labor provisions is not perfect, is not all that we desire, it is in the right direction for the reason stated and a multiplicity of others and should be adopted in principle and so we recommend.

We further recommend that the Executive Council be authorized and directed to aid in every way the holding of the International Labor Congress which under the treaty of peace will convene in Washington, D. C., in October, 1919.

It was moved and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate Furuseth, Seamen: It is a most disagreeable task that I am endeavoring to perform. I have struggled with myself for two months, trying to convince myself that it was my duty to the labor movement, to my people, the seamen, and to myself to either keep quiet or to endorse any movement to have the labor provisions of the League of Nations endorsed by the American Federation of Labor.

Mr. Chairman, I lost in the fight. No matter what the consequences may be I

can not keep my peace now. This is the only place in which I can enter my protest, and whether that protest be heard or not, or whatever the result may be to me, there is something in me that ceaselessly, night and day, commands me to speak. Some of you may say that I am a Bolshevik. Those who know me know the opposite. The opinion of those who do not know me, is of no consequence to me.

It may be—it will be stated that I oppose here something that President Wilson desires and that my gratitude to him should close my mouth. I say to you that there is not a man on earth today for whom I would go further than for President Wilson; there is not on earth today a man to whom I feel more gratitude or for whose opinions, freely held, I would have more respect for, but my nature is such that I can not follow blindly, no matter who it may be, and I can not accept without protest the diluted labor proposition that, under pressure, the President of the United States felt himself compelled not to doubt to accept. I fear the concentrated national wills of Great Britain, France and Italy breaking upon him, and with the prospects of the flood gates of hell let loose in Europe, he felt that he could take no other position. It is not in the nature of a human being to stand that kind of pressure, and so I think now that I am loyal to the Wilson that I knew, that we know, and that I at least, for one, love.

Having said that, I want to deal now with this labor charter. Under section 20 of the original covenant, Section 23 as it is in the present covenant, the League of Nations takes jurisdiction over the daily life of the working people throughout the entire world. It says that it deems it its duty and will endeavor to make labor conditions humane and just in nations members of the League and in the nations with which the League has commercial and industrial relations. That embraces every working man and woman throughout the entire world. If the League has the authority to say that the conditions of labor shall be humane and just, there is no possibility to deny that it has the sole right to prescribe what is humane and just. There can be no higher authority anywhere so that whatever is adopted as humane and just by the League will necessarily have to stand as humane and just, regardless of any protest that the working men of any part of the world may feel inclined to lodge against such finding.

The constitution of the League as drafted is a grant of power. The League creates a super-legislature. It operates in two ways: Through a draft convention that is a proposed treaty, or through recommendations. The recommendations will go through the regular channels. In this country they will go to the House of Representatives, and from there to the Senate, and then to the President for his signature, and this will be all done in the open light of day. But a draft convention comes to the President; it is transmitted from the President to the Senate. It is discussed behind closed doors and you know not what it is or what it means until it comes out. These labor provisions are a part of the peace treaty. Every peace treaty is made to last forever. Every other kind of a treaty contains a clause that provides for renunciation or amendment. The peace treaty has no such clause. This treaty when once adopted will become part of the supreme law of the United States, and in so far as it is applicable to any of our laws it

will write itself into those laws, because an adopted treaty is the last expression of the legislative will.

Some may say that it has nothing to do with internal affairs. What are labor conditions in any country but internal affairs. The treatment of labor is put in the same category with the suppression of the opium traffic, etc. That the treatment of labor is an internal affair is indisputable, but the League takes control of internal affairs, and if the American people agree to this charter, then it becomes the particular law of the United States that can not be amended except by unanimous consent of the signers of the Treaty or on the field of battle.

I called these things to the attention of our delegation at Paris. Mr. Robinson, sitting on the platform, will unquestionably agree that I did. My protest entered then and there was taken by a gentleman now in this convention to Colonel House, and it was agreed that my protest was sound and that the alternative suggested by me was proper. That alternative would make the League's recommendations voluntarily and, as to labor, leave to each nation to determine for itself how far it should follow any recommendations made by the League affecting labor. I felt so good about it that my colleagues left Paris at once, but when I came back from having seen them to the railroad station the fat was in the fire. A professor—I don't know and can't remember his name—a professor of history, too, by the way, in the meantime had mixed into this question and upset our whole proposition, and the discussion began all over again.

I know how the American delegates felt in Paris. I know how anxious they were. I know that your President, Mr. Gompers, called the proposed constitution a frankenstein; I know the fight that was made against it, and I know that it has been assumed that the danger was cured.

The constitution-making body felt it necessary to adopt the protocol to Section 19 that has been read from the platform. I call your attention to the fact that the protocol says "they shall not be asked or required." Now I call your attention to that it goes on to say they shall not "diminish the protection afforded by the existing legislation." And who is to determine what constitutes protection? Who is to determine whether what may be proposed is to diminish or to increase the protection of existing law? The conference on International Labor legislation makes the rules and the League itself is the final authority. When the protocol was adopted I felt so good over it that I went to the Hotel Grillon and asked that telegram be sent to Hansen Secretary-Treasurer of the Seamen's organization, and I said to him in that telegram, as I remember it: "The Seamen are safe." In my report to the organization I quoted the telegram. I quoted what I had said, and then added: "I am not so sure of it; I am not at all sure of it." And the more I have been thinking about it, the more I have been brooding over it, the more I have been bringing back to my mind the scenes that I sat in the corner and watched in Paris, the more it breaks against me, and I can't do other than I am doing now.

Now, let me call your attention to the labor charter. It is significant for what was adopted and still more significant for what was refused adoption. Who are the signatories of this thing, anyway? Let us see. I will read them to you. All those

people will help to make the legislation that you are going to live under. They are the United States of America, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, British Empire, Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, India, Cuba, Czeko-Slovakia, Ecuador, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Hadjez (a Slave State, a newly created slave state which recognizes human slavery, on the coast of the Persian Gulf), Honduras, Italy, Japan, Liberia, Nicaragua, Panama, Poland, Portugal, Roumania, Servia, Siam and Uruguay.

Now, what did they adopt? Let us have a look at it for a little while. It is very interesting. When it came to writing the Bill of Rights, you know when the Constitution of the United States was adopted it was a grant of power and it could not be adopted by the States until they adopted the twelve amendments which became known as the Bill of Rights. Without these it could not possibly be adopted. I submit to you whether it would have been adopted at all or not if the men who consented to it had known that the Federal power was to increase to what it is today. Now let us see what the American labor movement brought to this convention in Paris for its adoption. The right of free association, free assembly, free speech, free press. You can't find any of these in the bill of rights adopted. It says that you shall have the right—that employers and employees shall have the right to lawfully assemble, to lawful organization, to lawful combination. Who is to determine what is to be lawful in the case? Why, the international super-legislature, not you in the United States. Who is to sit on this wonder body? One man representing labor, the organization most representative of labor. In other words, the American Federation of Labor, and that would be absolutely certain as long as we have Woodrow Wilson for President, and if he would continue to be President I don't think I would oppose this thing. I don't know who is going to be President after him. Then there is one representative of the employers, taken from the organization most representative of employers, that is, one of the employers' association here in the United States. And there are two representing the United States government. That is three to one, as I read it. It might not be now, because Woodrow Wilson has the appointing power, but what will it be under his successor, do you think?

Now, then, there are four men for each nation, four men for each of those that I read. But mind you, the British Empire has 124, because it is represented over and over again, in Canada, in Australia, in South Africa, in New Zealand, in India. In other words, 24 or 28 representatives against your four. What chance have you? Have men all of a sudden become saints? Are men no longer controlled by their interests? I have found no evidence of such a change anywhere, and I can not accept that philosophy.

Now what else did they fail to insert in this thing that was adopted? The representatives of America brought to that convention the proposal—and mind you, this that I read to you is the first or second of the bill of rights as put into the Constitution of the United States—free speech, free press, etc. Now then, there is the thirteenth amendment to Constitution of the United States. What did they do with that? It was introduced and fought for by your representatives in Paris. It was introduced

and fought for by Mr. Gompers and the other representatives. What was done with it? They said, "there isn't such a thing as slavery in Europe." Mr. Barnes, the representative of England, ridiculed it in a quiet way, and the proposal to include this as a controlling thing for the protection of the working people was voted down in that constitutional convention. What may we expect of those who are to follow these men?

Then comes the question as to whether the thirteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States was to be applied to seamen, and the proposition was made that the Seaman should have the same right to leave his vessel in safe harbor without being imprisoned. That was promptly voted down after the protocol had been adopted, and the protocol was only adopted after two days of fighting. I have called your attention to what it may probably mean. Then when all of us had left Paris, when there were no more Americans there, they changed the proposition that "Labor is not a commodity or an article of commerce"—you know that expression from the Clayton Act. And what does that constitution-making body do when it is called together again? Upon the motion of Mr. Borden, of Canada, they make that to read: "The labor power of a human being is not 'merely' a commodity or an article of commerce," changing an absolute negative to an equally absolute positive. In order that you may understand the absolute meaning of it, I will draw a parallel. Somebody says Andrew Furuseth is a scab; somebody else doesn't like that and proposes a resolution that he is not a scab; somebody amends it to read that he is not "merely" a scab; and that is what you get and that is what you are asked to indorse.

There isn't a solitary thing here that leaves any of the American ideals in this document, and then legislation under it is to be enacted by men from all these places who could not understand even the question of involuntary servitude.

There is something here with reference to women; it is very nice and expressive—the principle that men and women should receive equal remuneration for work of equal value. What a rich time a lawyer would have in construing that? How can you tell whether it is of equal value or not? And when they wanted to put it so that it would be indisputable by stating, "equal pay for equal time," Mr. Barnes said: "Why, there are some men in England who believe in that, but they believe in it because they don't want the women in factories or in industry at all. That would shut them out of the factories." Well, perhaps it would, but that has been the position of the labor movement of America—equal pay for equal time to men or women.

Then there is the question of wage. Since when has the American Federation of Labor gone on record, or is it now willing to go on record and set a minimum wage for full-grown men, and have it set by someone else instead of having it set by themselves? This thing is foreign to everything that you have dreamed of, everything that you have struggled for, everything that your hopes and aspirations have gone out to. It makes me shudder.

I feel that I should say one more thing. A treaty—I want to recall to your mind that we have a treaty with Japan which gave to the Japanese in the United States the right of

most favored nations. The California Legislature undertook to pass a law that the Japanese should not, in the State of California, be permitted to own or lease land, and they should not be permitted to sit alongside the little American girls in school. Mr. Roosevelt, of sacred memory, told California that if it didn't get down from its high horse, that if it undertook to pass such legislation he would use the army and navy of the United States to enforce the treaty. When Woodrow Wilson was elected President, California tried the same thing again, and Mr. Bryan was sent out to plead with them, and he pleaded with them so successfully that the Japanese are taking charge of the land in California. No legislation was enacted, because there was a treaty standing in the way.

Take the seamen's situation and I will close. Perhaps because of the argument that was had upon it, the seamen might be more safeguarded than any other labor, but after all, I don't look upon it as being safe, and so I must mention it. In England today, or rather here in the United States, we are up against a fight in which we have spent between \$60,000 and \$70,000, to defend the Seamen's Act. We, the mudsills, are doing that. What are we defending? The possibilities of the United States becoming a sea power, the possibility of the United States becoming equal to anybody else on the ocean. Who fights it? England. What industrial interests fight it? The British. And when I came back from France to England I was told that they were going to use the Supreme Court decision lately handed down to sign any man for a shilling a month who asked for the protection of the seamen's Act when he arrived in the United States. The hatred of the Seamen's Act, the objection to it is simply cold and calculating. Let it once get into an international body of this description with any authority to deal with it, and the hope of the United States becoming a sea power, the hope of the United States for a merchant marine and a navy that can defend America, and the hope of seamen sufficiently trained to draw upon in time of war will vanish. Wars are not over, don't you forget it, and when the time comes if you haven't the seamen you will be helpless. You could see that in the last war.

And so from whatever side I look at it, from the labor question and from the Seamen's question, I can't vote for this thing; I can't consistently do it, and I have got to do whatever I am doing, may the consequences be what they may to me and mine.

Secretary Woll: The contentions just set forth to this convention so dramatically and so graphically have been fully considered by the Committee on International Labor Relations. May I say at the outset that when the delegate preceding me indicated what a former President of the United States threatened to do to the people of California unless they respected what is believed by many not to have been a treaty with Japan, but merely an understanding, that we were then confronted with that danger and the Californians were subjected to that force of our government regardless of a League of Nations, which demonstrates that whether we have a League of Nations or no, we must respect the obligations entered into, and we are no longer a nation isolated in world affairs and therefore must, to some extent, subject ourselves to their will and to their condition of life.

It is true that every agreement entered into, no matter how narrowly subscribed its pro-

visions are, no matter how innocent in its provisions, whatever agreement is entered into, to that degree limits your own freedom and right of action. That is the law of life, that is the law of society, that is the law of government, that is the law that we, as trade unionists follow, and when we enter into the American Federation of Labor we, to some degree, give away our own freedom of action for the collective good of all. That applies to nations as it does to ourselves, and so, however perfect the League of Nations document might be, it would at least to that degree to which agreements have been entered into to limit the freedom of action beyond that point to which they had obligated themselves. When we say it limits us here or there, that is true of every obligation, and if that argument is well founded and is to determine the judgment of this convention, then let us be frank; let us accept that doctrine and let us say we shall have no League of Nations, however perfect it may be; let us also say we will have no understanding, no treaty, no obligation with any other peoples of this world and that we, as the United States, will isolate ourselves and be free and independent of all that surrounds us.

I feel that this convention is not going to, in this day and in this time and period of civilization, adopt a doctrine and ascribe to a philosophy of that character. The delegate preceding me has laid emphasis on this belief: That Article 23 in the last draft of the League of Nations covenant constituted a super-legislative body which took away from the peoples of the various nations parties to that covenant the right to determine of and for and by themselves the conditions of life and work under which they shall live. The document itself does not bear out that conclusion, because it reads: "subject to and in accordance with the provisions of international conventions existing or hereafter to be agreed upon." What does that mean? "Convention" as indicated in your committee's report and as understood in European terms is an agreement, and so let us read it in our own terminology: "subject to and in accordance with the provisions of international agreements existing or hereafter to be agreed upon by the members;" and then it says: "will endeavor to secure and maintain fair and human conditions of labor for men, women and children, both in their own countries and in all countries to which their commercial and industrial relations extend, and for that purpose of reaching these understandings will establish and maintain the necessary international organizations." That lays the foundation, the building up of an organization for this purpose, and then we turn to the labor section where this organization is created. And what do we find there? We find there that the organization is to be constituted, as has been described to you by the delegate. There is no question that England will have a larger representation in that organization, but even if we were to bind each nation to but one delegate, America would not have a majority of votes because there are many nations, there are many places represented here. However, that is not of such vital importance as to destroy the effectiveness or the approval of the organization. There is some logic, perhaps, to that representation. I have the distinctive recollection of this convention's action declaring itself in favor of and as having recognized the Republic of Ireland. The day may come when Canada will likewise declare for a Republic of Canada. Other possessions of England may declare things of that nature

and to my mind their representation in this conference will perhaps hasten, rather than retard, a realization of that kind. I for one would not regret to see that realization come into existence, and so rather than retarding I think it is helpful to peoples.

But now let us go further on the labor provisions and see if they are of any binding nature. It is my viewpoint, it is the viewpoint of your committee that the nine points are not binding agreements, that they are merely expressions of opinions only as a guidance for the consideration of matter based upon the preamble, and the preamble is as follows:

"Whereas, The League of Nations has for its object the establishment of universal peace, and such a peace can be established only if it is based upon social justice; and

"Whereas, Conditions of labor exist involving such injustice, hardship and privation to large numbers of people as to produce unrest so great that the peace and harmony of the world are imperiled; and an improvement of those conditions is urgently required; as, for example, by the regulations of the hours of work, including the establishment of a maximum working day and week, the regulation of the labour supply, the prevention of unemployment, the provision of an adequate living wage, the protection of the worker against sickness, disease and injury arising out of his employment, the protection of children, young persons and women, provision for old age and injury, protection of the interests of the workers when employed in countries other than their own, recognition of the principle of freedom of association, the organization of vocational and technical education and other measures;

"Whereas, Also the failure of any nation to adopt humane conditions of labour is an obstacle in the way of other nations which desire to improve the conditions in their own countries;

"THE HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES, Moved by sentiments of justice and humanity as well as by the desire to secure the peace of the world, agree to the following:"

Then it goes on in Article 387: "A permanent organization is hereby established for the promotion of the objects set forth in the Preamble," which I have just read to you.

To say to you that it creates a super-legislative body and that it deprives the entire Congress from acting upon any future relations in the League of Nations I think is beyond the document in itself and is purely imaginary.

Delegate McCarthy, Carpenters: Suppose this A. F. of L. Convention today should decide on a seven or a six hour day, and suppose the Congress of the United States should also decide on that particular number of hours, and suppose that is signed by the President of the United States. Could we, the working people of America, put that law into practice without going over to this so-called institution described a moment ago as the institution with which we would have to deal?

Secretary Woll: Absolutely so, in my best information; and my own conviction is that the League of Nations, with its labor provisions, does not in any way hamper, restrict or interfere with the freedom of legislation of any nation to improve its legislation, to improve the conditions of its workers.

The League of Nations goes further and it adds a protecting arm against what nations have advanced legislation on that score, and it only restrains this international organization from recommending or urging any other nation to reduce or diminish its helpful legis-

lation. While on that point let me say to you that it is my conviction that it will not be the League of Nations who determine whether it diminishes protection, but it will be the nation directly involved, because the League of Nations does not take away the power or the sovereignty from any nation in the League.

To make it clear, let us analyze the situation further. The international conference decided here that its action shall be expressed and manifested in two forms: one, a recommendation to be submitted to members for consideration with a view to effect being given it by national legislation or otherwise, and the other by a draft international convention for ratification by the members. In other words, this conference or labor organization may express its conclusions in two forms, one in the form of a recommendation to all members of the League of Nations, which they may accept or reject or which they need not even consider if they do not desire to do so; the other form is in the nature of a draft convention which the nations are requested to consider, but which they may accept or reject or modify, or do with it whatever they choose. This body can only recommend, and so far as the United States is concerned, even that course is restricted in its effect because it states "in the case of a federal State, the power of which to enter into conventions on labor matters is subject to limitations, it shall be in the discretion of that government to treat a draft convention to which such limitations apply as a recommendation only, and the provisions of this article with respect to recommendations shall apply in such case."

Not only is that first manifestation or conclusion of this labor conference recommendatory, but even in a draft convention, so far as our nation is concerned, it is purely a recommendation, and even in matters where the national government has jurisdiction, say over interstate commerce, there the government is free to do as it may see fit, because there is nothing binding whatever upon any nation to adopt a draft convention or a recommendation of this labor conference.

With that I fail to see where any of these dangers that have been so graphically described have their foundation in fact or in the document. It is true that for the time being at least, and I hope not for all time, these labor sections may not mean an improvement of the conditions of the workers of this country, and that is for the reason that our conditions have so far advanced beyond the working conditions existing in many of the European nations. I personally feel that this provision is going to be helpful in upbuilding and making better the lives and working conditions of the workers in these European nations, and for that reason we ought to be glad and rejoice at the opportunity of giving a helping hand to those who have not advanced as far as we have. I see nothing, as I have stated before, and that is the opinion of your committee—and may I say your committee entered fully into that subject, that we were all deeply concerned lest something might be contained that might prove harmful, that might restrict the hopes and the ambitions of our labor movement and of the people of America, or which might interfere with the sovereignty of our nation and give power into the hands of other nations which we feel should not be delegated to them. It has only been after that careful attention, consideration and analysis that your committee has recommended the endorsement of the League of Nations in principle.

Delegate McNulty, Electrical Workers: I desire at this time to offer an amendment:

that nothing in the League of Nations as endorsed by this convention can be construed as denying the right of self-determination and freedom to Ireland as recognized by the vote of this convention on Tuesday, June 17, 1919. (Amendment seconded.)

Delegate Duncan, James A., Seattle: Let's make it all the nations of the earth. The Irish in this convention have shown themselves mighty poor sports when it came to the workers of other nations desiring to get their freedom, which is being interfered with by all the nations of the earth, including the United States of America.

Delegate Furuseth: I rise to a point of order. The amendment is not germane to the question and is not in order.

President Gompers: The point of order is not well taken.

Delegate Brown, Machinists: I don't believe there is a question that has arisen before this convention that will mean so much in a general way to us, as well as the workers of all countries, as this question; therefore, Mr. Chairman, I desire through you to ask whether Fraternal Delegate Bondfield will give us the position taken by the British Trades Union Congress in this matter.

President Gompers: The chair desires to call attention to the fact that neither the peace treaty nor the labor provisions were formulated at the time the British Trades Union Congress was in session.

Vice-President Green: I have no desire to discuss the amendment offered by Delegate McNulty. I am quite willing to agree to that amendment. I think it is unnecessary, but if it will satisfy Brother McNulty and his enthusiastic friends I am willing to support it and vote for it. I want to speak to you for just a few minutes upon the report of the committee.

I regard the question now being considered by this convention as the most important proposal that has come before it for consideration and action. We have reached the point in our civilization and in our history where we are confronted with a proposition that, to my mind, is the most constructive that has been presented to civilization for consideration and adoption. First, I want to speak for just a few minutes in support of the committee's report with reference to the League of Nations. In my opinion no part of the agreement that has been negotiated at Paris has been so misrepresented and so misinterpreted in America as the League of Nations. It occurs to me that if there is one body of representative citizens that can afford to approve unanimously of the League of Nations project it is this convention of the American Federation of Labor. I say that because the men and women whom we represent in this convention are for peace; they are against war; they don't believe in it. They have been opposed to war and have been earnestly endeavoring to find some method to avert wars.

My friends, for the first time in the history of mankind there has been brought to us an instrument that has for its purpose the prevention of war. For the first time in the history of civilization the nations of the world have been brought together in a common covenant for a common purpose, and they have declared, through the instrument of the League of Nations, that henceforth and forever it is the purpose of civilization to substitute reason for force in the settlement of disputes between nations. May I ask the delegates to this convention this question: Suppose the League of Nations covenant is

rejected by the United States, suppose it is rejected by the nations of the world, suppose it is voted down; then what have we got? We have simply settled down to the old theory of the survival of the fittest. We have approved of the old method of uncivilized warfare, of alliances between nations, of militarism, of armaments, and all that will go on because there is no moral force that has been created for the purpose of preventing war.

What will we do if we defeat the League of Nations? How are we going to look into the future? To what can we look, for what can we hope as a means of preventing war if this instrument is defeated? The working people of the world are groaning for peace, they are looking for something that may come out of the settlement of this awful war that will establish good will among nations and peace upon earth.

I will admit, as every sensible working man must admit, that the League of Nations in its present form is not a perfect document. Is it possible that in the beginning of such constructive work frail human minds could so compose their differences as to bring to the world a perfect document? That has never been done in working out differences between men and differences between nations. I think I can convince you that that statement is true by simply refreshing the memory of representatives of international unions sitting in this convention as delegates. How often have we sat around the council table with our employers, presenting to them the demands of the workers; and how many times have we come back from the council table disappointed because we did not get everything we asked for? How many times have our constituents denounced us and criticised us because we did not bring back to them everything they instructed us to attempt to obtain. We have made progress, although I venture to say that not one of us will admit that the agreements between the employers and the organizations are the ones we hoped to obtain. But they have improved conditions and built a foundation upon which we hope to construct until we reach the time when we can realize our hopes and aspirations.

So it is with the League of Nations. In Paris, sitting around the council table, there were men representing nations who held opinions that differed materially. It was the most stupendous task in the history of the world to compose those differences and bring to us the document we now have; and it seems to me that if there is any one representative body in America that can afford to and that ought to approve unanimously this instrument that has for its purpose the promotion of peace and the prevention of war, it is the great convention of the American Federation of Labor. Labor has always pleaded for peace; labor has always opposed war.

I hate war; I hate militarism; I hate all the destructive forces that are turned loose when nations go to war, and when I stood at Chateau Thierry with my colleagues and saw the little mounds above our American boys sleeping on foreign soil I hated war worse than ever before. I would be false to my family, I would be false to the working people whom I have the honor to represent, I would be false to the traditions of the American labor movement from the beginning of time if I failed to support the only remedy, the only method, offered to us after this awful war that has for its purpose

the maintenance of peace and the promotion of good will.

Some opposition has been raised to certain sections in the League of Nations covenant. There is opposition to Section 10, which declares that the territorial integrity of nations will be maintained and protected from external aggression. I ask you to consider just a moment the meaning of this section. What has been the original cause of practically every devastating war in the history of mankind? It has been the greed of nations for more territory, for the extension of their lines. It has been the inclination of nations to covet their neighbor's yard and their neighbor's property. How are we going to prevent war unless a combination of nations shall declare that we are going to oppose external aggression of one nation against any other nation?

Some say this will prevent nations from participating in revolutions; from fighting for their own independence. Some have gone so far as to appeal to the Irish race and say that if this is adopted it will prevent them from realizing their hopes for independence. That is a misinterpretation, a misrepresentation and, in my opinion, it is done for the deliberate purpose of defeating the League of Nations. There is nothing in this covenant that prevents any nation or any part of any nation from settling internal affairs in its own way; and there is nothing in that section or any other section that warrants the League of Nations interfering in the internal affairs of any nation that is a party to the League. It does protect the countries in the nations they have formed, and I imagine that if some nation in Europe would attempt to come to South America and make a colony of some of the South American republics the League of Nations would say: "Here, you must stop. Here, you must end the introduction of warfare." How can you preserve the peace of the world unless you preserve the territorial integrity of the nations of the world? The Irish people may realize their independence under the terms of the League of Nations, if they desire and can bring it about, as easily as they can if there is no League of Nations.

I favor the League of Nations not because it is what I would like to have it but because it is the one instrument that has come out of this awful turmoil of war that will, in a measure, preserve the peace of the world. If we do not adopt it, if we do not enjoy the benefits of it, if it is rejected and defeated, then what have we got out of the war? Every nation will be in mortal fear of its neighbor. We shall have secret covenants, secret treaties, and no moral obligation on the part of nations to join with each other to prevent war.

I sincerely hope that this convention will respond to what I believe is the well-founded sentiment of the working men and women of America and adopt this covenant, believe in it, approve of it, and say to the reactionary elements in Congress that are trying to defeat this measure that the working people of the country demand that they adopt the League of Nations.

Just a word or two on the labor sections referred to by my friend Andrew Furuseth. I was under the impression when I heard it rumored that my friend Andrew Furuseth—for whom I have a profound regard—was opposed to these labor sections, that he understood them perfectly well; that his opposition was founded upon a complete and correct understanding of what the labor sections mean. After listening to his address I am forced

to reverse my opinion. There was no one who worked harder for the realization of the demands of the American Federation than President Gompers at the sessions in Paris. It was a most trying experience, an ordeal that in my judgment he could not undergo again. The best thought he possessed, the best energy he possessed, the best of his life and being were thrown into this work in order that he might satisfy the reasonable expectations of the workers of America.

It seems to me now there are two Andrew Furuseths; one in Paris and another in America, for, as I understand it, at Paris my friend Andrew congratulated the President of the American Federation of Labor for the splendid work he had performed, for the covenant itself, and for the labor sections contained therein. Now, I don't know which one to believe; whether the Andrew who congratulated President Gompers, in Paris, or the Andrew who stands here this afternoon completely reversing his position. Perhaps it is because he found that the League itself had been misrepresented to him; and I should like to believe it is due to that fact rather than to any other that he takes the position he does here today.

If what my friend, Andrew Furuseth says is true, then we have delegated to an international convention all our sovereignty, all our power, all our rights, and all the things for which the American labor movement has stood. Now, as an answer to that, let me ask you, delegates, do you believe that President Gompers, who has served you for over thirty years, would agree to turn over the sovereignty of this movement to an international labor convention? Has he? Why, it would mean, if that were true, that President Gompers is either easily deceived or else he has been double dealing with the American labor movement, and from my experience and knowledge of him I know he has done neither. The fact of the matter is that all of those things have been closely watched and thoroughly safeguarded.

The international labor convention set up by this machinery has neither legislative power nor administrative power, if you please. It is the clearing house to which representatives of labor from all the nations parties to this convention may come and there consider what things are best for the labor of the world; after they have considered them, agree upon them—if possible—and recommend them to every nation. What for? Merely for favorable consideration. If the nations wish to accept the recommendations made they are free agents; they can do so or they can refuse and reject them all. That is what this international labor conference means; that is the scope of its authority and what it will do. I feel that instead of being a super-legislative body or an instrument of oppression, something that will tie the workers hand and foot, it is going to be the greatest international force for the promotion of the fundamental things for which labor stands that has been created in this century.

We hear much of internationalism; we hear much about the promotion of international relations; we hear much about making the labor world over together. I believe in that. And here we have the instrument by which we can do it. Is it possible, now, after realizing the thing for which we have contended, that we are going to reject it and say we do not want the thing we have been contending for all these years?

I want to read the opinion of a great mind upon the achievements of labor at the con

ference in Paris. I want to read to you his very words:

"The labor program which the Conference of Peace has adopted as part of the Treaty of Peace constitutes one of the most important achievements of the new day in which the interests of labor are to be systematically and intelligently safeguarded and promoted. Admire the multitude of other interests this great step forward is apt to be overlooked, and yet no other single thing that has been done will help more to stabilize conditions of labor throughout the world and ultimately relieve the unhappy conditions which in too many places have prevailed. Personally I regard this as one of the most gratifying achievements of the Congress."

That is the statement of the President of the United States, Woodrow Wilson.

Here again, my friends, I think I can safely say that we have but trodden the path of human experience. Labor always asks for the things it hopes to realize and for which it most earnestly contends. "Hope springs eternal in the human breast" and our aspirations and desires have always been in advance of our realizations and the practical conditions that exist. Here is where we presented things and hoped to get them and did not get them all, but we did get a great many things we earnestly desired.

For the first time in the history of the world the nations of the world have written into a document that they agree that workers have a right to organize. My friend, Mr. Furuseth, puts great stress on the words "lawful organizations" and tries to leave the impression that this super-convention will determine what is lawful and what is not lawful. Nothing is farther from the truth. The American government will decide what is a lawful organization in America; the French republic will decide what is a lawful organization in France; Great Britain will decide for Great Britain, and so on; every country will determine for itself what is lawful and what is not lawful.

The war has cost thousands of lives. Our boys went across the ocean to sleep on foreign soil. I don't want ever to see another war, and for that reason I hope this League of Nations will be approved by this representative body, so that the people of this nation will know where labor stands on the question of permanent and everlasting peace.

Delegate Fitzpatrick, White Rats Actors: I have been told that the President of the American Federation of Labor, on becoming informed that the word "merely" had been inserted in the labor section in reference to labor as a commodity, instantly protested the insertion of that word. I would like to inquire if that is true and if there has been any answer.

President Gompers: The President of the American Federation of Labor will ask the indulgence of the convention to address them on the question before the house later.

Delegate Heller, Ladies' Garment Workers: Let us be cool and reasonable and attentive, and analyze that which has been borne out of this war, and let us see whether it will bring the benefits that have been promised to us during the war or whether, especially in the labor clauses, it will not, on the contrary, work to the disadvantage of the labor movement.

I say that it is quite wrong, as Delegate Green has stated, for us at the present moment to vote down the League of Nations which has been the hope, at least so represented, and the belief that it was the future

instrument to give happiness to the workers, but it would be equally wrong to state that the League of Nations is right. I say no, so long as there are going to be large standing armies, and so long as only a part of the nations of the world are going to constitute the League of Nations there are going to be wars, and more terrible wars than the one just fought for labor and democracy.

Let us leave out the political side of this entire question. I feel that if every delegate to this convention will hold the view of Delegate Green, that war is horrible and that he hates war and that this is going to be the view of every worker, there will be no more wars in the future.

There is one dangerous point, and this is the labor plank. I say that I oppose the labor clause of the League of Nations because it has the power to legislate labor laws. If this conference renders a decision favorable to the workers of the world, the governments in existence will reject it, because the capitalists will see that it is executed in the congresses and parliaments of the world. On the contrary, if the League of Nations will render a decision against certain interests of the workers, the workers will be made to accept it by force of public opinion.

I say that the question that Brother McCarthy asked ought to be in a different form—what is going to be the result if the congress of the League of Nations expresses an opinion that the workers should work eight hours a day and the Miners' Union should go on strike for a six-hour day? I say that you are going to be in a terrible position, and moreover you will never get any favorable decisions from this conference because labor is going to be in the minority. They are going to be three to one against labor, and at any time the workers of a country make a demand for certain improvements, this convention will express an opinion and that opinion will be enough to kill all the aspirations of those workers.

Therefore, Mr. Chairman and delegates, I fear that by accepting this draft in this form we are establishing an institution that will say yes or no, right or wrong to labor. They will have no power to force governments, but will have the power to force something upon the labor organizations, and therefore, horrible as this may be for the nations of the world, no matter how great a disappointment it is going to be to the peoples of the world, after they have made the League of Nations the guide of the future destinies, still I fear for the future of labor if it is accepted, because labor will not have anything to say. They are going to be ruled at all times by public opinion of the world, and we are not strong enough yet to withstand the pressure, and the world is not idealistic enough yet, especially those outside the labor movement, to concede the principles that have been adopted and inserted in this treaty. There are going to be such interpretations as will absolutely kill the intent and purpose of this entire agreement. I merely address you in the interests of labor, and just as you are fighting or condemning the effort of any outsider to interfere in the affairs of the American Federation of Labor, I am strongly opposed to interference on the part of capitalists in the affairs of this American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Walker, J. H., Mine Workers: Mr. Chairman, in my opinion the League of Nations is about the most important question we will have had to deal with during our lifetime, or that we shall ever be called

upon to deal with. As I see it, it has in it the real values for which the war itself was fought. To make a mistake now may lose the thing for which our men died in the trenches. To use our good judgment now and do the things we should will save for us every thing that was fought for by those men who died in the trenches and will make it impossible for humanity to be required to go through that experience again.

I am going to deal first with the labor sections of the covenant. To begin with, I want to refer briefly to one or two of the things Delegate Furueth referred to. He said, and he was careful to make that qualification, that if the Labor Conference had the authority to legislate for us and if their legislation could be enforced by law, if a penalty were provided, then we would be subject to the influences of man representing labor in backward countries in our labor conditions here in our own country. If you have read the covenant itself you will see that it says in plain language that we are not bound by anything, even in the main body of the covenant, let alone the labor sections of it, except our own representatives first agree to and vote for it, and then that the Congress of the United States itself by legislative enactment favor it and decide to enforce it. There is no danger from that source. And it might be well, while considering that matter, to compare the condition we will be in then with the condition we are in now.

There are twenty treaties varying in their terms from ten to twenty years that the United States is a party to now.

I want you to recall about how much time you spent in discussing treaties in the past before the Senate enacted them. How many treaties did you have an opportunity to discuss? Not one. This is the first treaty that was ever given the people of the nation to discuss before the Senate enacted it. In the past treaties were made by your representatives and enacted by the Senate behind closed doors, and the only thing you got was the finished act which you had to live up to.

Delegate Furueth said this treaty was made to last forever. This covenant itself provides that it can be amended from time to time as provided by the machinery, and it gives us a right to withdraw at any time we like. But even suppose that the conference agreed to the proposition, and suppose that the representatives of labor—our own men that we select for those positions—agreed to it, we would not be bound by it unless the Congress of the United States itself after that action was taken voted to be bound by it. I am not saying that it is an absolute safeguard of labor's interest having it required to be enacted by the Congress of the United States, but at least the very worst that can be said about it is that it is no worse than the condition we now have. We have our own representatives meeting there; they are in communication with us all the time. I want to make that clear, so that so far as Brother Furueth's main contention is concerned, there is absolutely no ground whatever for his contention and the covenant itself provides just the opposite. It can be amended at any time and we can withdraw from it at any time. It is not made permanent and it can be changed.

For three weeks prior to this convention, at the request of President Gompers and Vice-President Duncan, I served with a commission making a tour of our country to advocate ratification of the covenant. In the meetings

I was required to attend during that tour about 90 per cent of the people in the audiences were business men and employers and because of that I could not discuss the things that appealed to me from a worker's point of view as reasons why the covenant should be ratified, because if I did I should have turned the audience in the opposite direction. I was surprised, however, when I came here to find that there were some representatives of labor opposing this covenant, notwithstanding the fact that it has only a moral influence—because that is about all it is—with machinery which, when moral influence has brought about a condition that allows something to be done in the way of progress, in the way of benefit to humanity, and not the things organized labor has been advocating in Hadjez, but in America through the American Federation of Labor as fundamental declarations that are at the basis of the labor declarations on which the League will operate. I will quote briefly from Section 2, Article 427, "General Principles":

"The right of association for all lawful purposes by the employees as well as by the employers."

That means that every worker has the right to organize.

"The payment to the employed of a wage adequate to maintain a reasonable standard of life as this is understood in their time and country."

This is something we have advocated all the time.

"The adoption of a weekly rest of at least twenty-four hours, which should include Sunday wherever practicable."

One day's rest in seven is one of our standard demands.

"The abolition of child labor and the imposition of such limitations on the labor of young persons as shall permit the continuation of their education and assure their proper physical development."

"The principle that men and women should receive equal remuneration for work of equal value."

These are the things the American Federation of Labor advocates in America; they are things every organizer paid by you to work for the labor movement advocates; they are things every international officer here and every trade unionist in our country has advocated and fought for. They are things we have struck for, spent our money for, gone to jail for, and that some of us died for in the past. These are the things the American Chamber of Commerce, every labor-hating corporation in our country, and every institution that refuses to recognize the right of working men and women to organize have been fighting day and night, in season and out, ceaselessly, by every means they could muster up. Do you wonder why employers and business men of that type are all fighting against the ratification of this treaty. And that is what they are doing. Of course, all decent employers favor these things, and a great many of our employers are decent.

I am not speaking simply out of my own imagination—I have not been long enough in the United States Senate for that—but everywhere in our nation these men and these interests are fighting the ratification of this treaty; and they know why they are fighting it; they know if this covenant is ratified and that Charter of Rights bill becomes the declared policy of all the nations of the earth, any opposition they may have will be set aside and these will be the minimum conditions for labor. I say to you that if nothing but these

six things are adopted, no stronger moral influence could operate in favor of our getting them, and there is no man or woman in the trade unions of the country that knows what it means but would go to the extreme limit to try to bring about its realization.

In 1912 the United Mine Workers of America instructed delegates to go to Amsterdam and introduce resolutions in the International Mining Congress held there. These resolutions declared that if any nation represented in that meeting initiated a war of aggression the miners' union of that nation would declare a general strike and refuse to work or fight. I introduced the resolution and then I withdrew it at the request of delegates from the German miners' union. They told me they could not even sit in the convention where such a resolution was proposed, that even if they opposed it and sat in a meeting that considered a matter of that kind it would be taken by their government that they had assumed that they had a right to act on a question of a military nature, and immediately their organization would be destroyed, their property confiscated, and the officers and members punished in whatever manner the imperial government saw fit.

My purpose in bringing up this matter is this: The Irish need not be afraid of Section 10. The object of Section 10 is to guarantee protection against invasion by force and if we are not in favor of it then we must be in favor of any strong nation that wants to do it invading any other country. The Monroe Doctrine was promulgated by our government because the so-called Holy Alliance—a combination of the European nations, Great Britain excepted—had decided to go to South America and make the nations there that had revolted against Spain and established their own republics go back again under Spanish domination. The American Government—and I think there were a good many Irish in the government then—formulated the Monroe Doctrine and said that no nation on earth, outside of America, would be permitted to interfere with the affairs of any nation on the American Hemisphere. They decided for that thing, and I am satisfied the great majority of our people—particularly men who earnestly desire Ireland to have the right of self-determination—favor it now.

I think most of you since coming to this convention received letters—I know I did—which said that if Section 10 was enacted Canada, Australia and Ireland would never be able to get their freedom. The inference was that the United States would have to furnish an army to suppress any of those people if they attempted to establish their own republic. The fact is that the covenant itself makes that matter clear when it says it has nothing to do with the internal affairs of any nation, that no nation is to furnish military power to suppress any people that want to change their form of government. In such a case no nation a member of the League has any right to interfere.

Suppose we go back to 1914. Suppose we go back to that condition where every nation was an armed nation and had to protect itself with its own resources from all the other nations on earth. Do you believe that any nation, under those circumstances, would be willing to allow territory immediately adjoining to secede and form a government that might make alliances with nations they were afraid of? It doesn't look reasonable. At the same time, suppose that the League of Nations is established and a world government is formed which will guarantee the

integrity of every nation's territory from foreign invasion.

Suppose that kind of a nation had a government established and every nation on earth becomes thoroughly convinced it will be safe from the aggression of every other nation in the world; I think when we get to that point there will not be so much concern on the part of any nation about keeping any territory that does not want to be kept by that country. I believe when that stage has been arrived at Canada, New Zealand and Ireland will be able to get the right of self-determination if they ask for it. I think about half the people who live in Scotland have Irish names and half the people who live in England have Irish names, and about half the people who live in Ireland have English, Welsh and Scotch names. It isn't a question of race, and some time, when this false sentiment has had time to subside, as a matter of common sense they will come together for their own mutual protection. I believe that once the League of Nations is established, if convinced that they will be safeguarded from foreign aggression, many small nationalities will be given the right to set up republics where conditions justify that being done.

The section relating to armaments provides that armaments will be reduced to the lowest point possible consistent with the protection of each country and the enforcement of national obligations. That means that the cost for military establishments will be reduced to all peoples to the lowest minimum. We have not had that sort of burden in the United States, but the European nations have, and if there is no League of Nations provided for now we will be compelled in self-defense to do the same thing. For fifty years Germany built up her military machine; she developed the most effective methods of destroying human life, and as a result when this war broke loose there were more men killed in less time and more property destroyed than in any war ever fought in all history. And let me say, they had only just begun to perfect the means of destroying human life. Before the war was concluded our own government had gases invented against which there would be no defense. The possibility of death from disease bacteria turned loose from airplanes and dirigibles in the clouds is too horrible even to contemplate; but suppose we go into another war after all of the nations have built up such organizations and have applied their resources for years to discovering new and more effective methods of destroying human life, what kind of war will it be? This section makes it impossible for any nation to be successful in doing such a thing in the future.

This same section recognizes the dangers of men and corporations making private profits out of the manufacture of war implements and munitions and declares for their abolition. It is a public secret that the munition manufacturers of our country have been active in the past in fomenting revolutions in South America. There has hardly been a revolution in South America for the last fifty years that was not fomented by some munition-making concern in our own country. Look over the list of those who are publicly opposing the establishment of a League of Nations now. Look at the list of those who oppose it in the Senate. One man comes from a copper state where there were ten billion pounds of copper mined and ready for sale when this war was stopped. They have ten times the production of copper needed for peace times; that means that copper property values will be reduced by millions if not billions of dollars. These

men, of course, are not fighting to make possible wars in the future for selfish reasons, but it seems strange that the greatest opposition to this League comes from them. Another Senator comes from a state where the same thing is true of lead. Senators from the eastern states, where they have the highest protective tariff and the lowest wage scales, are opposing it. Some from the lumber and shipping district who made a great deal of money because of the war, and who would do the same if we have another war, are opposing it. I do not say they are opposing it for selfish reasons; but it seems strange that every one of them who has such reasons for opposing it is doing so.

If this Peace Treaty with the League of Nations to enforce it is adopted, not only shall we have made greater strides forward than have ever been made in human history for making wars impossible, but with the labor covenants in that document we shall have made the greatest strides forward in civilization that were ever made.

A motion was adopted to remain in session until the question under consideration was disposed of.

Delegate Furuseth: Mr. Chairman, a question of personal privilege. My name has been used and I desire to reply to some statements that have been made.

President Gompers: The delegate has occupied the fullest time allotted for discussion. When other delegates desire to address this convention it is the privilege of such delegates to take precedence over the delegates who have addressed the convention.

Delegate Furuseth asked if he would be given the floor on a question of personal privilege when the other delegates who desired to do so had spoken. The Chairman replied that he would be given that privilege.

It was suggested by the Chair that if the question before the convention could be determined upon before adjournment, it might be possible to conclude the work of the convention on Saturday. A motion that the convention remain in session until the committee's report was disposed of was then adopted.

Delegate McCarthy, United Brotherhood of Carpenters: It is not my desire to take up much of your time. This question has been discussed by delegates to this convention and by the "Third House" of this convention for several days, and now that we have discussed it for several hours I am inclined to believe that we all understand thoroughly what we ought to do with it. At the last convention we performed very cleverly on that stage, and since that convention we have performed on the battlefield so successfully that we have driven off all the opponents of freedom and liberty for the people of the world.

Why any man should be opposed to what the labor commission has done abroad is something I can not understand. Why any Irishman or any lover of liberty should be opposed now to the adoption of this report, after the amendment of Delegate McNulty has been accepted, is something also I can not understand. I was led to believe that Section 23 was rather severe. Now I have convinced myself that it is quite the contrary. If Delegate Furuseth, in the long years he has labored in defense of the seamen of America and the seamen of the world, had enjoyed the same opportunity years ago to meet those men from other nations, put his feet under the table with them and discuss the question as he has with our own Congress, in our own country, his own

organizations and ours would be far better off.

I think we should not take up the time of the convention discussing matters upon which we are absolutely agreed. I take it that the words of Delegate Green in regard to President Wilson and the words he gave expression to regarding the labor provisions are 100 per cent true, and I take it for granted also—and I know the laboring people of this country will take it for granted—that what Samuel Gompers said of the labor provisions is as represented to you.

Section 10 speaks of invasion. Is there any delegate among us who understands that Ireland is trying to invade Ireland? I don't think so. That has no bearing on the question we are discussing. It has been drawn into it merely for the purpose of prejudicing the minds of the people of our country; and it ought to stop, and stop now. We ought to leave that phase of it alone. I am inclined to believe that our own nation has had as much to do with inserting Section 10 in that article as any other nation on earth.

We ourselves are not so free from invasion as some believe. Remember the construction put on the action of former President Roosevelt when he went to California on the Japanese question. He was not exactly correct in his position. That precedent established that if it were necessary to use the War Department or the Navy Department he would place the little Jap boy—of twenty-one to twenty-three years of age, possibly—who was acquiring an education in our public schools, side by side with our little girl of thirteen or fourteen. To that we objected, and we objected so strongly that we made President Roosevelt take that back; and he never did establish the Jap side by side with the American child. If we had at that time this League of Nations which is being so much discussed, the chances are that Theodore Roosevelt would have remained quiet. But whether he would or not we would have conducted ourselves in a manner calculated to conserve the interests of the citizenship of America.

The secretary of the committee called to our attention the fact that this section has absolutely nothing to do with our affairs in America; that we can shorten our hours of labor, that we can increase our remuneration and better our conditions generally without being curbed by this super-legislative body. I appeal to you strong men and to you women of finer intellect than when we were asked to send our sons and daughters across the water we responded to the call, but do we want to do it again? No; this League of Nations is calculated to prevent it for all time to come.

I hope the delegates will vote unanimously for the adoption of this covenant as it is arranged, and give life to that sentiment that will keep America for Americans for all time to come.

Delegate McCullough, Typographical Union: I had hoped that I would be permitted to discuss this question at some length in its historical and political phases, but the debate that I have listened to this afternoon has led me to abandon that purpose. I want to say just a word. I wish I could share the hope that seems to have animated so many of the delegates who have expressed themselves so eloquently here this afternoon, that we have changed human nature to the point where wings have already begun to sprout, if they are not actually wearing wings. I can not at this time subscribe to that doctrine.

I would like to discuss the growth of the

labor movement in this country and report to you in whatever language I might the progress that we made from the time less than a century ago, when within sight of Independence Hall in Philadelphia, a body of printers were thrown into jail as conspirators. For what? For appointing a committee to go to the employers and ask for an increase in wages. I would like to trace the efforts and the sacrifices made in support of the principles which the delegates of this convention have described in the most beautiful language that was ever written in this world, in which they expressed their abiding belief in those principles that inspired men to undergo every hardship, every danger, that they might achieve the loftiest ambition that ever animated human hearts, and that is the right of men to govern themselves, and, as we have expressed it in conventions, the right of collective bargaining, of the right to sell our labor in connection with the labor of our fellow men.

Let me go on to the Toronto Convention of the American Federation of Labor and call your attention to a scene that occurred there. It was when the telegram was brought in that announced that the President of the American Federation of Labor, one of the Vice-Presidents and the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor had been adjudged guilty and sentenced to a term of imprisonment for standing up and defending the rights of American labor. I recall now the dignified, deliberate and solemn statement that was made by the President of the American Federation of Labor on that occasion. I recall the tender pathos of a similar statement made by John Mitchell, when he stood on the floor of that convention and gave us the story of his life and expressed his devotion to the flag of the United States and pledged himself not only then, but forever, to all that that flag stands for. I recall the temperate language of the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor on that occasion, and I can see how that convention was thrilled. And then came one of the most splendid recollections that I have of the organization, when the Committee on Boycotts made its report, and the Secretary of that Committee, James Lynch, concluded that report with the declaration that we would continue to boycott. Those of you that were there will recall how the delegates sprang to their feet and cheered and cheered. That was the answer of American labor, that we were a militant body, a fighting organization, ready to go forth and defend all that the organization stood for, asking nothing but its own strength and its own valor on which to rely to achieve that purpose.

And then came the greatest triumph of labor in all history, the writing into the statute law of the United States the principle for which we have so long a time and through such difficulties worked to secure—an amendment which says in so many words that "the labor of a human being is not a commodity or an article of commerce." But what man among you, if his son asked him for bread, would give him a stone?

I congratulate, and I am proud of, our delegates to that conference, that they can come back to this convention and say that they did not receive all that they sought, that they did not secure all that they contended for, that they did their utmost, and they come back here and report to us on what they were able to wrest from that opposition.

Now, my brothers, do not delude yourselves with the thought that you are going to be relieved from the necessity of carrying on the industrial struggle in which you are at present engaged. That declaration of the Clayton law was changed at the instance of the representation of a government that is now reaping the natural and legitimate fruits of its opposition to the progress of the American labor movement. That declaration was changed from a positive assertion to an absolute negative, and inserted there by the Premier of Canada. They have taken every opportunity they could to impede the progress of the American labor movement, they have advocated dual organizations, "Canada for the Canadians," and as the fraternal delegate said here a few days ago, a man had to have a card in the Catholic Church in order to work in a Protestant coal mine. And those men are reaping, in the British Northwest, the legitimate fruits of their opposition.

Now, brothers, I have gone a little bit further than I intended, and I need not take up more of your time, because if all that has been said here this afternoon by the eloquent gentlemen who have so warmly defended and so patiently explained the League of Nations and the covenant of the League as it pertains to labor is true, I am willing to accept it, and there is no need of wasting further time. It is only a moral force and can accomplish nothing, and I am not going to waste time with it.

Vice-President Duncan in the chair.

President Gompers: As the representative of the American Federation of Labor appointed by the President to be a member of the International Commission for Labor Legislation, it seems that the work that I have done, or have tried to do, should at least give me the opportunity of presenting the matter in full, so that you may have a real understanding of the work, the character of it and its results. A delegate offering a resolution has that right under our rules; surely such a right ought to be accorded me under the circumstances.

When I was informed officially by the Peace Commissioners that they had appointed me as one of the American Commissioners on the International Commission on Labor Legislation, I consulted my four associates as to whether I ought to accept the appointment. It was upon their acquiescence that I accepted. If they had been of the opinion that I ought not to have accepted, I should have declined the honor. As the reports of the Executive Council and the mission state, I was elected its President—President of the International Commission.

The contest that I had to make and felt impelled to make was one of the most depressing and was almost crushing in character. I may say this to you, that Mr. Harry Robinson, who was my associate on that commission representing the United States, aided in the work and in the policy that I advocated. There was no one in that conference who gave so much support to my activities and proposals as did this employer of labor, Mr. Harry Robinson. He left Paris at a considerably later period than I did, and because he would therefore have later and more accurate information, I asked him to come to Atlantic City and meet with the Committee on International Labor Relations last night. At great sacrifice to himself, and perhaps to the neglect of other important business, he responded to my request and he was with us until after midnight.

last night. He gave to the committee documents of which we had no copies.

Now, I can say this to you, that I never was placed in all my life in such an awkward and uncomfortable position as I was for nine-tenths of the time that I was presiding over the International Commission on Labor Legislation. I was elected by unanimous vote to its presidency and immediately found myself in a minority, a minority upon nearly every proposition that I had submitted. I may say to you, ladies and gentlemen, for it is a piece of interesting information, that in my propositions for a greater democratization of the International Conference, I was opposed as much by the so-called radical Socialists representing some of the countries as I was by those who represented capitalistic institutions. In the effort to increase the representation of labor, or rather to decrease the voting power of the delegates from governments, I was opposed by the radical Socialists, so called. Their arguments and their votes defeated the proposition.

We had thirty-seven sessions, lasting from four to six hours and sometimes longer. Presiding there and arguing there, fighting there, opposed and defeated in nearly every proposition that I had submitted where the recognition of labor would be greater than was accepted by these other delegates, I found myself continually depressed, though fighting on and on until the last moment.

It was during the period when we were nearing the close of the commission's sessions that my colleague, Mr. Robinson, and I declared that we could not be parties to that covenant, to that draft convention with its provisions as it then stood. Mr. Andrew Furuseth attended many of the meetings of the commission, and he and I agreed fully—Mr. Robinson agreed fully that the draft convention as it then stood was not only unsatisfactory to us, but that if it was persisted in we would submit a minority report to the Plenary Peace Commissioners, and that I would refuse to sign the draft convention as the President of the Commission. Finally, by our concerted efforts and our determined stand, we felt that there was a breaking down of the opposition to our stand, and, consulting with our own Peace Commissioners, consulting with Mr. Furuseth and Mr. Robinson, we concluded to make some suggestions, some provisions that would safeguard at least the rights and the interests of the American wage earners. Several drafts of a proposal were made, each one discredited by us or unsatisfactory to the commission until a draft was made which it seemed the commissioners would yield to and adopt. On that night, before this proposal was made, Andrew Furuseth declared to me that if that proposal was adopted by the commission it would be entirely satisfactory to him. On the following morning at the session of the commission our typewritten proposal was under discussion and it was subjected to some criticism. With a pencil I drafted the protocol, with slight changes, which was unanimously adopted by the commission. Andrew Furuseth came to me and said: "Now we are safe; I congratulate you, Sam."

In that form the draft convention was adopted. In a day or two after the report which was submitted to the commission, the report which was prepared for our consideration to be presented to the Peace Commissioners, was read and adopted as our report to the International Plenipotentiaries to

Negotiate Peace. I left Paris a much more elated man than during the two months under which this process of fighting was continually going on, and reached London about March 23rd.

Somehow or other, from some source or other which my mind does not now recall, I learned or heard that Mr. Furuseth had sent a letter to the President of the United States at Paris protesting against the draft convention as adopted with its protocol, protesting against its adoption by the Peace Commission. I sent the Secretary of our mission, Mr. Guy Oyster, to look up Mr. Furuseth and ask him for a copy of the letter he sent to the President. Three calls were made in order to get a copy of that letter. A note was left with the clerk of the hotel at which Mr. Furuseth was stopping. I have never received a copy of that letter from Mr. Furuseth from that time until this time. He undertook to speak in the name of American labor. There were my four associates and myself; surely if any one man or group of men in Europe could speak in the name of American labor it would be either the five members of the Executive Council as a group, or the President of the American Federation of Labor. Through the courtesy of a friend, I saw a copy of that letter, and a copy of it is here.

(At the request of several delegates, Secretary Morrison read the letter, which is as follows:)

"London, 28th March, 1919.

"Honourable Woodrow Wilson,
President of the United States,
Paris, France.

"My dear Mr. President: Busy and overburdened as you must necessarily be, I feel that I would not be doing my duty to you if I failed to send you this letter.

"The representatives from the United States to the Convention of International Labor Legislation submitted two clauses for the proposed Labor Charter dealing with human freedom.

"1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude except as a penalty for crime for which a person shall have been duly convicted shall exist.

"This was voted down. The representative from Great Britain leading the opposition.

"2. A seaman shall not be punished by imprisonment for leaving his vessel in a safe harbour nor shall he be arrested, detained and surrendered to his vessel."

"This was also voted down, America and Cuba voted 'aye,' and all the others voted 'no,' under the leadership of Great Britain. If this had been adopted the several powers would have been debarred from imprisoning any seaman who might return to his own country after having deserted his vessel in some other country.

"After a tremendous struggle the following was adopted as a protocol to be read in connection with Article 19 of the Constitution of the Conference on International Labor Legislation:

"In no case shall any of the High Contracting Powers be asked or required, as a result of the adoption by the Conference of any recommendation or draft convention, to diminish the protection afforded by its existing legislation to the workers concerned."

"Since my arrival here I have submitted these matters to some English labor leaders. They were astounded and shocked."

"It is my deliberate judgment that the failure to write these two propositions into the Labor Charter will rouse, not only the working

people of America but the working people of the world against this constitution and against the League of Nations. I do not charge that this was the intention, but considering the expression from labor leaders here, it would look somewhat like that. With reference to the proviso or protocol, the men with whom I have spoken caught the word 'existing' and then said, "This is crystallization."

"I do not know if it be possible for you to write these two defeated clauses into the Labor Charter. I feel that you would desire to. I feel that I would be lacking in my duty if I did not furnish you with this information. I shall expect no answer."

"Most respectfully and faithfully yours,

"(Signed) ANDREW FURUSETH."

President Gompers (continuing): Not a word of intimation was given the American Federation of Labor delegation that such a letter was even considered, much less sent. Now that it comes to my mind the letter bears the date of but one day's difference between the time it was written and the day that the American delegation was to be in London. It is not particularly the draft convention, but because the commission voted down two propositions. I am not so much surprised at Mr. Furuseth's attitude upon this question. The fact of the matter is that some people are so constituted that if you were to give them Paradise they would find some fault with it.

Mr. Furuseth, in his argument today, placed a great deal of emphasis upon the importance of the declaration of the Clayton Act, that "the labor of a human being is not a commodity or an article of commerce." My memory is not bad, and I recall that during the process of the preparation of the labor provisions of the Clayton Act there was complete and absolute dissent by Mr. Furuseth as to not only the other labor provisions in the Clayton Act, but to this very declaration as well.

Delegate Furuseth: I suggest you ask Senator Cummins whether there was or not.

President Gompers: I am sure Delegate Furuseth went on uninterruptedly when he was speaking. I don't know that I care whether I am interrupted or otherwise, but I shall not lose my head, I hope.

When the Cincinnati Convention of the American Federation of Labor declared for the independence of Cuba, we were regaled by Mr. Furuseth and told that that would mean war, and it did cause the war between the United States and Spain more than any other thing, but who regrets it in the view of Cuban independence?

When the conference of the representatives of labor met in the Executive Council room of the American Federation of Labor on March 12, 1917, after the declaration of American labor's attitude was adopted by a unanimous vote, Mr. Furuseth came to me and said: "That sounds the death-knell of the American Federation of Labor, and your forty years of work for labor you have destroyed today." I am as proud of that declaration of labor of America as any other expression of American labor's sentiment ever uttered in the history of our movement. The American Federation of Labor is not dead, and I am not yet destroyed.

Mr. Furuseth has called attention to the fact that the Senate considers treaties behind closed doors, in executive or secret session. There is no question about that. And he stated that in consequence of this fact a treaty or a draft convention or a recommendation could pass the Senate, depriving the workers

of their rights and we not know anything at all about it. Is that actually physically possible, when the Senate can only consider recommendations or draft conventions adopted by the annual conference of the International Labor Conference? These declarations, these recommendations, these proposed draft conventions can not be secret or executive. It is the easiest thing in the world for a man to build up a boogey-boo and then fight it. There will be at least one representative of labor in the International Conference, one from each nation, including the United States. Is he bound to permit his fellows to remain in ignorance while the Senate in executive session shall consider these labor proposals? Unthinkable!

Mr. Furuseth, as the staunchest, ablest advocate of the rights of the seamen in all the world, has taken for his text and has declared that the Seamen's Act would not only improve the wages and the standards of American seamen, but would have the same influence and has already had the same influence upon the seamen of nearly all of the great maritime powers. Let me say this to you, ladies and gentlemen: It was not for the promotion of the interests of American workers that this draft convention received my support. I declared in the commission time and again that so far as we in the United States were concerned, we could and would take care of ourselves, and I would prefer, with the old text, before the protocol and many other changes were adopted, to take my chances in labor legislation by the activities of the American Federation of Labor, rather than by that draft convention. But I see in this draft convention for labor, not that it will bring very much of light into the lives of American workers, but I do believe that its adoption and operation will have the effect of bringing light into the lives of the workers in the more backward countries.

What concerned me most was that there should not be in the draft convention anything by which the standards of American labor could be reduced, and that the Seamen's Act should be protected by that protocol to Article 19 of the draft convention. And Mr. Furuseth agreed that that was the most effective thing to protect the rights and the interests of the seamen and all the other workers of America. I firmly believe that its influence and that the purpose of the covenant will have the effect which I have stated, and now Mr. Furuseth, in his letter to the President, states that since he came to England he had had conferences with labor leaders in England and that they were shocked.

The authority for this statement I am about to make is Mr. George Barnes. He stated in the meeting of the International Commission that he had had conferences with a committee of the Parliamentary Committee of the British Trades Union Congress and a committee of the British Labor Party, and that they approved the covenant. I think it would be well if the name of these British labor leaders who were shocked might some time be communicated to some officer of the American Federation of Labor so to find how far that shock prevailed.

I can scarcely remember any convention of our Federation or any meeting of labor men of whatever shade of opinion at which there have not been condemnation of war and commendation of international peace. I wonder how international peace can be obtained? Shall somebody in the United States act as a schoolmaster to the peoples and the governments of the various countries and say to them: "Now, you be good; don't you fight; don't you go to war."

If international war is to be avoided, how can it be done except by agreement; how can it be done except that men representing the peoples and the governments of the countries affected sit down and write their thoughts and hopes into an agreement? Call it a covenant, call it a treaty, call it what you will, but there must be some things written down in order to govern the rules under which war may be avoided. I am not afraid of meeting the future. Come what may, when big propositions are met by big declarations of earnestness to prevent war, I am not going to turn my back upon them, because they come nearer than at any other time to the hopes of liberty-loving and peace-loving peoples of the world.

We have declared for reduction of armaments. How can that be done except by agreement? Delegate Green very ably and graphically called attention to the situation and said: "If this treaty, if this draft containing the covenant of the League of Nations is defeated, what then? What have you got? What have you to stand as a barrier against international war? Defeat this treaty, defeat this covenant of the League of Nations, and then every nation will be required to arm itself, competing with each other for large armies and large navies and great munition plants."

Yes, of course this treaty, with the covenant of the League of Nations, is not a perfect instrument. Who expects it? Who expects that a perfect document shall be drafted? I would be perfectly willing to turn over the job to Andy Furuseth. Different peoples, different histories, different traditions and sometimes not only different, but conflicting interests, and these representatives of the people and the nations have sat down and drafted a document, a covenant, an agreement, a treaty by which war shall be made more difficult and perhaps impossible. Shall we turn that back, shall we help in its rejection and leave the world in the position where the men, with their national prejudices, with their national hopes and aspirations, may try to be a law unto themselves and can only be checked by the arbitrament of war? I think not. In spite of politicians who simply aim to control the administration of the affairs of our republic, despite men who may have interests, men who consider votes as the dominating factor for their conduct, I am not going to play into their hands, I am not going to give my consent, at least as one delegate to this convention, to support those who would leave the world in the position to be inflamed by the horrors of war at any time when any nation feels itself strong enough.

Today, only a few days ago, for the first time in the history of the world, men left the soil of America and within a day, or more definitely speaking, within sixteen hours, landed in Europe. What can be done in aeroplanes from America to Europe can be done from Europe to America. We are closer now to Europe than at any time in the history of the world. We can not now declare, in this age and time, that we shall be isolated and have no alliances with any other peoples. We are so close to them, they are so near to us, that it is essential for us to see to it that the best possible relations shall be established between the peoples and the governments of our country and all other countries, and to bring about the time by agreement when we shall live in peace.

I am confident that if this convention

shall endorse the covenant of the League of Nations, with the labor provisions in it, it will give an impetus to the legislators of our country to ratify the peace treaty with these features in it. I don't want any man to believe that I am a blind follower of any man. I don't care who he is. I think that the President of the United States, Woodrow Wilson, is not only one of the brainiest and most brilliant men in the world, but possesses a conscience and a heart that seek for the right. [Applause.]

I have not always agreed with President Wilson. I can recall two particular measures in which, with the officers of the American Federation of Labor, I opposed him, in spite of the fact that he was advocating those two measures, and it may not be uninteresting to say that in those two measures in which we differed, he didn't win. I mention this lest any one might imagine, that because it has been my pleasure to cooperate and follow and endeavor to contribute some support to the policies advocated by Mr. Wilson, I would follow him anywhere.

During the time that I was in the most critical condition by reason of the accident which befell me, the newspapers had published some statements regarding the propositions made by Mr. Borden at the plenary meetings. Those who were working for our movement and in attendance where I was, realizing that any information which came to me at that time of such a critical character, or supposedly which might be the cause of my undoing, knowing the position I would take independent absolutely of the domination of any man, consulted over the long distance and by telegraph with Vice-President Duncan, got his point of view and proceeded to act by sending long cablegrams insisting upon information as to those propositions which Mr. Borden had made and which the newspapers over here reported and published as adopted. I have copies of these telegrams and cablegrams here, and while I don't want to burden you with reading them, I want to call your attention to this fact: Last Sunday or Monday there appeared in the newspapers a statement that the labor provisions of the labor draft covenant had been weakened and materially emasculated. I want to read to you a telegram which I sent to the State Department, to Mr. Polk, Assistant Secretary of State, asking for its transmission to President Wilson in Paris:

"Atlantic City, N. J.,

June 16, 1919.

Hon. Frank L. Polk,
Assistant Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.

"Because of its importance and urgency will you please transmit the following message to the President:

"Upon my advice Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has recommended to the convention of the American Federation of Labor now in session the endorsement of the League of Nations including the Labor Provisions.

"Reports published here indicate that the labor provisions have been so changed and weakened as to practically nullify effectiveness.

"I can not ask the convention or the rank and file of labor to endorse propositions which have been or may be made valueless.

The convention must necessarily take up consideration of the matter on or before

Friday, June 20, 1919, and I urgently request full and definite information upon this subject, together with copy of provisions affecting labor as now framed.

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President,
American Federation of Labor."

I asked Mr. Oyster to go to Washington and get some definite answer, if possible, today or before today. I received this answer this morning from Paris, from the Peace Commissioners. I will then have read to you the cablegram from the President himself.

"Washington, D. C., June 20, 1919.
Samuel Gompers,
Hotel Alamac,
Atlantic City, N. J.

"Following is paraphrase of message received from American Mission at Paris: 'The Department's cable 2320 of June 17th from Gompers has been forwarded to the President at Brussels. Meanwhile following is the only substantial change made in the draft which was confirmed by the International Labor Commission: Omit from protocol to Article 7 the sentence which reads, 'No high contracting party together with its dominions and colonies, whether self-governing or not, shall be entitled to nominate more than one member.'

"Also refer to commissions 1822 of April 27th and 1841 of April 28th concerning adoption of Articles which were submitted by Sir Robert Borden. Since changes of which you have already been fully informed no change whatever has been introduced into the labor clause—Part 13—of the Treaty. The only recommendation introduced by the Labor Commission in the final version of the Treaty not found in the draft treaty was a provision for the more effective protection of the rights of beneficiaries of social insurance in ceded territories (Article 312), as follows: 'In case these special conventions are not concluded in accordance with the above articles within three months after the signature of the present Treaty, the conditions of transfer shall in each case be referred to a commission of five members, one of whom shall be appointed by the German government, one by the other interested government and three by the governing body of the International Labor Office from the nationals of other states. This commission shall by majority vote, within three months after appointment, adopt recommendations for submission to the League of Nations and the decisions of the council shall forthwith be accepted as final by Germany and the other government concerned.'

FRANK L. POLK,
Acting Secretary of State."

"The White House, Wash., D. C.
June 20, 1919.

Samuel Gompers,
Hotel Alamac,
Atlantic City, N. J.

Following from Paris: 'Your message came while I was in Belgium and reached me too late to make a full reply, but as I indicated in an earlier message, while the labor provisions are somewhat weakened it is the opinion of friends of labor and my own opinion that they are not materially weakened and that they will constitute a most serviceable Magna Charta. Will cable labor provisions but fear it will be too late for the convention.'

WOODROW WILSON."

The earlier cablegram to which the President refers is as follows:

Washington, D. C., May 7, 1919.

Mr. Samuel Gompers,
Continental Hotel,
New York, N. Y.

My dear Mr. Gompers:

The following cablegram from President Wilson was transmitted to me today by Secretary Tumulty:

"Please say to the committee of the Federation of Labor which cabled me about Sir Robert Borden's amended form of the labor clauses that I really think they will find upon reflection that the view set forth by Mr. Robinson in his telegram to Mr. Hurley and Mr. Gompers is a true interpretation of what was done. I would deeply regret any serious disappointment on their part in a matter to which I, like them, attach the highest importance."

Yours fraternally,
(Signed) **FRANK MORRISON,**
Secretary,
American Federation of Labor."

Let me say just a word now in regard to the use of the term "merely," in the declaration that "labor shall not be regarded 'merely' as an article of commerce, or a commodity, or merchandise." Mr. Furuseth placed one interpretation upon it and says some one may say he is a scab, or not a scab, or something else. I don't like such illustrations or the use of the term "scab," either toward him or myself, but there is no other interpretation to be placed upon that, and the interpretation must, in my judgment, be what is declared in the preamble to the declaration. Every set of resolutions introduced in this convention has contained from one to eight paragraphs in the preamble, and then follows the resolution. I hold that the resolution must be interpreted upon the basis of the preambles to the resolution, and the preamble to the declaration in regard to the labor provisions declares that "it is of the utmost importance that the conditions of labor the world over must be improved, and that therefore labor can not be regarded 'merely' as a commodity or an article of commerce." It has got to be read in the light of the declarations contained in the preamble.

I shall burden you only for another moment to say this: Never in the history of the world have the nations been confronted with so serious and important a problem as is presented to the men and women of the countries of the world today. Here is a serious attempt to prevent international war. Here is an attempt to help the workers, the masses of the people in the most backward countries, here is a measure which can not, by any stretch of the imagination, affect the rights and interests of the workers of the United States, which can in no way curb, or prevent, or hinder us in the work of going further every hour of every day of every month of the year, of pressing forward the claims of labor for a higher and a better life, for more freedom, for more justice, and to be the harbingers of the better day for which the poets have sung and the philosophers dreamed, and for which the workers have made the sacrifices and achieved. That is the opportunity presented to the peoples of our countries today, and it largely depends, whether we shall be successful, upon the vote of this convention, representing the sentiments and

the views of the people whom you represent in this convention. You ask the workers, the men who work in the mines, the factories and the workshops anywhere whether they want to have peace and good will or whether they would throw open further opportunities for a repetition of this world war. Ask them whether they would help in improving the conditions of the workers of other countries when they are assured that their own interests in our own country can not be impaired and their ability to fight and fight on for that brighter and better day can not be affected.

The amendment offered by Delegate McNulty was adopted.

On motion by Treasurer Tobin, the roll was called on the adoption of the report of the committee as amended. The vote resulted as follows:

Yes:—Myrup, Beisel, Schneider (R. O.) Barbers delegation (287 votes), Harvey, Franklin (J. A.), Weyand, MacGowan, Scott (Charles), McKillop, Reddick, Bieber, Collins, Lovely, Baine, Ferry, La-Couture, O'Byrne, Proebstle, Sullivan (John), Kugler, Rader, Obergfell, Bowen, Preece, Jones (George), Greeley, Price (Walter V.), Murphy (Thos. J.), Kasten, Morrin, Tobin (S. P.), McCain, Cunnane, Ryan (Martin F.), Shoemaker, Thompson (Theodore), Hyland, Huteson, (Wm. L.), Duffy (Frank), White (Bob), Ross (J. A.), McCarthy, Van Duyn, Post, Lakey, Perkins, Gompers, Barnes (J. Mahlon), Sexton, Campbell (W. A.), Forrester, Odell, Shurtleff, Hay, Nelson, Emery, Baker (E. E.), Conway, Schulte, Hughes (Andrew C.), Doyle (James J.), Meyer, (Andries), Oliver, McNulty, Noonan, Joyce, McAndrews, O'Connor (Julia S.), Evans (Edward J.), Boyen (Henry), Feehey, Brown (Wm. S.), Goelet, Shellings, Comerford, Edgerton, Peterson, Woll, Brady, Steward (Luther C.), Junker, Leonard Martin J. Etheridge, Healy, Shamp, Morton, Brennan, Rickert, Langer, Manning, Daley (Margaret C.), Doyle (F.), Schlesinger, Heller, Gorenstein, La Porta, Friedman, Feinberg, Voll, Call, Donnelly, Clarke (Wm. P.), O'Brien, (John B.), Hassenauser, Reynolds, Mair, Christman, Duncan (James), Squibb, Russell (Alex. W.), Lawlor, McCue, Humphrey, D'Alessandro, Etchison, Moreschi, Carley, Dwyer, Marshall, Broening, Flore, Sullivan (Jere L.), Farrell, McDewitt, Koveleski, Tighe, Sullivan (John J.), Mahoney, Edwards (Phillip), McSorley, Duty, Bryan (W. E.), Maloney, Gainer, Mugavin, Duffy (Charles D.), Swartz, O'Connor (Thos. V.), Chlopek, Gahagan, Bjorklund, Keavy, Johnston (Wm. H.), Wharton, Connolly, Brown, (Harvey W.), Grow, Schoenberg, Barker (A. E.), Fljozdal, Crook, Pegg, Kennedy (L. I.), Hart, Lane, Schmidt (Fred), McCreash, Kennedy (John), Guest, Hynes, Redding, Moriarty, Pattison, Moyer, Cannon, Roberts (James), Langdon, Hayes (Frank J.), Lewis (John L.), Green, Walker, Mitchell, White (John E.), Farrington, Moore, Valentine, Frey, Stevenson (Harry), Hayden, Dillon, Weber, Weaver, Carey, Winkler, Evans (R. E.), Sheehan, Hedrick, Skemp, Guerin, McKeon, Lynch, Kelley, Wilson (James), Gernon, Forrest, Bergstrom, George, Donlin, Allen (James G.), Carroll (John), Kearney, Anderson (Charles), Rau, Leonard (E. W.), Britton, Leary, Diehl, Flaherty, Menge,

Hutchins (Frank H.), Clark (Wm. D.), Berry, McHugh, Simons, Edwards (E. W.), Martin, Quinlan, Cahill, Mylan, Rooney, Hurley (Jeremiah T.), Hylen (I. N.), Helt, Cone, Shay, Dolliver, Barry, Ryan (P. J.), Freal, Sumner, Griggs, Heberling, Connors (James B.), Caaben, Sweeney, Bolander, Stillman, Tobin (Daniel J.), Hughes (Thomas L.), Gillespie, Neer, Decker, Railroad Telegraphers Delegation (178 votes), Golden, Conboy, McMahon, Reagan, O'Donnell (Daniel J.), McAndrew, Evans (E. Lewis), Curtis, Scott (M. G.), Morrison (Frank), Hayes (Max S.), McCullough, Young (Wm.), Hays (J. W.), Hatch, Gorman (Dennis F.), Fitz Patrick (James W.), Russell (J. J.), Tracy (George A.), Mordecia, Burton, Whitaker, Hale, Johnson (A. J.), Wrenn, Grafton, Donoghue (M. M.), Kavanaugh, Holland, Fenton, Boncer, Weber, Nolan, Gramling, Patnam, Bans, Fisher (A. E.), Howard, Lennon, O'Donnell (M. J.), Kimball, Mahoney, Myers (J. J.), Darr, Fitchie, McFadden, Carrick, Murphy (John E.), McClinton, McKeown, Nuzum, Smith (John T.), Knutson, Metz, Hilfers, Ornburn, Daly (Timothy M.), Clinedinst, Giles, Crain, McGuire, Strickland (O. A.), Hall (John H. Jr.), Jacobs, Maloney (James), Barbour, Wines, Ryerson, Flynn (P. W.), Murphy (D. C.), Hourigan, Duncan (James A.), Scanlan, Wood, Chandler, Colpoys, Donahue (J. P.), Sauter, Guilfoyle, McGregory, Tinney, Hogan, Cahillane, McDougall, Watson, Patterson, Grice, Morris (Jesse T.), Catterson, Hastings, Weinstein, Birch (N. P.), Rice, Esleek, McKinnon, Brown (George M.), Teitelbaum, representing 29,909 votes.

Nays:—Barbers' Delegation (72 votes), Faruseth, Olander, O'Brien (Patrick), Railroad Telegraphers' delegation (89 votes), Gildas, McNiece, representing 420 votes.

Not voting:—Mullaney, Kline, Kramer, Powlesland, Boyer, Oden, Fink, Linn, Bechtold, Kaufman, Leibowitz, Greenstein, Beardsley, Wilson (David), Morrison (Harry L.), O'Keefe, Bock, Gehring, McInerney, Pruett, Devlin, Carey (J. T.), Schneider (Geo. J.), Hannah, Dold, Heini, Burke (John P.), Launer, La Belle, Sultor, Ryan (Edward J.), Strickland (H. W.), Plymale, Gavlak, Pryor, Fleming, Funderburk, Sillinsky, Railroad Telegraphers (179 votes), Thomas, Prender, Croaft, Koch, McDonald (Duncan), Fox (Chas.), Brelsford, Anderson (Stanley), Hall (E. G.), Cooney, Ott, Bollenbacher, Iglesias, Murphy (John F.), Gann, Spencer, Rogers, Fox (Harry W.), Evans (Cyrus R.), Jones (E. E.), Rutherford, Schildt, Harrison (Wm. L.), Ely, Coughlin, Lacey, Stewart (R. G.), O'Leary, Davis (E. F.), Hoffman (Harry C.), Niemeler, Harlin, Owens, Bryan (Frank L.), Yarrow, O'Donnell (Stephen), Tucker, Dill, Hooper, Mason (Harry H.), Fink, Wessel, Canfield, Deutelbaum, Block, Griffith, Franklin (H. L.), Carroll (John H.), Woodman, Wagner, Canfield, Galloway, Taylor (C. O.), Moran, Wildis, Tracy (D. W.), Neu, Priestly, Argo, Gregson, Noble, Richter, Evans (Milton G.), Breslin, Sims, Newmyer, Ingles, Ralsae, Gorman, Keavney, Gilbert, Ganey, Hoffman (Frank), Frampton, Franco, Ogletree, Barnes, Spielman, Kingsley, Thomas (Louis N.), Ryan (John F.), Lacey (John A.), Hurley, Young (C. B.), Draper, Oathall, Hoehn, Hartford, Bradley, Broderick, Bower, Curran, Wilkinson, Woracek, Sullivan (J. J.),

Ashmun, Boyle (C. J.), Barr, Metz, Doyle (Frank E.), Woodmansee, Hannon, Campbell (James B.), Burns (T. F.), Wilkinson, Simpson, Lampke, Dawson, Enright, Kromelbein, Lawson, Stehmeyer, Reardon, Turner, Cooper, Mon ghan, Messacapo, Fincke, Harte, Peete, McGill, Oplinger, Crawford, Burk (H.), Canady, Ringer, Brogan, Grass, Clark (E. Edwin), Staley, Badgett, Bledow, Goldsmith, Colvin, Setzer, Bauman, Brinston, Huston, Quesse, Burford, Worthey, Carter, Mason (T. H.), Williams (Oscar), White (Chas. L.), Lewis (Matt), Mullen, Johnson

(E. D.), Tourison, Schultz, Shea (C. P.), Middleton, Gould, Miller (Anne), Berger, Ellicott, Herbert, Fitts, Richardson, Coogan, Leonard, Chambers, Eklund, Campbell (Miller), Vaughan, Gallagher, Lane (Robert J.), Jackson (S. A.), Thompson (Chas.), Helgesen, Rinckler, Sharon, Spacey, Clarke (Dalton T.), Burns, Scott (E.), Holm, Witashkin, Weintraub, Abramson, Bondfield, Finney, Walsh (J. M.), representing 1,830 votes.
At 7:10 p. m. the convention was adjourned to 9:30 o'clock Saturday morning, June 21st.

ELEVENTH DAY--Saturday Morning Session

The convention was called to order at 9.30 Saturday, June 21st, Vice-president Duffy in the chair.

Absentees:—Russell, Crooff, McDonald, Cooney, Iglesias, Murphy, J. F. Gaun, Jones, E. E., Schildt, Hanson, Ely, Lacey, Mahoney, O'Leary, Davis, McFadden, Harlin, Bryan, O'Donnell, S., Dill, Carrick, Canfield, Deutelbaum, Griffith, Murphy, Carroll, Woodman, Wagner, Canfield, Galloway, Taylor, C. O., Moran, Priestly, Argo, Greyson, Noble, Richter, Evans, M. G., Gildas, Newmeyer, Raines, Gourey, Hoffman, Frampton, Franck, Ogletree, Thomas, L. N., Ryan, J. F., Young, C. B., Bradley, Broderick, Bowser, Curran, Rynerson, Ashmun, Wilkinson, J., Simpson, Dawson, Reardon, Turner, Cooper, J. H., Finck, McGill, Crawford, Rinzer, Gross, Clark, E. E., Grice, McNiece, Bodgett, Goldsmith, Bledlow, Colvin, Setzer, Bauman, White, Carter, Birch, Berger, Ellicott, Herbert, Coogan, Ekland, Campbell, Jackson, S. A.

Delegate Edwards, for the Committee on Credentials reported that the Railway Telegraphers' delegation requested that J. F. Dewey be substituted for W. L. Brown. The Committee recommended that the request be complied with and Delegate Dewey seated.

The recommendation of the Committee was concurred in.

Delegate Sullivan, Brewery Workers: I rise to a point of personal privilege. Last night several delegates accused our delegation of not voting on the endorsement of the Committee's report on the League of Nations. Our delegation voted "Yes."

Delegate Foley: The vote of the Barbers' delegation stood four for and one against the report of the Committee. There seems to be a misunderstanding in the minds of some of the delegates as to who voted against. I want it understood that the other four delegates voted "Yes" and that I take the responsibility for voting "No."

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS

Delegate Woll Secretary of the Committee reported as follows:

The American Federation of Labor notes with satisfaction and pride that our President Mr. Samuel Gompers was accorded the high honor of being unanimously chosen by the Commission on International Labor Legislation as its president and we moreover note that much of the constructive and substantial propositions adopted and made a part of the results achieved by the Commission on International Labor Legislation was due to persistency and tenacity and abiding faith in the power and efficacy of

the American trade union movement as typified by the American Federation of Labor.

In this work we take note that he was ably assisted by the advice and support of the American Federation of Labor delegation to the Peace Conference composed of Mr. James Duncan President Granite Cutters' International Association of America; Mr. John R. Alpine President United Association of Plumbers and Steam Fitters; Mr. Frank Duffy Secretary United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners; Mr. William Green Secretary-Treasurer United Mine Workers of America.

The recommendation of the Committee was adopted unanimously.

The Triumph of Labor Panel.

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the Committee reported as follows:

This beautiful work of art now on exhibition at the entrance to this hall symbolizes in a manner more striking than words can portray one of the fraternal links of solidarity and goodwill in the chain of international trade unionism which cements our economic interests with those of other countries. This panel was designed and executed by one of the finest sculptors in England and was presented by the British Trade Union Parliamentary Committee to the American Federation of Labor and merits the appreciation of this Convention and of the American Federation of Labor.

The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

Pan-American Federation of Labor.

On the report of the Executive Council under the above caption your committee deems this question of sufficient importance to warrant it in giving expression to some reasons for recommending the adoption of this part of the report.

Several years ago the American Federation of Labor determined to inaugurate a trade union movement in our southern sister republics. This determination followed by action on the part of President Gompers with the co-operation and assistance of the E. C. first manifested itself in Mexico, where a formidable labor movement was organized. The labor movement in Mexico, crude and imperfect though it was at that time, was an effective means for bringing about a better understanding between the workers of our own country and those in Mexico, and of doing more than any other agency in preventing a war between the United States and that country in the year of 1912 and since.

This was accomplished through President Gompers' action in bringing into correspondence and personal conferences the representatives of both countries. The leaders of our trade union movement foresaw the absolute necessity of organizing the workers of South America along trade union lines for the purpose of protecting their

interests and advancing their economic conditions. In all parts of Central and South America the attention of the workers was purposely misguided and kept at fever heat over politics by the privileged few, the exploiters of labor, the predatory rich. Just so long as they were kept in this frame of mind they paid no attention to the only real movement—a trade union movement, that would have protected their working and living conditions. They kept on shouting politics but worked for 70 cents a day.

After all the question is predominately economic. Back of the cause of unrest is the economic condition of the masses. There is just as much unrest and discontent in the republics in Europe as there is under constitutional monarchies. The degree of virility and constructive work and results in the improvement in the life of the masses is measured absolutely and exclusively by the power strength and effectiveness of the trade union movement. South and Central America is composed exclusively of republics. There is plenty of political activity but a dearth of trade union energy. It is a subject of general comment that the frequency of political revolutions in many of the South American republics accomplish nothing insofar as the economic well-being of the industrial workers is concerned. The thing that will bring practicable results there, here, or elsewhere, is fair wages, shorter hours and reasonable working conditions. This can be accomplished through and only through the trade unions.

We learn from the report that the formation of trade unions in Mexico and the substantial advances and achievements that followed roused attention and the desire to form trade unions in the republics of Central and South America. This movement met with a fair degree of success. There followed in South and Central American countries the formation of federations of labor.

The connecting link between the labor movements of North and South America was the formation of the Pan-American Federation of Labor. The fraternal bond which cements the workers of these two continents was solidified and made permanent at a meeting held in Laredo, Texas, last November, which was attended by the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. and representatives of other organizations affiliated to it, the Mexican Federation of Labor, about thirty unions of various trades in Central and South America and of the Federation of Labor of Guatemala, Costa Rica, San Salvador and Colombia.

At this conference a permanent Pan-American Federation of Labor was formed, a constitution adopted and the following officers elected: Chairman, Samuel Gompers; English Language Secretary, John Murray; Spanish Language Secretary, O. A. Vargas.

Temporary quarters were established in Washington, D. C.

The next convention of the Pan-American Federation of Labor will be held at New York July 7, 1919. Your committee recommends that this convention elect and send three delegates, one of whom shall be the president of the American Federation of Labor.

Appreciation is due to the Executive Council, President Gompers and the delegates who organized the Pan American Federation of Labor.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted unanimously.

ADDRESS OF MR. SUZUKI

Under the above caption, fourth day's proceedings, we note, among other things, that Mr. Suzuki said:

Friends, we are aware that the lack of knowledge and misunderstanding breed discord and that is the reason why in 1917 we entreated Mr. Gompers, the President of your mighty organization, to come over to our country, and again I make the same appeal. I plead with you, Mr. Chairman, that you respond to our appeal, the appeal of the tolling millions of Japan. The word I wish to leave with you, is "come and see." Will you send your representatives and let them see with their own eyes the true conditions of Japan and extend your fraternal, helping hands to us and make the Pacific Ocean true to what its name stands for? I know full well the historic bonds of friendship which exist between the labor organization of Great Britain and the United States, exchanging their fraternal delegates across the Atlantic Ocean year by year. And I believe their contribution toward the promotion of mutual understanding and friendly feeling between the two countries is beyond measure. Why not transplant the seed of same relation which flourish on the shores of the Atlantic to the shores of the Pacific? Our organization is extremely small, but I have full confidence in your fraternal spirit of helpfulness, and I trust that you know the profound significance which the development of the labor organization in Japan will have to the development of the civilization of Asia.

Your committee sees the importance and significance in all that Mr. Suzuki has said in connection with this. Japan is a growing and progressive nation. There seems to be a lamentable lack of solidarity and organization on the part of the workers of Japan upon the all-important feeling of economic endeavor.

Your committee is of the opinion that the matter should be referred to the Executive Council for the purpose of developing a correspondence with the representatives of the workers of Japan for the purpose of more clearly expressing the viewpoint of the American trade union movement the greatest and most effective labor movement in the whole world.

There are many reasons that will appeal to this convention why the workers of Japan should be organized in the trade union movement and a better understanding insofar as fundamental principles are concerned had with the workers of America.

We moreover recommend that the request made that President Gompers visit Japan also be referred to the Executive Council for its consideration and compliance if the duties of President Gompers will permit.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Cablegrams

The following cablegrams were received and referred to your committee:

Cablegram.

Amsterdam.
Gompers, Washington, D. C.
Letter received. Cable mutilated. Date conference is not second, but July 26. Conference will decide on attitude trade union movement with regard to Congress Washington. Urge you come to Amsterdam.
Oudegeest.

Cable.

London.
Gompers American Federation of Labor, Atlantic City.

Your cable suggests that you are mistaken as to date of Amsterdam conference. Particularly fixed for July 25 to meet the convenience of American Federation of Labor. We are acting together and desire your co-operation.

Bowerman,
Appleton.

The foregoing relates to the holding of an International Trade Union Congress or Convention to which may be admitted delegates from all countries. You will note the time of meeting was changed to July 25 to meet the convenience of the American Federation of Labor.

The convention was originally intended to be held during the month of May, but owing to the inability of our delegates then in Europe to remain longer, it was postponed until July 25.

Your committee believes that the American Federation of Labor should be represented at the Amsterdam conference and that the convention elect two delegates for that purpose, one of whom shall be Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor.

The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

Secretary Woll: This concludes the report of the committee, which is signed: George W. Perkins, James Duncan, Max Hayes, Martin Lawlor, James Wilson, John P. Frey, B. A. Larger, T. V. O'Connor, D. J. Tobin, George L. Berry, John H. Walker, C. L. Baine, W. D. Mahon, Matthew Woll, John Golden, James Lord, W. J. Bowen, Samuel Gompers.

Secretary Woll: I move you the adoption of the Committee as a whole, as amended by this convention.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

Delegate Hannon, Machinists: I rise to speak on a matter of vital importance to everyone here. A resolution was introduced in this convention by a special committee that was appointed to organize the iron and steel mills of this country. I now ask the privilege of the floor for one who has been very active in conducting this campaign of organization that is of such vital interest to the labor movement of

this country. I ask that the floor be granted to John Fitzpatrick, President of the Chicago Federation of Labor, to make a brief talk on this campaign to organize iron and steel mill workers.

Motion to grant the privilege of the floor to President Fitzpatrick was adopted.

**ADDRESS OF MR. JOHN FITZPATRICK,
President Chicago Federation of Labor.**

Mr. Chairman and Friends: The resolution which is printed in the minutes deals with the question of free speech, and we feel it is one of the most important resolutions that has come to the convention. The "resolve" in the resolution asks that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor proceed to have instituted a Congressional or other investigation of the denial of citizenship rights in Western Pennsylvania. In order to understand this situation it might be well to take a moment of your time in connection with the formation of the work of the National Committee for organizing iron and steel workers.

The St. Paul convention of the American Federation of Labor authorized President Gompers to call a conference for the purpose of bringing together the international representatives to discuss and decide upon a method of procedure. President Gompers arranged for a conference in the city of Chicago, about August 1. Twenty-four international unions were represented by their presidents or special representatives, and the National Committee was formed. President Gompers was elected chairman and W. Z. Foster, of the Carman, was elected secretary. We felt they would be able to develop a general organization campaign throughout the country, as far as the iron and steel industry was concerned, but, unfortunately, because of the resources at our command and the number of men we had, we were compelled to confine our activities to the Chicago district. In a short time we were able to organize Gary, Ind., Joliet, Ill., South Chicago, Indiana Harbor, East Chicago and various other points where large steel industries existed. But a short time prior to that campaign it had seemed impossible that labor could make itself felt at these points. By October we had sufficient organization to enable us to take our men out of that district.

The steel corporations felt they would deal us a deadly blow at that particular time. They had declared that the steel industry would not be organized, but they saw our campaign had some punch in it and was making itself felt, so the steel corporation conceded about the only thing they could concede to the workers at that time—the eight-hour day—but it was handed out as a kind of sop to prevent the workers from being interested in the organization. In spite of that our committee was able to go in and increase our membership and get more thorough organization in the various departments and plants.

About the time the steel trust endeavored to deliver this blow to labor we were in a position to move our working force into the heart of the steel district in Pennsylvania. That was our answer to the steel

trust, and we put ourselves on the map in Western Pennsylvania. We opened up headquarters at Pittsburgh; then, of course, we came in contact with the more scurrilous activities of the representatives of the Steel Corporation. It would take too long to describe the tactics adopted to harass our meetings and prevent us from exercising our common, everyday citizenship rights. We had meetings in Pittsburgh, where the men had to go through a line of two hundred thugs, plug-uglies and blacklegs employed by the steel trust for the purpose of terrorizing and browbeating the men in the steel industry. In spite of that we went on with our work.

At Homestead there was a small strike of the machinists. We went into Homestead and held the first open mass-meeting that had been held in that city in twenty-seven years. After that meeting was held other arrangements we had made to organize there were stopped; halls we had rented were denied us; the owners who had accepted our money for rent of the halls had to return it, and when they could not use excuses of that kind the health departments at these various towns were used to prevent the committee from holding meetings.

We went to a place called Monessen and rented a hall. The money was returned and we were given to understand that meetings could not be held in that town. Across the river from Monessen is a little town called Charleroi, where a number of miners have their organization. When the miners held their eight-hour-day celebration on the first of April they went over the river to Monessen and held their meeting. They gave us an opportunity, by assembling there to hold our meeting.

A town near by was so under the influence of the steel combination that not only were the employees of the steel trust intimidated, but they undertook to use their influence to intimidate the business men. The business men were forced to sign a petition asking the working men not to join the organization, and to declare that their conditions in those slave pens were satisfactory to them.

Finally this activity became so acute we were compelled to call a meeting in Pittsburgh; more than four hundred organizations sent delegates to that convention, and all the labor unions in the vicinity of Pittsburgh were represented. This convention was a declaration on the part of the organizations in that locality that they were going to have their citizenship rights respected, and they would not brook further interference on the part of the steel trust. That had a very good effect, and for some time the active opposition of the steel trust was not so pronounced.

In McKeesport we arranged meetings and met with the same kind of opposition. We were denied the right to meet in the street, in halls, or anywhere else. The National Committee arranged for meetings in the city of Pittsburgh. While we were there the City Council was in session. We went to the City Council and explained the purposes of our committee, showed what our plan was, and in the face of that the Mayor of McKeesport denied the right of the committee to hold meetings. Then we took the matter to the American Federation

of Labor. President Gompers wrote to the Mayor of McKeesport setting forth the rights he had in the premises. That letter was ignored. President Gompers then wrote the Governor of Pennsylvania, and that letter, likewise, was ignored. President Gompers' work took him to Europe at about that time and we asked Secretary Morrison to take the matter up. Secretary Morrison wrote the Governor of Pennsylvania of the situation that existed in McKeesport and the Governor replied that he would use his best efforts to see that the rights of the organization were respected in McKeesport; but since that time the same opposition has continued and no relief has been secured.

We continued to go into McKeesport, however, to distribute literature and call meetings. A large number of men responded to our call. Thousands of men in McKeesport wanted to be part of the labor movement, they wanted the right to stand up as citizens of this country and do the things which the constitution of the United States says they have a right to do. I want now to read a letter written by the Chief of Police of McKeesport:

"McKeesport, June 14, 1919.

"Mr. William Murphy, City.

"Sir: Hon. George H. Lyle, Mayor of the City of McKeesport, has this day notified me to notify you, as the organizer of the American Federation of Labor, that there will be no more street meetings held in this city. This means that the meeting called for Monday, June 15, 1919, at Fifth and Market streets at 8 P. M., will not be held. Any attempt made to disobey this notice will be met with the arrest of any person attempting to speak.

"JAMES REDDINGTON,
"Chief of Police."

The meeting on that date was held, and the speaker representing our committee talked in McKeesport on that occasion. We proceeded to go in with our work and to arrange other meetings. While we would rather talk in a hall, if we were denied the use of a hall we would meet on the street or in a vacant lot. Here is the attitude of the Mayor in regard to meetings. This is a telegram from one of our organizers at McKeesport, addressed to Secretary Foster:

"Saw Mayor Lyle, of McKeesport today. Refused permission for a hall meeting and prohibited street meeting for American Federation of Labor."

That is in relation to the meeting to be held tomorrow afternoon under the same circumstances as previous meetings were held. Secretary Foster, of the National Committee, is going to speak in McKeesport tomorrow afternoon at 3 o'clock.

We have taken the matter up with the Secretary of Labor; that Department is thoroughly aware of the situation; representatives of the Department have been in those places and have seen the difficulty with which we are carrying on our work. The matter has been brought to the attention of the Department of Justice, with no result. Now we are asking this convention, in this resolution, to cause a Congressional investigation or such other investigation as will bring about the right which the citizenship of this country cannot permit to be denied them. This right of

free speech and free assemblage must be fought for, regardless of consequences, and I say to you that America will mean nothing to us if we have not the right of free speech and free assembly.

While I have this opportunity I want to say to the delegates that this is a most vital and important work. It is a thing which affects the future of every organization and of every individual. If we break this opposition of the steel trust the real opposition to the labor movement of this country will be removed. That is the one big thing, if nothing else is to be obtained in this work. We hope to be able to accomplish that; and it is possible of accomplishment. There are about a half a million men connected with the iron and steel industry; a large portion of them are mechanics, but the great majority of them are common laborers. I presume if our skilled trades would proceed to make arrangements with the steel industry we could very readily bring within our lives all that we desire, but in doing that we would have to pay the price of leaving that common labor, which is in the majority, to the future mercy of the steel trust. That price we will never pay; never.

In the ten months since this committee was created a hundred thousand men have been brought into the folds of our organization. Twenty-four international unions are co-operating, and one hundred thousand men out of the steel industry have been brought into their organizations. If that result can be brought about in ten months we shall be able, through the concentrated efforts of the international organizations and with the support of the American Federation of labor, to bring the other four hundred thousand men in the steel industry into the labor movement inside of the next year. That is the constructive work we have been engaged in, and I hope when you leave this convention, with all the other responsibilities and duties you have, you will help this situation. It is a vital and important matter and means much to the future of the labor movement.

We don't know what the future has in store for us on this question of free speech. We do know the power and influence of the steel trust to make or break men. They have declared that they are going to break the men who are doing this work for the international unions and the American Federation of Labor. We are going to keep within the law; we are going to do everything we possibly can in the way in which the activities of the American Federation of Labor are carried out, but if our citizenship is going to be denied, if we are going to be harassed in all the ways the steel trust is going to resort to, then we say, come what will, we are going to speak in the State of Pennsylvania. That is our answer to the steel trust.

Delegate Sexton, Cigarmakers: I have a matter of considerable importance to this convention to bring before you. I desire to have a cablegram read by the Secretary and then desire to have a few words to say in prefacing a motion.

Secretary Morrison read the following cablegram:

Cable

San Juan, June 19, 1919.

Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor, Convention, Atlantic City, N. J.

Fifteen thousand laborers, the bulk of whom are women, who were suffering unbearable conditions, were locked out by the American Tobacco Trust about seven months ago. They are bravely resisting against deliberate purpose of the trust to destroy the cigarmakers' organization, which is the backbone of our organized movement in Porto Rico. We do fervently appeal to delegates of international unions and the American Federation of Labor to adopt some resolution to lend at once some financial help to these laborers, so they can continue to stand by their rights to maintain their unions in this island, for they are decided to starve to death before surrender. We request Delegates Sexton, Campbell and Roberts to thoroughly inform of the situation. Wishing all kinds of success. Rivera Martinez, organizer; Farrell, organizer; Iglesias, general organizer.

Delegate Sexton: The cablegram is self-explanatory. About fifteen thousand, in all, are involved in this struggle against the American Tobacco Trust in Porto Rico. It means the life of our organization in Porto Rico. These people have been struggling for six months or more, and many of them have received no benefits in a financial way. If they are given assistance it will mean an extension of the organized labor movement and the preservation of that which the American Federation of Labor and the organized labor movement has been endeavoring to establish.

I, therefore, move that this matter be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, to act upon and use their best discretion and, insofar as the privilege of the constitution permits, to render immediate aid to these members in Porto Rico. (Seconded and carried.)

Election of Officers.

President Gompers: I am going to ask a former vice president of the American Federation of Labor, John Mitchell, to preside over this convention during the time of the election of President of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Mitchell: Fellow Delegates: May I not, for just one moment, depart from the regular order of business to express to you my heartfelt appreciation for the very generous expression that you have just given me of your continued friendship for me? During the sessions of the past two conventions, because of the pressure of work in the various positions I held in the State of New York, I was unable to be present as a delegate; but it is a source of the keenest pleasure and happiness to be here now and to have the opportunity of meeting, individually and collectively, the dele-

gates to the American Federation of Labor convention.

By direction of the convention yesterday this hour was set apart for the election of officers of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term. Nominations for President of the American Federation of Labor are now in order.

Delegate Perkins, Cigarmakers: I am going to nominate the present incumbent for the position of President of the American Federation of Labor. I have heard, and you have heard, that sometimes in selecting men to do the things that mean so much the question of age is often mistakenly taken into consideration. When autocracy and militarism were marching triumphantly across the soil of France the sorely tried Allies looked for some one to prevent them from marching over the prostrate bodies of democracy, freedom and justice, and they selected without consulting the number of years General Foch, and he delivered the goods. When France was torn by dissension and discord, groping in the darkness for someone to rally the heroic spirit of that heroic country with what acclaim they selected Clemenceau, 86 years old; and the result proved the wisdom of their choice.

Turning to our own country we find in our trade union movement a feeling that we ought to turn to that kind of leadership which possesses knowledge, integrity, judgment and character. I am quite sure that this convention will make no mistake if we select one whose integrity, whose ability, whose judgment, and whose courage stand foremost in the minds and hearts of the workers of this country; and not only that, but in the hearts of all the people of our glorious country. I, therefore, take great pleasure in placing in nomination that intrepid successful leader of the trade union movement, Mr. Samuel Gompers.

No further names were presented and the chairman declared nominations closed.

Upon motion of Delegate Woll, Photo Engravers, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote for the convention for Mr. Gompers as President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing year.

Chairman Mitchell: The Secretary will cast one ballot, being the unanimous action of this convention in electing Mr. Gompers President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing year.

The Secretary complied with the instruction of the convention.

Chairman Mitchell: I declare Mr. Gompers elected President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term, and I am proud to be the instrumentality through which this convention conveys to Mr. Gompers this splendid expression of the continued confidence and affection of

the representative men of labor of the United States and Canada.

Mr. Gompers, I am sure I express the sentiment of practically every man and woman assembled here when I say to you that they wish that you may long live to lead the forces of labor in their never-ending struggle for better and higher conditions of life and labor.

President Gompers: I would be less than human were I not moved by this vote of the convention in electing me as President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing year, and by the demonstration just witnessed. I am moved by both in a very peculiar manner at this time. At times some outside of our movement undertake the so-called leadership and preceptorship of our movement, undertake to attempt the direction of our movement—notwithstanding how little they understand and feel the real purpose of our movement. Never, however, in the history of the American Federation of Labor has there been conducted such a campaign by people of the character I have tried to indicate as during the months just preceding our annual convention. Anti-American newspapers and publications; anti-labor publications; anti-American-Federation-of-Labor publications were used as advertising mediums through which attacks were made upon the American Federation of Labor, through the heart of your President. That was from the outside.

The vote and the demonstration just recorded in this convention is American labor's answer to such traducers and opponents. When there has been, for one reason and another, or for no reason at all, any opposition manifested by the men in the labor movement as to the Presidency of the American Federation of Labor, that was within their right; it was their right to determine who should be the president of the American Federation of Labor, and whether anyone else liked it—or whether I liked it—or not, it was their privilege and their right to oppose, and their privilege and right have always been maintained and sustained by me. I have tried to give not a part of me, but all there is of me in mind, in sentiment, in experience, in opportunity to serve the cause of labor, primarily, and the masses of the people generally. Whatever there may be left of me in mind, in soul, in body, shall be consecrated, as heretofore, to these great causes and these great principles. My highest conception of duty and responsibility is to be of service to my fellows, my contemporary manhood and womanhood, and for the growth and the protection and the promotion of the rights and interests of the great mass of workers of the future—our children and their children, and children's children—so that the burdens

of life of each generation may be lightened and so that they may develop into greater manhood and womanhood; so that they shall have a better understanding of the problems confronting them in their time and carry on the work and the struggle to a successful and a triumphant conclusion until the ushering in of that brighter and broader vision—the day that shall make men brothers the world over.

Delegate Frey, Molders: It has been my pleasure at previous conventions to arise when nominations for First Vice-President were called for, and submit the name of a well-known delegate and officer of this Federation for the position. There is very little for me to say concerning his special qualifications for this position. It has been my privilege to visit the land in which he was born and to see the mists and the storm sweeping in from the ocean to break against the rugged granite crags of old Scotland. And we have seen him in these conventions and in the intervals between these conventions standing like those rugged granite crags in defense of the principles of trade unionism. We have seen the storms of misinformation, of envy, and of ignorance break before the logic he possesses and the strength of his character, just as the storms have broken on the rugged crags of Scotland. We love him because we know him; we admire him because of the qualities he possesses; we have found him at all times and under all circumstances not only one of the most loyal, but one of the most effective defenders of trade unionism we have in America. It affords me the greatest pleasure to place in nomination James Duncan, of the Granite Cutters, for the position of First Vice-President.

No further names were presented and the chairman declared nominations closed.

Upon motion of Delegate Koveleski, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for James Duncan for First Vice-President. The Secretary complied with the instruction of the convention and James Duncan was unanimously elected First Vice-President for the ensuing term.

Delegate Wilson, Pattern Makers: I arise at this time to place in nomination one who has rendered valuable service to labor during his many years of active work in the trade union movement and the labor movement of our country. Realizing that the work of this convention does not justify at this time lengthy speeches in making nominations, I desire without further ado to nominate Joseph F. Valentine, of the Molders' Union.

The Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Joseph F. Valentine. The Secretary com-

plied with the instruction of the convention and Joseph F. Valentine was declared unanimously elected Second Vice President for the ensuing term.

President Gompers: Before the nominations are heard for Third Vice President it will be necessary to take official cognizance of letters from Mr. John R. Alpine, now Third Vice President.

Secretary Morrison read the following letters and telegrams:

Hotel McAlpin, Broadway at 84th St.,
New York City, June 8, 1919.

Mr. Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor, Alamac Hotel, Atlantic City, N. J.

Dear Sir and Brother: This will officially advise you of my desire to resign as a member of the Executive Council and a Vice President of the American Federation of Labor, this resignation to become effective as soon as possible. Personal affairs, as well as matters in connection with the organization of which I am General President and which interfere with the discharge of the duties involved as a member of the Executive Council prompt the action taken.

Please accept for yourself and our colleagues of the Executive Council my sincerest best wishes and heartiest appreciation because of the many favors received from you all in the past.

With thanks in advance for the acceptance of this resignation, I am

Yours fraternally,
(Signed) JOHN R. ALPINE.

TELEGRAM

Alamac Hotel, Atlantic City, N. J.,
June 7, 1919.

John R. Alpine,
McAlpin Hotel,
New York City.

Letter received and am astounded. You owe it to your friends, yourself and the movement to come here at once.

SAMUEL GOMPERS.
June 7, 1919.

Mr. John R. Alpine,
McAlpin Hotel,
New York City.

Your letter and my telegram to you in reply laid before Executive Council and it was unanimously voted that I telegraph you and strongly urge you to come to Atlantic City as soon as possible, today or tomorrow, Sunday for consultation.

SAMUEL GOMPERS.

TELEGRAM

Chicago, Illinois, June 9, 1919.

Samuel Gompers,
Alamac Hotel, Atlantic City, N. J.
Your telegram received as I was leaving for Chicago. Personal reasons that I will be glad to explain when I see you demand my presence here and after much thought it is evident that I will be unable to attend the Convention. It will be necessary for me to see you before full explanation can be made, in the meantime, please accept resignation from Executive Council as indicated in letter of recent date. Letter coming.

JOHN R. ALPINE.

United Association of Plumbers and Steam Fitters of U. S. and Canada.
General Offices, 411 Bush Temple of Music,
Chicago, Ill., June 13, 1919

Mr. Samuel Gompers, President,
American Federation of Labor,
Alamac Hotel, Atlantic City, N. J.

Dear Sir and Brother:

Just a brief letter at this time since I have no desire to bother while you are in the midst of the convention.

Of course, I can understand your surprise because of my resignation from the Executive Council and I shall make unusual effort to see you after the convention in order that I may be privileged to make explanation in person that I do not care at this time to place upon paper. There are valid reasons for the action taken but quite naturally I am worried because of doubt as to your feelings in the matter.

I know you will have no opportunity to answer this letter until after the close of the convention, and since Mrs. Alpine is going away with me for a few weeks I would ask that you simply acknowledge receipt of this addressing the Chicago office in order that I may know of it having reached you.

Good old Sam, I feel like a fish out of water because of absence from the convention, and although in the future I will not have the opportunity of being with you at Executive Council meetings I predict you will have a most distressing time should you try to keep away from me despite my absence from the Council.

My best wishes are with you always will be. Indeed it was pleasing to read in the Chicago papers of the wonderful reception given you, but it would have been strange had this ovation not been offered. If anybody is entitled to receive the commendations of all the people it is yourself.

As soon as possible after the convention is over, and after Mrs. Alpine and I have returned home, I will call upon you.

Yours most sincerely,

(Signed) JOHN R. ALPINE.
General President.

President Gompers: The letter of Mr. Alpine was acknowledged. The Executive Council, having before it the resignation of Mr. Alpine as Third Vice-President, refrained from action, preferring that this convention act rather than the Executive Council. It was at the meeting of the Council two weeks ago that the resignation was offered. The Chair is of the opinion that a motion is in order to accept the resignation of Vice-President Alpine.

Delegate Clark, Flint Glass Workers: I move that the correspondence between the Executive Council and Vice-President Alpine be made a matter of record; that his resignation be accepted with regret and that the Executive Council draft resolutions commending Mr. Alpine for the valuable services he has rendered the labor movement, as has been done in the case of the executives who recently left the Council.

Delegate Leonard: As one of the delegates representing the United Association of Plumbers and Steam Fitters I desire to say

that among the general membership of the United Association we sincerely regret the resignation of our General President from the Executive Council. We understand his reasons for resigning, and they are valid; but nevertheless we desire to give some slight expression of our great appreciation of the man who brought our organization out of the slough of despond which it occupied a few years ago and made it an organization of wonderful achievements for our entire membership. We are still loyal in the United Association to John R. Alpine and we appreciate all the good things he has done for it.

The motion proposed by Delegate Clark was adopted unanimously.

President Gompers suggested that the officer elected to fill the position of Third Vice-President for the ensuing term be elected also to fill the unexpired term of Mr. Alpine, which extends to August 1st. A motion to that effect was adopted.

Delegate Hutcheson: I desire to place before the convention a delegate who is well known. Without any attempt to eulogize his ability or qualifications, other than to say that all that has been said of candidates or that may be said of candidates equally applies to him, I take great pleasure in placing before this convention the name of Frank Duffy, of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters, for Third Vice-President.

No further names were presented and the Chairman declared nominations closed. The Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Vice-President Duffy. The Secretary complied with the instruction of the convention and Frank Duffy was declared unanimously elected Third Vice-President for the ensuing term.

Delegate Lewis, Mine Workers: It is with pleasure and manifest pride that I arise in behalf of my delegation to nominate a delegate for Fourth Vice-President. I shall not at this time attempt to recount his virtues or his accomplishments in the American labor movement other than to say that for many years he has been a member and officer of the United Mine Workers' organization and has given to our union the very best that was in him. He has served in the Senate of the state from which he comes, acting as President pro tem. of that body. He has been Secretary-Treasurer of our organization for a number of years, has served as Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor, represents in the American labor movement the highest type of trade unionism and stands as one of our foremost citizens. I submit for your consideration the name of Honorable William Green for Fourth Vice-President.

No further names were presented and the Chairman declared the nominations closed. The Secretary was instructed to cast the

unanimous vote of the convention for Vice-President Green. The Secretary complied with the instruction of the convention and William Green was declared elected Fourth Vice-President.

Delegate McCarthy, Carpenters: I rise to place in nomination for the office of Fifth Vice-President a trade unionist whose name is a household word the country over. All the good things that have been said about those nominated—not excepting yourself, Mr. President,—are true of the brother I am about to nominate. With these few remarks I have the pleasure of placing in nomination the only William D. Mahon, who transfers all of us throughout the country—the president of the Street and Electric Railway Employees.

No further names were presented and the Chairman declared nominations closed. The Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for William B. Mahon for Fifth Vice-President. The Secretary complied with the instructions of the convention and William B. Mahon was declared elected Fifth Vice-President for the ensuing term.

Delegate Manning, United Garment Workers: I am privileged today to place before this convention the same delegate I presented at the St. Paul Convention. At that time I said no words of mine could add to his ability or detract from the work he would do during the coming year. I repeat that sentiment now, and present to the delegates for their consideration T. A. Rickert, of the United Garment Workers.

Delegate Sillinsky: For the office of Sixth Vice-President I wish to nominate one of the oldest officers of our organization, who is now holding the executive office of our organization. He is the editor of our Journal and in that capacity has shown that he stands by his convictions, is courageous and able. I wish to nominate for Sixth Vice-President Thomas Sweeney of the Journeymen Tailors.

The nomination was seconded by Thomas Bolander.

The Secretary called the roll of delegates, with the following result:

For Rickert:—Mullaney, Myrup, Beisel, Schneider, Noschang, Fischer, Jacob; Shanessey, Foley, Anderson, Ed; Harvey, Kline, Kramer, Powiesland, Franklin, J. A.; Weyand, MacGowan, Scott, Charles; McKillop, Ahern, Bieber, Collins, Lovely, Baine, Perry, La Couture, O'Byrne, Proebstle, Sullivan, John; Kugler, Rader, Obergfell, Bowen, Preece, Jones, Geo.; Greeley, Fr.ice, Murphy, Thos. J.; Kasten, Morrin, Tobin, S. P.; McCain, Cunnane, Ryan, Martin F.; Shoemaker, Thompson, Theodore; Hyland, Thomas P.; Hutcheson, Duffy, Frank; White, Bob; Ross, McCarthy, Van Duyn, Post, Lakay, Perkins, Gompers, Sexton, Campbell, W. A.; Forrester, Odell, Shurtleff, Hay, Nelson, Emery, Baker, Conway, Schulte, Hughes, Andrew C.; Doyle,

James J.; Oliver, McNulty, Noonan, Joyce, McAndrews, O'Connor, Julia S.; Evans, Edward J.; Boyen, Feeney, Snellings, Comerford, Edgerton, Peterson, Woll, Brady, Steward, Luther, C.; Junker, Leonard, Martin, J.; Etheridge, Oden, Fink, Healy, Shamp, Morton, Brennan, Rickert, Larger, Manning, Daley, Doyle, F.; Voll, Oall, Donnelly, Clarke, Wm. P.; O'Brien, John B.; Hasenauer, Reynolds, Maire, Christman, Duncan, James; Squibb, Russell, Alex. W.; Lawlor, McCue, Humphrey, D'Alessandro, Etchison, Moreschi, Carley, Dwyer, Marshall, Broening, Fiore, Sullivan, Jere L.; Farrell, McDevitt, Kovel, Tghe, Sullivan, John J.; Mahoney, Edwards, McSorley, Duty, Bryan, W. E.; Maloney, Gainer, Mugavin, Duffy, Charles D.; Swarz, O'Connor, Thos. V.; Chlopek, Gahagan, Bjorklund, Keavy, Gauthier, Wharton, Connolly, J. J.; Barker, Fljoldal, Crook, Pegg, Kennedy, Hart, John F.; Lane, Dennis; Schmidt, Fred; McCreash, Kennedy, John; Guest, Hynes, Redding, Moriarty, Pattison, Moyer, Roberts, Langdon, Hayes, Frank J.; Lewis, John L.; Green, Walker, Mitchell, White, J. P.; Farrington, Moore, Valentine, Frey, Stevenson, Harry; Hayden, Dillon, Weber, Weaver, Carey, D. A.; Winkler, Evans, R. E.; Sheehan, Hedrick, Skemp, Guerin, McKeon, Lynch, John J.; Kellv, Joseph F.; Wilson, James; Gernon, Forrest, Bergstrom, George, Donlin, Allen, James G.; Carroll, John; Kearney, Anderson, Charles; Rau, Leonard, E. W.; Britton, Leary, D'ehl, Flaherty, Menge, Hutchins, Clark, William D.; Berry, McHugh, McGrady, Edwards, Martin, Quinlin, Cahill, Mylan, Rooney, Ryan, Edward J.; Strickland, Henry W.; Pymale, Hurley, Gavlak, Helt, Cone, Fleming, Shay, Charles C.; Dolliver, Barry, Ryan, P. J.; Freel, Sumner, Griggs, Heberling, Connors, Cashen, Stillman, Tobin, Daniel J.; Hughes, Thomas L.; Gillespie, Neer, Decker, Perham, Man'ion, Gormen, O. D.; Braun, Atkins, Golden Conboy, McMahon, Reagan, O'Donnell, Daniel J.; McAndrew, Evans, E. Lewis; Scott, M. G.; Morrison, Frank; Hayes, Max S.; McCollough, Young, William; Hays, J. W.; Hatch, Gorman, Denis F.; Tracey, Geo. A.; Koch, Mordecia, Burton, Fox, Charles; Hale, Johnson, A. J.; Brelsford, Anderson, Stanley; Hall, E. G.; Grafton, Donohue, M. M.; Holland, Ott, Fenton, Bollenbacher, Boncer, Fox, Harry W.; Nolan, Gramling, Banz, Fisher, A. E.; Howard, Kimball, Coughlin, Myers, James J.; O'Leary, Niemeier, Fitch, McFadden, Yarrow, Tucker, Hooper, Mason, Harry H.; Wessel, Tracy, D. W.; McKeown, Nuzum, Smith, John T.; Knutson, Metz, Gorman, Patrick E.; Gilbert, Hilfers, Barnes, Walter; Ornburn, C'nedinst, Giles, Hurley, Edgar S.; Crain, McGuire, Hoehn, Hall, John H. Jr.; Jacobs, Maloney, Barbour, Wines, Woracek, Ryerson, Flynn, P. W.; Murphy, Daniel C.; Doyle, F. E.; Scanlan, Wood, Chandler, Colpoys, Donahue, James P.; Kromelbein, Guilfoyle, McGeory, Tinney, Hogan, Ann; Watson, Brinston, Burford, Worthey, Carter, Williams, Oscar; Lewis, Mullen, Morris, Jesse T.; Gould, Miller, Hastings, Esalek, Vaughan, McKinnon, Spacey, Scott, E.; Brown, George M.; Tetelbaum, representing 23,229 votes.

For Sweeney:—Barnes, J. Mahlon; Meyer, Andries; Kaufman, Liebowitz, Schlesinger, Heller, Gorenstein, La Porte, Friedman, Feinberg, Brown, Harvey W.; Grow, Schoenberg, Cannon, Burke, John P.; Launer, La Belle, Saitor, Sweeney, Bolander, Sillinsky, Wrenn, Kavanaugh, Rogers, Putnam, Lea-

non, Block, Franklin, H. L.; Gildas, Cathrall, Strickland, C. A.; Duncan, James A.; Burns, T. F.; Birch, representing 2,661 votes.

Not Voting:—Boyer, Brown, William S.; Goelt, Linn, Bechtold, Greenstein, Beardsley, Wilson, David; Morrison, Harry L.; O'Keefe, Bock, Gehring, Melnerney, Pruett, Devlin, Carey, J. T.; Schneider, Geo. J.; Hannah, Doid, Heint, Furuseth, Olander, Fryor, O'Brien, Patrick; Hylen, Funder, Burk, Thomas, Percy; Prender, Curtis, Fitz Patrick, James, Wm.; Russell, Croaff, Whitaker, McDonald, Duncan; Cooney, Iglesias, Murphy, John F.; Gann, Spencer, Weber, Frank J.; Evans, Cyrus R.; Jones, E. E.; Rutherford, Schildt, Harrison, Ely, O'Donnell, M. J.; Lacey, Mahoney, John H.; Darr, Stewart, E. G.; Davis, E. F.; Hoffman, Harlin, Owens, Bryan, O'Donnell, S.; Dill, Carrick, Fink, Canfield, Deutelbaum, Griffith, Murphy, John E.; Carroll, John H.; McClintic, Woodman, Wagner, Canfield, Galloway, Taylor, C. O.; Moran Willis, Neu, Priestly, Argo, Gregson, Noble, Richter, Evans, Milton G.; Breslin, Sims, Newmyer, Ingles, Raisse, Keavney, Ganey, Hoffman, Frank; Frampton, France, Ogletree, Spielman, Daly, Timothy M.; Kingsley, Thomas Louis N.; Ryan John F.; Lacey, John A.; Young C. B.; Draper, Hartford, Bradley, Broderick, Bower, Curran, Wilkinson, Adam; Sullivan, J. J.; Ashmun, Hourigan, Boyle, C. J.; Barr, Metz, Woodmansee, Hannon, Campbell, James B.; Wilkinson, John; Simpson, Lemke, Dawson, Enright, Sauter, Lawson, Stehmeyer, Reardon, Turner, Cooper, Cahillane, Monaghan, Meszcapo, Fincke, Harte, McDougall, Peete, McGill, Oplinger, Crawford, Burk, H.; Canady, Ringer, Patterson, Brogan, Grass, Clark, E. Edwin; Grice, Staley, McNiece, Badgett, Bledow, Goldsmith, Colvin, Setzer, Bauman, Huston, Quesse, Mason, T. H.; White, Charles L.; Johnson, E. D.; Tourison, Schultz, Shea, C. P.; Middleton, Catterson, Berger, Weinstein, Ellicott, Herbert, Pitts, Richardson, Coogan, Leonard, Oliver L.; Chambers, Rice, Eklund, Campbell, Miller L.; Gallagher, Lane, Robert J.; Jackson, Thompson, Charles; Helgesen, Rinckler, Sharon, Clarke, Dalton T.; Burns, Holm, Witashkin, Weintraub, Abramson, Bondfield, Finney, Walsh, representing 1,270 votes.

Vice-President Rickert was declared duly elected for the ensuing term.

Delegate Noschang, Barbers: I rise to place in nomination a colleague with whom I have been officially associated for the past twenty-five years. During all that period I have noted his activity as a trade unionist in the movement of the American Federation of Labor. He has conducted his office on business principles and has made it possible for us to say that we have an organization worthy of mention. I have attended twenty consecutive conventions of the American Federation of Labor in his company. The convention last year saw fit to elect him to the Executive Council, and I now take pleasure in nominating for reelection as Seventh Vice-President, Jacob Fischer, Secretary of the Journeyman Barbers' International Union.

No further names were presented and the Chairman declared nominations closed. The

Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Jacob Fischer for Seventh Vice-President. The Secretary complied with the instruction of the convention and Vice-President Fischer was declared unanimously reelected for the ensuing term.

Delegate Baine, Boot and Shoe Workers: To fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of John R. Alpine, I desire to nominate a man who long ago decided to make the interests of the workers his life work. He is a man of great knowledge, studiously acquired, a man of energy and conviction. He has constantly manifested his willingness to give his experience and knowledge unreservedly for the benefit of our convention and for the benefit of our members in the period between conventions. He will be in every way an asset to the Executive Council. I take pleasure in presenting the name of Matthew Woll, President of the Photo Engravers' Union.

The nomination was seconded by Delegate Brady, Photo Engravers.

No further names were presented and the Chairman declared nominations closed. The Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Matthew Woll. The instruction of the convention was complied with and Matthew Woll was declared unanimously elected Eighth Vice-President.

Daniel J. Tobin, International Brotherhood of Teamsters, was placed in nomination for Treasurer by Delegate Gillespie.

No further names being presented, nominations were declared closed and the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Daniel J. Tobin. The Secretary complied with the instruction and Treasurer Tobin was declared unanimously elected for the ensuing term.

Delegate Brady, Photo Engravers: I desire to place in nomination the present incumbent, Mr. Frank Morrison, for Secretary. The nomination was seconded by Delegate McCollough, Typographical Union.

Upon motion of Delegate Ryan, Railway Carmen, the President was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Frank Morrison for Secretary. President Gompers cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Secretary Morrison, who was declared unanimously reelected for the ensuing term.

William L. Hutcheson, President of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters, was placed in nomination by Delegate McCarthy for fraternal delegate to the British Trades Union Congress. No further names being presented the Secretary cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Delegate Hutcheson, who was declared duly elected.

Delegate John J. Hynes, President Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers, was placed in nomination for second delegate to the British Trades Union Congress by Delegate Donita.

Plasterers. The nomination was seconded by Delegate Leonard, Plumbers. No further names being presented, the Secretary cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Delegate Hynes, who was declared duly elected.

Sam Griggs, President of the Stone Cutters, was placed in nomination for delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress by Delegate Shay, Theatrical Stage Employees. No further names being presented, the Secretary cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Delegate Griggs, who was declared duly elected.

Treasurer Tobin in the Chair.

The Chairman announced that the convention had provided for two delegates to the International Trades Union Congress, President Gompers to be one of the delegates, the other to be selected by the convention.

Delegate Perkins, Cigarmakers, was placed in nomination for the second delegate, but declined to accept.

Vice-President Duncan was placed in nomination by Delegate Lennon, but declined to accept.

Delegate Mitchell, Mine Workers, was placed in nomination by Delegate McNulty, but declined to accept.

President Gompers in the chair.

Treasurer Tobin: In view of the fact that we need some man who has some knowledge of the world labor movement, and as it seems the important men we would like to have accompany President Gompers find it impossible to accept the nomination, I therefore move you that the selection of the second delegate be left in the hands of the Executive Council. (Seconded and carried.)

At 12.30 P. M. the rules were suspended and the convention decided to remain in session to complete the elections.

Delegate Hutcheson, after a brief discussion on the inconveniences encountered in some of the cities where conventions have been held, moved that the selection of a convention city be left to the Executive Council. (Seconded.)

Delegate Bolander raised the point of order

that the constitution provided for the selection of a city by the convention.

President Gompers: The convention can delegate its power to the Executive Council if it so decided; the motion is in order.

The question was discussed by Delegate Hutcheson, Carpenters; Delegate Grow, Machinists; Treasurer Tobin, and Delegate Furuseth, Seamen.

Delegate Cannon: I move as an amendment that the convention select a city, and in case the Executive Council finds it is not advisable to hold in that city the Council shall have power to change to some other city.

Delegate Farrington, Mine Workers: I rise to a point of order on the amendment proposed by Delegate Cannon. Delegate Hutcheson moves that the power of selecting the place to hold our next convention be left in the hands of the Executive Council; Delegate Cannon moves that the convention select the next city, thereby nullifying completely the motion offered by Delegate Hutcheson. I hold that Delegate Cannon's motion is not an amendment to Delegate Hutcheson's motion.

President Gompers: The point of order is well taken.

Delegate Wessel, Denver, opposes the motion.

The motion proposed by Delegate Hutcheson was carried by a vote of 130 in the affirmative to 116 in the negative.

Vice-President Duncan: The rules provide that the session on Saturday close at 12.30 and unless the rules are suspended there is no constitutional authority for a meeting in the afternoon.

After a brief discussion as to the amount of business still to be transacted and the inconvenience of holding a night session, Vice President Duncan moved: "That the rules be suspended to allow us to meet this afternoon at the regular time and adjourn at 5.30, and that we hold a session Monday to transact our business in a proper manner." (Motion seconded and carried.)

At 1 o'clock the convention was adjourned to 2.30 P. M.

ELEVENTH DAY--Saturday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2.30 P. M., Saturday, June 21st, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Russell, Croaff, McDonald, Cooney, Iglesias, Murphy, J. F., Gann, Mahoney, O'Leary, Davis, McFadden, Harlin, Bryan, O'Donnell, S. Dill, Carrick, Canfield, Deutelbaum, Griffith, Murphy, Carroll, Woodman, Wagner, Canfield, Galloway, Taylor, C. O.; Moran, Priestly, Argo, Greyson,

Noble, Richter, Evans, M. G., Gildas, Newmyer, Rainee, Goury, Hoffman, Frampton, Franca, Ogletree, Thomas, L. N., Ryan, J. F., Young, C. B.; Bradley, Broderick, Bouer, Curran, Rynerson, Ashmun, Wilkinson, J., Simpson, Dawson, Reardon, Turner, Cooper, J. H., Fincke, McGill, Crawford, Ringer, Grass, Clark, E. E., Grace, McNiece, Badgett, Goldsmith, Bledlow, Colvin, Setzer, Bauman, White, Carter, Birch, Berger, Ellicott, Herbert, Coogan, Eklund, Campbell, Jackson, S. A.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION.

Delegate Stillman, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

The matters considered by the Executive Council which are found in its report under the appropriate sub-heads, and which were referred to this committee, are herein reported by caption with recommendation of the committee following in each case.

Committee on Labor.

The work of the Committee on Labor under the leadership of Samuel Gompers as a member of the Advisory Commission, Council of National Defense, and as Chairman of the Committee on Labor, Advisory Commission, Council of National Defense, and during the absence of the Chairman in Europe, under the direction of his assistant, Matthew Woll, merits a renewal by this Convention or the hearty commendation and endorsement of St. Paul Convention. The investigations and publications of the National Committees on Welfare Work and on Women in Industry, and of the Sections on Industrial Training for the War Emergency and on Recreation, have proved their value. One of the most important achievements of the Committee on Labor has been the maintenance of labor standards under war conditions.

With the signing of the armistice, the Committee on Labor directed its efforts to the protection of the workers during the period of readjustment, and we would particularly call the attention of the Convention to the recommendations for the Establishment of Employment Committees for the benefit of returning soldiers and sailors, found on pages 64-66. Under present circumstances it is urgently necessary that we guard against unfair treatment by private employment agencies, but your committee believes that the ultimate solution of the private employment agency problem must be the substitution for such agencies of a public employment system with properly co-ordinated Federal, state and local agencies, and recommends that the Convention adopt that principle.

Your committee also asks the concurrence of the Convention in the recommendation that the Committee on Labor, during the period of reconstruction, be granted an opportunity to continue its effective work for the co-ordination of resources and industries and for national security and welfare.

The report and recommendation of the committee were adopted unanimously.

National Conservatory of Music.

The section of the Executive Council's report under the above caption sets forth the failure of the legislation establishing a national conservatory of music in the last Congress. The Committee commends the Executive Council for its action, and recommends that the Executive Council renew its effort in the present Congress.

The report and recommendation of the committee were adopted unanimously.

Investigation of Educational System—Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

The committee commends to the reading of the delegates the section of the Executive Council's report under the above caption on Pages 105-114, including the report of the Committee on Schools under Union auspices. The experiences of New York City, Phila-

delphia, Boston, Chicago and Los Angeles will prove of value to all central bodies. The excellent work of the American Academy of Christian Democracy in Cincinnati has been called to the attention of the Committee. The Central Labor Council of Cincinnati has given its hearty endorsement to that school.

This committee desires particularly to call the attention of the Convention to the general conclusions summarized in the last paragraph of the report of the Committee on Schools under Union auspices:

"Your Committee recommends that central labor bodies, through securing representation on boards of education, and through the presentation of a popular demand for increased facilities for adult education, make every effort to obtain from the public schools liberally conducted classes in English, public speaking, parliamentary law, economics, industrial legislation, history of industry, and of the trade union movement, and any other subjects that may be requested by a sufficient number, such classes to be offered at times and places which would make them available to workers. If the public school system does not show willingness to cooperate in offering appropriate courses and type of instruction, the central labor body should organize such classes with as much co-operation from the public schools as may be obtained. Interested local unions should take the initiative when necessary."

Your Committee concurs in the request that the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to transmit the above recommendation to all affiliated central labor bodies.

In connection with this general subject matter, one of the chief difficulties in securing appropriate classes for the workers is the dearth of unbiased and suitable text books. Your committee recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to appoint a committee to investigate the matter of selecting, or of preparing and publishing text books appropriate for classes of workers.

In some sections of the country the matter of reaching non-English speaking people is proving exceedingly difficult, especially in view of prohibitions on the use of foreign languages. The committee believes that in all sections of the country, in conjunction with the utmost efforts to familiarize all citizens with the English language, permission should be granted for lectures and discussions in foreign languages in public schools, especially in connection with classes in English. Good public policy demands that non-English speaking people must be given an opportunity to learn of the spirit of American institutions before they have mastered our language.

A motion was made and seconded to accept the report and recommendation of the committee. The motion was adopted unanimously.

Child Labor Legislation.

The committee commends the prompt and effective action of the Executive Council in introducing a second child labor law in Congress to remedy the intolerable situation following the Supreme Court decision declaring the first law unconstitutional. This second law is now in operation pending review by the Supreme Court of the decision of Judge Boyd of North Carolina. All in our country who place the rights of children and the future welfare of the nation above the sordid profits of the exploiters and destroyers of childhood, share the hope of the Executive

Council that the Supreme Court will reverse this second attempt by Judge Boyd to nullify the expressed will of the nation.

Your committee deprecates, however, the provision in the present law transferring its enforcement from the Department of Labor to the Treasury Department, and recommends that the Executive Council be authorized to take steps to secure such enforcement under the jurisdiction of the Department of Labor, where it logically belongs.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Grow, Machinists: It appears to me that at this time we have very little if anything, to expect from the Supreme Court. I would like to ask for the judgment of the chairman of that committee. Do you expect the Supreme Court to give very serious consideration to that measure, or to any other labor measure?

Secretary Stillman: The comment of the Committee on Education in the St. Paul convention was sufficiently drastic and pointed, I believe all the delegates who were in that convention will agree, on the sustaining by the Supreme Court of the Federal Court in North Carolina; but this convention is meeting prior to the rendering of the Supreme Court decision and we do not believe in condemning a body of men prior to the rendering of the decision.

The motion to adopt the recommendation of the committee was carried unanimously.

Resolution No. 24—By Delegate Seymour Hastings, of the Motion Picture Players' Union, No. 16377:

WHEREAS, The Motion Picture Producers Association does not recognize the Motion Picture Players' Union; and

WHEREAS, The Association's secretary is the Secretary of the Motion Picture Producers' Service Bureau, which charges a commission fee of seven per cent (7%) per day to all players who work through the said Service Bureau; and

WHEREAS, The majority of the players are practically compelled to work through the said Service Bureau; and

WHEREAS, There are hundreds of players whose earnings average only fifteen dollars per week and the purchasing price of the dollar in California has fallen to sixty-two cents; and

WHEREAS, Private employment agencies are detrimental to the interests of organized labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that it is in favor of strong persuasive measures being adopted to induce all motion picture producers and their managers to recognize the Motion Picture Players' Union, which charges no commission, and to employ its members through its union.

The Committee recommend that the subject matter of Resolution No. 24 be referred to the Executive Council for investigation and consultation with representatives of the Mo-

tion Picture Players' Union No. 16377, and of the White Rats Actors Union.

A motion was made and seconded to accept the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Hastings, Motion Picture Players, discussed the question briefly and explained the matter more fully than it is explained in the resolution.

The motion to adopt the recommendation of the Committee was carried.

Resolution No. 89—By Delegate Frank Morrison, of the International Typographical Union:

WHEREAS, The material death rate of the United States is 14th in the list of principal civilized countries; and

WHEREAS, The infant death rate of the United States is 11th in the list of principal civilized countries; and

WHEREAS, The protection of the welfare of mothers and young children of this nation is a fundamental public duty of profound interest to labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor urges Congressional action directing Federal co-operation with States in providing funds and in organizing and carrying forward the welfare, medical, nursing and instructional services necessary to secure reasonable care for every mother and young child.

The committee heartily concurs in Resolution No. 89, and in addition desires to commend the work of the Children's Bureau under the leadership of Miss Julia Lathrop.

The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 143—By Delegate M. Goldsmith of the Federal Labor Union No. 16398:

WHEREAS, The organized workers have been and are doing all in their power to assist the government in the Americanization of our people and especially the foreigners; and

WHEREAS, The Trade Unions as such are doing good work in acquainting their members with the institutions of our government and insisting upon an amalgamation of all nationalities by advocating a common language among all of the people of the United States; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the convention instruct the Executive Council to endeavor to have Congress pass a bill compelling all societies, fraternal, insurance and others—secret or otherwise, to conduct their business in the English language.

The Committee recommends that organized labor continue to do its utmost to secure the universal use of the English language, but since the drastic action asked by the resolution is not only of doubtful advisability but would be clearly unconstitutional, Resolution No. 143 is non-concurred in.

The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 185—By Delegates Matthew Woll, Peter J. Brady, International Photo Engravers' Union; Marsden G. Scott, T. W. McCollough, William Young, John

W. Hays, International Typographical Union; George L. Berry, International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union; Charles Sumner, International Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union; Walter M. Reddick, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders:

WHEREAS, The United States Postal Service was created and designed to perform a great public service and promote the public good and was not intended as a money-making institution or profit-making venture; and

WHEREAS, Under the maladministration of Postmaster General Burleson, these original and helpful purposes of our postal service have been perverted by a mad desire to subordinate public service, humane treatment of employes, and a just, fair and indiscriminatory charge for the delivery of second-class mail to the realization of a profit-showing ledger sheet; and

WHEREAS, A demoralized condition exists in our postal service under which efficient operation and high degree of service to the public are well nigh impossible; and

WHEREAS, The treatment accorded employes of the service is archaic and despotic, unswervingly imperialistic and Prussianistic, and in complete opposition to the ideals, hopes and aspirations represented by America; and

WHEREAS, The postal zone system of rates on second-class mail is unjust and un-American and is but a contemptuous overthrow of the sound postal principles established by President Lincoln that the postal service is an educational and social function of vast benefit to our entire nation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor again expresses its disapproval of the zone-rate method of charging for the delivery of second-class mail and it petitions Congress to annul the obnoxious legislation enacted under pretense of a war revenue measure and that it request a thorough investigation of the entire postal service and postal rates, and that pending such investigation that all former rates be reestablished; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention petition the President of these United States in the interests of the many thousands of public employes and in the interest of the public dependent on an efficient postal service to select as a new postmaster general a man sympathetic to the original intent and purposes of this great service and one who is in harmony with the newer concepts of the rights of labor and the rights of a free people so eloquently expressed by the President on so many occasions.

The committee concurs in Resolution No. 185 and recommends its adoption by the convention.

The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

The committee eliminates the second half of the second preamble and all of the third preamble, because of doubtful accuracy of statements, so that the amended resolution would read:

Resolution No. 197—By Delegate Harold C.

Kingsley, of the Newport, R. I., Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, As the Constitution of the United States was intended to guarantee full political rights to all citizens; and

WHEREAS, This right has in the case of Government employes been to a large extent abrogated by executive order; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as opposed to the policy of denying Government employes the privilege of participating in political activities; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor respectfully represents to the President of the United States that these executive orders be withdrawn.

The Committee concurs in the resolution as amended and recommends its adoption.

The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 208—By Delegate E. C. Scott of the Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers & Assistants, 11773, Washington, D. C.:

WHEREAS, The residents of the District of Columbia have for years been disenfranchised notwithstanding they have been compelled to bear all the burdens of citizenship without the enjoyment of the full rights and privileges incident thereto; and,

WHEREAS, The said residents of the District of Columbia have shown their loyalty to our country by sending their manhood to the front, as well as oversubscribing on every occasion to all Leans, Red Cross, Y. M. C. A., Salvation Army and other patriotic occasions; and

WHEREAS, A concerted movement is now in progress in the District of Columbia for its residents looking towards a constitutional amendment enfranchising the residents of the District of Columbia; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record, as has been done by previous conventions, as favoring votes for voteless Washington, and that the Secretary be instructed to send a copy of this resolution to the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That every delegate to this Convention is requested to write a letter to his respective representative in both branches of Congress, urging their support to the fullest extent of any measure or bill that may be introduced or now pending in Congress having for its purpose the enfranchisement of the residents of the District of Columbia.

Since Resolution No. 14 dealing with the same subject matter has already been adopted by the convention, no further action seems necessary.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 217—By Delegate E. S. Hurley, of Central Labor Council, Oakland, Cal.:

WHEREAS, During our recent war many changes in the postal rules relative to newspapers were made; and

WHEREAS, Many of the new rulings when placed into force were found to be detrimental to many of our Labor Papers; and

WHEREAS, Owing to the arbitrariness of certain postmasters throughout the country, many of our labor papers have suffered great financial loss; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be directed to take this matter up with the Post Office Department to the end that such rules that hamper the good work of the Labor Press throughout the country may be cancelled.

The Committee concurs in the resolution and recommends its adoption.

The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

Additional Recommendations.

Your committee believes that in addition to the material presented in connection with sections of the Executive Council's report and resolutions, it is under obligation to recommend certain additional principles which should be incorporated in organized labor's educational policy.

1. With regard to Vocational Education, the model laws recommended by the Executive Council to the St. Paul Convention, and the principles adopted by that convention, including the endorsement of the unit, as opposed to the dual system of administration, should be re-endorsed. In this connection commendation should be given to the various states which have enacted continuation school laws, and to the labor movement of those states for the part they played in securing such legislation.

2. Hearty support should be given the increasing demand for well considered methods of vocational guidance in our schools.

3. Careful consideration should be given to the simplification of courses of study, especially in the lower grades; but in connection with any movement toward simplification, the committee believes that

4. The upper years of the elementary school should be reorganized to afford diversified training, so that boys and girls who can not go on to higher schools will receive training specifically designed for their needs, and not be compelled as at present to prepare for a role they will never play. These diversified courses should be flexible so that a pupil will be able to transfer from one to another. We must not compel the child to pay the penalty throughout life for a mistaken decision made in childhood. Organized labor should demand and help to secure an expansion and diversification of both elementary and secondary education so that a democratic equality of opportunity for preparations for the callings of their choice may be offered the children of the people.

5. In all courses of study, and particularly in industrial and vocational courses, the privileges and obligations of intelligent citizenship must be taught vigorously and effectively; and at least in all vocational and industrial courses an unbiased industrial history must be taught, which shall include accurate account of the organization of the workers and the results thereof, and shall also include a summary of all legislation, both state and federal, affecting the industries taught.

6. The basic language of instruction in all schools, both public and private, should be the English language, foreign languages to

be taught only as subjects in the curriculum.

7. The provision of adequate facilities for the teaching of English to non-English speaking people.

8. The establishment of complete systems of modern physical education under specially trained instructors.

9. The provision of ample playground facilities as a part of the public school system.

10. Continuous medical and dental inspection throughout the schools.

11. Better enforcement of compulsory educational laws, and the universal establishment of a minimum school-leaving age of 18 years.

12. The extension of a free text-book system to the District of Columbia and such states and communities as have not adopted it.

13. Wider use of the school plant securing increased returns to the community through additional civic, social and educational services to both adults and children.

14. Public forms should be established in every school where there is sufficient demand, under the direction of the superintendent of schools, working in co-operation with advisory committees, representing the various elements in the community.

15. The educational interests of the children and the future welfare of the state demand a drastic reduction in the prevailing size of classes.

16. In view of the demonstration by war conditions of the industrial and educational value of the metric system, the committee recommends that the Executive Council cause an investigation to be made of the advantages of the introduction of the metric system into this country with a view to determine what further steps, such as Congressional action, may be advisable.

17. A thorough going revision upward of the salary schedule of teachers in public schools, normal schools and universities, to meet the increased cost of living, and the growing appreciation of the value to the community and the nation of the teachers' services.

18. The liberal ungrudging reorganization and increase of school revenues as the only means of maintaining and developing the efficiency of our public schools.

19. In order to secure a more democratic administration of our schools, to develop a spirit of co-operation, and to gain for the community the benefit of the experience and initiative of the teaching body, boards of education and superintendents of schools should confer with committees representing organizations of the teachers' choice in all cases of controversy between school authorities and teachers, and should consider and make official public record of suggestions dealing with the conduct of the schools submitted by the teachers through such committees.

20. Teachers should have tenure of position during efficiency. There should be no dismissals without full public hearings before a commission on which the teachers are fairly represented.

21. In a democracy the primary requirement is a citizenship educated to straightforward, logical thinking, based on facts established by careful sifted evidence. The schools cannot develop this essential mental fibre if the pupils are carefully shielded from knowledge of the topics that men and women

on think about. Secondary only to a citizen's ability to do his own thinking, is his ability to make his influence felt in his group and community by effectively presenting his views to his fellows, and meeting opposition in a spirit of tolerance. This power of effective self-expression and the habits of tolerance, and of intellectual fairness toward opponents, can not be formed without the discussion or topics that give opportunity for their exercise. Therefore, in order to enable the schools to perform one of their chief functions, preparation for active citizenship, the pupils should be encouraged to discuss under intelligent supervision current events and the problems of citizenship.

22. It is unquestionable that teachers have no right to impose their personal views on pupils. But it is necessary in some quarters to emphasize that neither do school authorities have that right. And it is further necessary to ask this convention to endorse with all its power the principle that men and women in becoming teachers do not thereby surrender their rights as American citizens, and that inquisitions by school authorities into the personal religious, political and economic views of teachers is intolerable in a free country, strikes at the very basis of our public school system, and can result only in the development of mental and moral servility, and the stultification of teachers and pupils alike.

23. The right of teachers to affiliate with organized labor is beyond question. And in that connection, the right of teachers to hold meetings in school buildings outside of school hours, for the purpose of discussing organization, or of conducting the business of their organization, should not be questioned. Boards of Education have no proprietary right in the schools, but are simply trustees for the public, of which the teachers are a part.

24. The Committee recommends that this convention urge all state and local central bodies to make a Committee on Education one of their standing committees, where it has not yet been done, and to make vigorous effort to secure adequate representation of organized labor on all boards of education.

25. The achievements of the American Federation of Teachers, in co-operation with the labor movement, during the past year, lead the committee to repeat with greater emphasis the declaration of the St. Paul convention that the most effective guarantee of democracy and of progress in our schools is the affiliation of the teachers of the country with the great democratic force of organized labor, and again to urge the recommendation that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and all state and local central bodies give every support to the American Federation of Teachers in the work of organizing the teachers.

Delegate Strickland objected to the fourth section of the recommendation, as it implied that there are those among the laboring people whose children will not be able to get the same education as all other children.

Delegate Lennon, Bloomington, and Delegate Friedman, Ladies' Garment Workers, commended the Committee for their splendid report.

The motion to adopt the recommendations of the Committee was carried.

Secretary Stillman: This completes the report of the Committee, which is respectfully submitted and signed.

JOSEPH VALENTINE, Chairman,
CHARLES C. SHAY,
THOMAS J. CURTIS,
MARGARET C. DALEY,
JOHN P. WHITE,
J. C. ORR,
JOHN J. SULLIVAN,
M. G. SCOTT,
CHARLES A. SUMNER,
LUTHER C. STEWARD,
J. W. NELSON,
JOHN D. O'BRIEN,
IRA N. ORNBURN,
HENRY HILFERS,
CHARLES B. STILLMAN,

Secretary.

Secretary Stillman: I move the adoption of the report of the Committee as a whole. (Motion seconded and carried.)

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LAW

Secretary Flaherty, for the Committee, submitted the following report:

The Committee amended Resolution No. 96 by substituting the following "Resolve" for one contained in the resolution:

"RESOLVED, That Section 1, of Article IV of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor be amended by adding the words 'National Departments' after the words 'State Federations,' so that each National Department will be entitled to one delegate with one vote."

The resolution as amended reads as follows:

Resolution No. 96—By Delegates W. W. Britten, George Leary, H. C. Diehl, Meta Polishers' International Union; James Wilson, James L. Gernon, J. J. Forrest, Pattern Makers' League; Charles J. MacGowan, International Brotherhood of Boilermakers; John J. Hynes, Sheet Metal Workers:

WHEREAS, The constitution of the American Federation of Labor provides for the representation of all divisions of labor chartered under the A. F. of L., with the exception of its departments; and

WHEREAS, No division of organized labor chartered by the A. F. of L., is more important to its well being than the organized chartered departments; and

WHEREAS, State organizations, Central Bodies, and other divisions of the movement, are in a position because of having a representative attend all conventions to properly present and bring to the attention of the conventions such resolutions, motions and instructions as are adopted at the proper meetings or conventions of the above organizations, the departments, however, under the constitution are denied this privilege; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That Section 1, of Article IV of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor be amended by adding the words "National Departments" after the words "State Federation," so that each National Department will be entitled to one delegate with one vote.

The section as amended would read as follows:

Section 1. The basis of representation in the Convention shall be: From National and International Unions, for less than four thousand members, one delegate; four thousand or more, two delegates; eight thousand or more, three delegates; sixteen thousand or more, four delegates; thirty-two thousand or more, five delegates, and so on. From Central Bodies, State Federations, National Departments, Federal Labor Unions, and Local Unions having no National or International Union, one delegate; provided, however, that Local Unions and Federal Labor Unions herein referred to, located in one city, shall have the right to unite in sending a delegate to represent them unitedly. Only bona fide wage-workers who are not members of, or eligible to membership in other Trade Unions, shall be eligible as delegates from Federal Labor Unions.

Your committee recommends the adoption of this resolution as amended.

It was moved and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate Duncan, James A., believed that if the Departments were to be represented in the conventions they should pay per capita tax, the same as the Central Bodies and State Federations.

Chairman Tobin, for the committee, explained that they regarded the Departments as a very important part of the Federation and did not believe it necessary to impose a special tax on them by virtue of their having representation in the convention.

Delegate Lennon, Bloomington Central Labor Union, asked if any of the Departments had asked for representation as provided for and the chairman stated that the resolution was signed by representatives of important organizations in one Department, and that President O'Connell of the Metal Trades Department had appeared before the committee in support of the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolutions Nos. 41 and 62 were reported upon jointly by the committee. The resolutions are as follows:

Resolution No. 41—By Delegate Wm. F. Gildas, of the Lima, O., Trades and Labor Council:

An amendment to the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor: To amend Article 5 section 1, by striking out all of Section 1, after the words "to be elected by" and substituting the following—a secret ballot of the members in good standing of all unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. and these officers shall be the Executive Council. The nominations for the above-named officers shall be made by the delegates to the annual convention; and a printed ballot of the names shall be prepared and sent to all affiliated unions in good standing, to be voted upon and all ballots, those marked and all not used, shall be returned with the tally sheet as report of said election, giving the number of votes cast for each candidate; and the candidate having the largest number or

votes shall be elected; and a full detailed report of said election shall be published in the next issue of the official publication.

Resolution No. 62—By Delegate William I. Gildas, of the Lima, O., Trades and Labor Council:

An amendment to the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor to amend Article 5 by adding the following, to be known as Section 7:

When ten (10) unions in good standing affiliated with the A. F. of L., and that they represent at least five (5) different states, and that they demand the recall of one or more of the officers; it will be the duty of the officers to prepare ballots for said recall, and mail the same to all affiliated unions, and if said recall carries by at least two-thirds majority of the members voting, it will be the further duty of the officers to provide for the election of a successor to the defeated official; one candidate shall be nominated by the officers and two others, the first and second choice of the ten (10) unions originating that recall; the election shall be conducted as proposed in amendment to Article 5, Section 1.

Your Committee on Laws has had two resolutions referred to it relative to the direct election of officers of the American Federation of Labor and the recall of said officers, and your committee acted on them collectively. In view of the fact that this entire subject matter was dealt with at the convention of the American Federation of Labor held in Rochester, N. Y., in 1912, and that a thorough investigation was made at that time by the Executive Council and same submitted to the convention, and that it was decided at that convention that the election of officers of the American Federation of Labor by referendum was impracticable, and the report of the Council was sustained by that convention, your committee re-affirms the report submitted to the Rochester convention and therefore non-concurs in the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolutions Nos. 20 and 147 were reported upon together. The resolutions are as follows:

Resolution No. 20—By Delegates William Quesse, of Chicago Flat Janitors Union, Local 14382; Timothy Healy, Joseph W. Morton, William J. Schultz, Janitors, No. 15876; J. E. Holm, Superintendent, Janitors and Assistants, 15923; J. P. Reandoll, Local 14936, Janitors:

WHEREAS, The increased cost of living and the resultant necessity for an increased wage is a fact beyond a possibility of dispute; and

WHEREAS, Practically all of the International Organizations, affiliated with the A. F. of L., have recognized that fact by granting an increased compensation and hotel expenses paid to organizers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Executive Council be, and they are hereby instructed by

this Convention of the American Federation of Labor to increase the compensation paid to Organizers employed by the A. F. of L. to \$10.00 per day and that the hotel allowance shall be increased to \$6.00 per day.

Resolution No. 147—By Delegates John Donlin, Operative Plasterers International Association; John L. Owens, Cleveland Federation of Labor; Edward J. Evans, William L. Lewis, George Leary, Louis Weyand, H. B. Odell:

WHEREAS, The high cost of living incident to the war has not been reduced since the signing of the armistice, and is continuing to increase at the present time; and

WHEREAS, The toilers in almost every craft have received an increase in wages to meet this high cost of living, and the organized labor movement has gone on record against reductions; and

WHEREAS, It is the belief of the delegates that the labor movement should set the example of permitting the workers to meet their obligations by seeing to it that their employees are properly treated; and

WHEREAS, The organizers of the American Federation of Labor, are compelled to travel from place to place and at the same time provide for their folks at home; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the salary of organizers be increased from \$7.00 per day to \$8.00 per day, and the expenses increased from \$4.00 to \$5.00 per day, to give them a better opportunity to meet the high cost of living prevalent in our country today.

Your committee desires to amend the Resolve in Resolution No. 20, by changing the figures on the 6th line from "\$10.00" to read "\$8.00," and by changing the figures on the last line from "\$6.00" to read "\$5.00."

On this subject your committee desires to say that we believe that the present hotel expenses of organizers are not sufficient to meet the requirements of the increased cost of living which affects those who are on the road as organizers as much as any other class of people. We also believe that due to the fact that all other workers have received substantial increase in wages, the organizers also should be considered at this time, as they, too, have added responsibilities due to the high cost of living.

We therefore recommend that the salary of organizers be raised from \$7.00 to \$8.00 per day and the hotel expenses be increased from \$4.00 to \$5.00 per day.

It was moved and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate Forrester, Railway Clerks, amended the report to provide for increasing the hotel expenses to \$6.00 per day. The amendment was seconded.

Delegate Leonard, Plumbers, spoke in favor of the amendment.

Delegate Forrester, in supporting the amendment, called attention to the fact that the allowance for meals and hotels made to organizers is only made when they are away from their home cities, thus materially reducing the added cost in the case of those or-

ganizers permanently stationed at home.

Treasurer Tobin, while favoring the increases recommended, stated that the revenue with which to meet these increases must necessarily be considered.

Delegate McCarthy, Carpenters, advocated the increases recommended and stated that the organizers could not possibly live in decency and in comfort, and in keeping with the duties they are required to perform on the present allowances.

Delegate Lewis, United Mine Workers, supported the amendment and said he believed in a living wage for the organizers. He referred to the considerable increase in the membership of the Federation, brought about through the efforts of the organizers, and added that the increased revenue would surely permit of the payment of the increases as recommended.

Delegate McNulty, Electrical Workers, favored the amendment and said if the present revenue was not sufficient to meet the increases proposed, the per capita tax should be increased.

On motion debate was closed.

The amendment to the report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

The report of the committee as amended was adopted by unanimous vote.

Your Committee on Laws desires to offer the following amendment to Section 1 of Article X, of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor:

Change the words "seven-eighths of one cent" on the 6th line of Section 1, Article X to read "one cent."

Due to the fact that the expenses of the Federation have been substantially increased to the amount of \$50,000 per year, the members of the Committee on Laws believe that there is no other alternative at this time except to increase the revenue of the Federation; we therefore recommend that Section 1, Article X be amended to read as follows:

Section 1. The revenue of the Federation shall be derived from a per capita tax to be paid upon the full paid-up membership of all affiliated bodies, as follows: From International or National Trade Unions, a per capita tax of one cent per member per month; from Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions, twenty cents per member per month, five cents of which must be set aside to be used only in case of strike or lockout; Local Unions, the majority of whose members are less than eighteen (18) years of age, two cents per member per month; from Central and State bodies, \$10 per year, payable quarterly.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Resolutions Nos. 87 and 203 were reported upon together. The resolutions are as follows:

Resolution No. 87—By Delegate John J. Hynes, of the Metal Workers' International Alliance:

WHEREAS, The splendid growth and high standing of the American Federation of Labor in this country and throughout its jurisdiction has been brought about jointly by the efforts of the officers of the American Federation of Labor, and the officers of the international unions; and

WHEREAS, The salaries paid the officials of the American Federation of Labor have not been increased since 1914, and the labor and responsibility have increased; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That on and after July 1, 1919, the salary of the President of the American Federation of Labor be made \$10,000 per year, and that of the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor be made \$7500 per year.

Resolution No. 208—By Delegate E. C. Scott, Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers & Assistants, 11773, Washington, D. C.:

WHEREAS, The President and Secretary of the American Federation of Labor have rendered long and faithful service to the cause of labor and humanity, and have, by their untiring efforts, been instrumental in materially increasing and strengthening the position of the laboring classes throughout the United States; and

WHEREAS, The salaries of the officers of many of the affiliated organizations to the American Federation of Labor have been increased beyond that paid to the President and Secretary of the A. F. of L.; and

WHEREAS, It is the consensus of opinion that the present salaries are not commensurate with the efforts put forth and services rendered by these officers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention authorizes the following increases in salary: The President of the American Federation of Labor salary to be increased to \$10,000 to \$12,000 per annum, effective August 1st, 1919, and the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor salary be increased to \$7,500 to \$10,000 per annum, effective August 1st, 1919, at the discretion of the delegates herein assembled.

On this subject your committee desires to say that because of the fact that both of these officers have worked zealously and faithfully during the past year, the President having been compelled to cross the ocean on two different occasions, at one time when the submarine menace was at its height, in the endeavor to represent not only the workers of our country but all of the people as a representative of labor, your committee believes that the President's salary should be increased.

The Secretary of the Federation having to look after the work of the President during his absence in Europe, and also having a great amount of extra work and responsibilities during the war, we believe that his salary should also be increased.

Your committee further believes that the office of President of the American Federa-

tion of Labor is of such an important nature entailing grave responsibilities, that the salary be greater than it is at the present time. The same is true of the office of Secretary.

We, therefore, recommend that the salary of the President of the American Federation of Labor be changed from \$7,500 to \$10,000 per year, and the salary of the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor be changed from \$5,000 to \$7,500 per year.

It was moved and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in.

Vice-President Valentine in the chair.

President Gompers spoke briefly in reference to that portion of the committee's report which pertained to the increase of salary of the President. He referred to the Philadelphia convention in 1914, when he opposed the recommendation to increase the salary of the President. He said further, in part: You know that prior to our entrance into the war, there was no man against whom such vicious, unwarranted attacks were made as there were made upon me by the enemies of our movement, who pointed to the fact of this tremendous salary that was paid to me, and many of the rank and file of the workers of our country had their minds prejudiced against our Federation by reason of what they supposed to be an immense salary. You know, too, that since August of last year I visited Europe on two occasions, and in the several countries that I visited—England, Scotland, France, Belgium and Italy—the men who were opposed to our movement used the most effective weapon they could to weaken the influence that I tried to exert upon them in order that we might have a stabilized understanding and good feeling. This weapon was the statement that this man who came to Europe as the representative of labor of America represented the wealthy millionaires, and not the laboring class.

If you now raise the salary to \$10,000 per year, it will mean that these same arguments will be used in these foreign countries by those who are not so friendly to us.

My expenses are covered by the salary now paid me by the American Federation of Labor, and I don't want, in the last years of my life, to be regarded as a money seeker or a hoarder of money. I want the right to be permitted to say to the whole world that I am not working for money. I have no interests outside the labor movement, I have no aspirations outside the labor movement. I am not a bond holder or a speculator, I am engaged in no business, but I say to you men if you desire, insofar as I am concerned at least, to follow my thought and the most effective service which I can give, please don't raise the salary of the President of the American Federation of Labor.

Treasurer Tobin asked the delegates to support the report of the committee and pointed to the vast increase in living expenses since the last increases in salaries granted the President and Secretary of the Federation.

The report of the committee was adopted. President Gompers asked to be recorded in the negative on the proposition of increasing the salary of the President.

Resolution No. 181—By J. W. Hays, of the International Typographical Union.

Amend present laws so as to change the salary of the treasurer from \$500.00 to \$1500.00, same to become effective July 1, 1919.

On this resolution your committee desires to say that the chairman of the committee, who is the treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, made an explanation which guided the committee in its action. He stated he was receiving a satisfactory salary from his International Union, of which he is the President, and that the work devolving upon him as treasurer of the Federation was of a nature that did not take up very much of his time. In view of this, in the judgment of the committee, the present salary is sufficient to compensate any individual holding that office for the service rendered. Basing our action, therefore, on this statement made by the treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, your committee recommends non-concurrence in the resolution.

It was moved and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in.

President Gompers in the chair.

Delegate Hays, Typographical Union, and Delegate Shay, Theatrical Stage Employees, opposed the report of the committee and advocated the adoption of the resolution.

Treasurer Tobin defended the report of the committee, and in a brief statement corroborated what was said in that report, relative to the time consumed in looking after the duties of the office of Treasurer.

Delegate James A. Duncan and Delegate Furuseth spoke in favor of the report of the committee.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

In view of the fact that the American Federation of Labor is an open book and the workings of the Federation are open to the public, it is the recommendation of your committee that the salaries of the President and Secretary be inserted in the proper section of the constitution.

It was moved and adopted that the recommendation of the committee be concurred in.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 18—By Delegate T. F. Burns, of Tacoma, Wash., Central Labor Council.

WHEREAS, There is a spirit of unrest permeating the labor movement of the world, including the organized workers of these United States; the working class is seeking the means whereby to give expression to its aspirations for greater democracy in the labor movement; and

WHEREAS, The system of voting now in vogue in the A. F. and L. convention, whereby sixty-five delegates by combining on roll call vote, may determine the policy for the whole labor movement of the United States; and

WHEREAS, Such power in the hands of a small number of men is very dangerous, and necessarily brings abuses that can only be corrected by restoring the power to the rank and file; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Tacoma Central Labor Council, in regular meeting assembled, we urge the A. F. of L. to adopt a more democratic and equitable system of voting than that now in operation.

On the above resolution your committee decided that the representation and system of voting in the conventions of the American Federation of Labor is satisfactory, and we are of the opinion that any change at this time would not be to the best interests of the organizations composing the American Federation of Labor. Your committee therefore non-concurs in the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 194 was amended by inserting in the first "Resolve" the words "seventy-five cents per month" where it reads "one dollar per month" in the fifth line. The resolution as amended reads as follows:

Resolution No. 194—By Delegates A. E. Sinn, George Bechtold, International Brotherhood of Foundry Employees.

WHEREAS, Splendid results have been attained during the past year by general and local organizers of the American Federation of Labor, in organizing and instituting federal trades and labor unions, and notwithstanding these splendid results, considerable difficulty has been encountered by some of the internationals, due to the existing rate of initiation fee and dues now provided for these federal trade and labor unions, in the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That Article 13, Section 12, of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor be amended by striking out the words "sixty cents per month" and in lieu thereof inserting "seventy-five cents per month;" and, be it further

RESOLVED, That Section 14 of the same article be amended by striking out the word "one dollar" and in lieu thereof inserting "two dollars."

In line with this action your committee further recommends that Section 14 of Article XIII of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor be amended by inserting the words "two dollars" where it now reads "one dollar" at the third line of Section 14, making the section read as follows:

Section 14. That initiation fees charged

by directly affiliated local trade or federal labor unions shall be not less than two dollars or more than ten dollars, and that one-fourth of each initiation fee received by such local trade or federal labor union shall be forwarded to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, together with the per capita tax, accompanied by a monthly report giving the number of members paid for, and names of those initiated, reinstated, suspended and expelled, and number of members upon whom back per capita tax is being paid and months paid for, on blanks to be furnished by the Secretary of the local union shall place a per capita tax stamp in the member's due book. These stamps must be used. Suspended members can be reinstated only by the payment of three months' back per capita tax, in addition to the tax for the current month, and a fee of 25 cents for reinstatement stamp."

Your committee further recommends that in Section 1, Article X, the eighth line be changed by striking out the words "fifteen cents" and substituting the words "twenty cents," making the section read as follows:

Section 1. The revenue of the Federation shall be derived from a per capita tax to be paid upon the full paid-up membership of all affiliated bodies, as follows: From international or national trade unions a per capita tax of seven-eighths of one cent per member per month, from local trade unions and federal labor unions twenty cents per member per month, five cents of which must be set aside to be used only in case of strike or lockout; local unions, the majority of whose members are less than eighteen (18) years of age, two cents per month; from central and state bodies, \$10 per year, payable quarterly.

Your committee further recommends that Section 5 of Article XIII be amended by striking out the words "four dollars per week" and substituting the words "six dollars per week," making the section read as follows:

Section 5. When a strike has been inaugurated under the provisions of Sections 2 and 3, the American Federation of Labor shall pay to the bonded officer of the union involved, or his order, for a period of six weeks, an amount equal to six (\$6) dollars per week for each member. Each local union shall require its treasurer to give proper bond for the safekeeping and disbursement of all funds of the local. No benefit shall be paid for the first two weeks of the strike. The Executive Council shall have the power to authorize the payment of strike benefits for an additional period.

In substance these four recommendations are:

First. The minimum per capita tax of directly affiliated unions is raised from 60 to 75 cents.

Second. The minimum initiation fee is fixed at \$2.00 instead of \$1.00.

Third. The per capita tax is raised from 15 to 20 cents.

Fourth. Strike benefits are raised from \$4.00 to \$6.00.

Your committee recommends the adoption of Resolution 194 as amended, together

with the four recommendations offered by the committee.

It was moved and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate James A. Duncan suggested an additional recommendation to the effect that the laws governing organizations of minors remain as they are at present. He stated this suggestion was made in the interests of the newsboys.

Chairman Tobin explained that the present laws with regard to organizations of minors was not disturbed except with regard to the initiation fee, and it was felt that these organizations would not be burdened by the increased fee proposed.

Delegate Wharton, Machinists, drew attention to the fact that while the recommendations of the committee provided for an increase of only 25 per cent. in the per capita tax, it provided for a 50 per cent. increase in strike benefits, and asked if consideration had been given that phase of the matter.

Chairman Tobin replied that that matter was fully considered by the committee, that the Defense Fund was in fairly good condition, that not more than 15 per cent. of the membership would draw benefits, according to the estimate they arrived at, and that it was felt advisable to try the proposed plan for at least one year and then adopt other measures if it did not prove adequate to meet the situation.

The report of the committee was adopted.

In Resolution No. 119 the committee recommended the following changes: Striking but the words after the word "vote" on the sixth line of Section 5. "where such organization has a national organization, until the proper authorities of such national or international organization have been consulted and agreed to such action;" striking out the word "suspend" in the second last line of Section 5 and inserting the word "revoke;" and striking out the words "and expel the organization," in the last line, and by adding the following words: "and no central labor union or other central body chartered under the American Federation of Labor shall have the right to inculcate, encourage or advance any movement by circular or motion, the aim or purpose of which is to change the present form of organization of either the International Labor Unions or the American Federation of Labor without first having the approval of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L." The amended resolution reads as follows:

Resolution No. 119—By Delegates Matthew Woll, of the International Photo-Engravers' Union; M. G. Scott, Walter W. Barrett, T. W. McCullough, J. W. Hays, of the International Typographical Union; George L. Berry, of the International Print-

ing Pressman and Assistants' Union; Walter N. Reddick, of the International Association of Bookbinders; Charles A. Sumner, of the International Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Union; John J. Manning, of the United Garment Workers:

Amend Section 5, Article XI, of the Constitution by inserting in the fifth line after the word "strike" the words: "or to take a strike vote." Also by adding to the same section the following: "A violation of this law shall be sufficient cause for the Executive Council to suspend the charter and expel the organization." The Section as amended to read:

Section 5. No Central Labor Union, or other central body of delegates, shall have the authority or power to order any organization affiliated with such central labor union or other central body on strike, or to take a strike vote, and no central labor union or other central body chartered under the American Federation of Labor shall have the right to inculcate, encourage or advance any movement by circular or motion, the aim or purpose of which is to change the present form of organization of either the International Labor Unions or the American Federation of Labor without first having the approval of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. A violation of this law shall be sufficient cause for the Executive Council to revoke the charter.

It was moved and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate James A. Duncan vigorously opposed the report of the committee on the grounds that it interfered with the rights of the workers in any particular locality to proceed legitimately along proper lines in whatever way they deemed best for their interests. He said in part: I submit to you that the four million members of the American Federation of Labor have the right to do anything they want to do within the law of the United States of America with the labor movement, and for us to sit here as delegates and say we are going to put a rope around everybody who may have a progressive view or an erroneous view; if we are going to tie them hand and foot and say that they cannot move or make any suggestion that might be against the interests of the seven, or eight, or nine members of the Executive Council, it is absolutely ridiculous. I am not afraid of the I. W. W. or any other organization outside the American Federation of Labor so long as we have democracy inside of the American Federation of Labor. I say that I am not a secessionist, and I sincerely hope you won't put the labor movement in Seattle in a position where it will have to have its charter revoked. I am not going out of the bona fide labor movement of my own free will, neither do I believe the hosts of workers in Seattle are, but if you compel them to go out I can't say to you that that Seattle labor movement is not going to offer any

resistance to being thrown out, because this is a trespass upon the rights and the liberties of the individual workers under the banner of the American Federation of Labor, and I therefore hope that you will vote this report down.

Vice President Duncan raised the point that the committee's recommendation had eliminated that portion of Section 5 of Article XI which provides for consultation for the proper authorities of national and international unions before the calling of a strike by a central body.

Treasurer Tobin stated that it was not the intention of the committee to eliminate that portion of the present law. He then made a statement at some length in which he set forth the necessity for the adoption of some measure restricting central bodies from doing the things that had been done in certain cities. He condemned the practice of circularising the local unions of the various internationals and referred to the hundreds of circular letters which are continually going the rounds, advocating secession, either directly or indirectly, and fostering and promoting discontent and dissension among the workers. He called attention to the fact that the American Federation of Labor is the parent body of the central bodies, and that the central bodies owe the same allegiance to the American Federation of Labor as the local unions owe to their internationals.

On motion, Resolution No. 119 and the report of the committee, with the recommendations thereon, was referred back to the committee for further consideration.

President Gompers: Yesterday, during the course of a discussion upon a subject then before the house, a cablegram from the President of the United States was read. In it he said he believed there would be no time to communicate with the convention further on the subject of the terms of the labor convention. I have here a copy of a cablegram received this morning from the President, and in the judgment of the chair it should be read to the convention and made part of the record.

Secretary Morrison read the cablegram, which is as follows:

Cable from President Wilson

Washington, D. C., June 21, 1919.
Samuel Gompers, Esq., Hotel Alamac, Atlantic City, N. J.

Following message for you from the President: "Comparison between your draft labor convention as reported to the plenary conference and the labor provisions as they now appear in the treaty of peace shows the following categories of changes: First, redraft of what is called in commission's report 'clauses for insertion in treaty of peace.' In actual treaty they appear under the title 'General principles' and read as follows: 'The high contracting parties

recognising that the well-being physical, moral and intellectual of industrial wage earners is of supreme international importance have framed order to further this great and the permanent machinery provided for in Section 1 and associated with that of the League of Nations they recognize that difference of climate, habits and customs of economic opportunity and industrial tradition make strict uniformity in the conditions of labor difficult of immediate attainment, but holding as they do that labor should not be regarded merely as an article of commerce they think there are methods and principles for regarding labor conditions which all industrial communities should endeavor to apply so far as their special circumstances will permit. Among these methods and principles the following seem to the high contracting parties to be of a special and urgent importance; first, the guiding principle above enunciated that labor should not be regarded merely as a commodity or article of commerce; second, the right of association for all lawful purposes by the employed as well as by the employers; third, the payment to the employed of a wage adequate to maintain a reasonable standard of life as this is understood in their time and country fourth the adoption of an eight-hour day or a forty-eight hour week as the standard to be aimed at where it has not already been attained; fifth, the adoption of a weekly rest of at least twenty-four hours, which should include Sunday wherever practicable; sixth, the abolition of child labor and the imposition of such limitations of the labor of young persons as shall permit the continuation of their education and assure their proper physical development; seventh, the principle that men and women should receive equal remuneration for work of equal value; eighth, the standard set by law in each country with respect to the conditions of labor should have due regard to the equitable economic treatment of all workers lawfully resident therein; ninth, each state should make provision for a system of inspection in which women should take part in order to ensure the enforcement of the laws and regulations for the protection of the employed. Without claiming that these methods and principles are either complete or final, the high contracting parties are of opinion that they are well fitted to guide the policy of the League of Nations and that if adopted by the industrial communities who are members of the league and safeguarded in practice by an adequate system of such inspection, they will confer lasting benefits upon the wage earners of the world.

"The second part of your cable seven has been transferred into body of the convention and now appears under Article 405 of the Treaty of Peace under clause 19 of your report. I am convinced that except for changes in wording which do not affect the substance and spirit of these clauses; they remain the same; second, likewise your protocol to Article 19 has been transferred to body of treaty under article 405. The 'resolutions' adopted by the Commission do not appear in the treaty inasmuch as they were merely proposals of separate delegations and no part of the report as unanimously adopted, for incorporation in the treaty. Third, a number of changes of form have been through the draft convention

to make it conform in phraseology with the covenant of the League of Nations as redrafted by the League of Nations Commission. For example, the words 'The high contracting parties' now reads 'members' and other similar unimportant changes. Fourth, on April 11 at the Plenary Conference which adopted the report of Labor Commission, Sir Robert Borden made the following remarks: "This convention is linked in many ways by its terms to the covenant of the League of Nations and I think it desirable to make it perfectly plain that the character of its membership and the method of adherence should be the same in the one case as in the other." He then offered the following resolution which was unanimously adopted by the conference: "The conference authorizes the Drafting Committee to make such amendments as may be necessary to have the convention conform to the covenant of the League of Nations, in the character of its membership and in the method of adherence." In pursuance of this resolution the following changes were made: Article 1 your commission reports together with the first two clauses of your Article 35 together with Article 36 have been combined as Article 387 of the treaty to read "A permanent organization is hereby established for the promotion of the objects set forth in the preamble; the original members of the League of Nations shall be the original members of this organization and hereafter membership of the League of Nations shall carry with it membership of the said organization, as you doubtless have in mind the changes have the effect of giving the British Dominions and colonies separate representation on the general conference. When you give your final judgment upon the importance of these changes I earnestly urge you to entertain the following consideration; one that Borden could not go back to the Canadian people who occupy a position of considerable importance in the industrial world and tell them that they were not entitled to representation on the general labor conference at Versailles; two, that the changes did in fact bring the labor convention into harmony with the League of Nations covenant; three, that the changes are not substantially important inasmuch as every labor convention adopted by the conference must be submitted to our Government for ratification thus the choice of acceptance or rejection lies in our own hands irrespective of the constitution of the general conference; four, that the problems of the chief British colonies and dominions are much more our own than like great Britain's so that their representation will be a source of strength to our point rather than an embarrassment; five, that in my opinion the changes do not introduce any weakness or threat particular weakness into the labor provisions. They still stand, thanks to your efforts and guidance as one of the great progressive achievements of the Peace Conference, something from which peoples the world over may take courage and hope and confidence in a better future. I am sure that you will agree that nothing could be more fatal to these first aspirations than any failure to endorse these provisions. I count upon your support and sponsorship."

FRANK L. POLE,
Acting Secretary of State.

Delegate Shay, Theatrical Stage Employees: It has come to my attention—and if this is true I believe this convention of the American Federation of Labor should take a stand leaving no doubt as to how we feel in the matter—that Senator Poin-dexter and Representative Kelly, of Penn-sylvania, have introduced a joint bill that has for its purpose a conference of indus-trial heads and labor leaders to study problems affecting capital and labor. This bill is suggested, according to my informa-tion, by Mr. Basil Manly, of the War Labor Board, and he has given out a list of names to represent labor, as well as a list to rep-resent capital, and the name that heads the list to represent labor is that of Mr. Frank P. Walsh. I would like to ask if there is any information in the hands of the officers of this organization as to whether this is a fact or not.

President Gompers: No other informa-tion than from these two sources: One, the statement published in the newspapers, and secondly, from our office in Washington. When my attention was called to this piece of information, I immediately dictated a telegram to be sent to both Senator Poin-dexter and Representative Kelly. I shall ask Secretary Morrison to read a copy of that telegram.

Atlantic City, N. J., June 21, 1919.
Honorable M. Clyde Kelly, House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

The newspapers publish that you and Senator Miles Poin-dexter have introduced into the Senate and House respectively bills vitally affecting the interests of labor. Be-fore any progress in these bills is made in Congress I think it necessary that a con-ference should be had with the representa-tives of the American Federation of Labor. The acceptance of the attempt for others to speak in the name of American labor will, I am sure, arouse resentment.

SAMUEL GOMPERS.

Delegate Shay spoke briefly on the matter, stating that while he was willing to agree that Mr. Walsh was a man of extraordinary ability, he did not feel that it was necessary to go outside the ranks of the American Federation of Labor to find men qualified to represent labor at this or any other confer-ence that might have for its purpose the solving of the problems between capital and labor. He asked to be placed on record as objecting most strenuously to any one rep-resenting the American Federation of Labor except those who are within the ranks of the Federation.

Vice-President Green: It seems quite clear on listening to the cablegram from the President of the United States, that he was very much concerned as to the action of the American Federation of Labor convention re-garding the covenant of the League of Na-tions, or that part of it pertaining to inter-

national labor legislation. In order to hearten him in his work and to assure him of our support, I move that the President of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to advise the President of the United States by cablegram of the action of this conven-tion in voting upon these propositions yes-terday.

The motion was seconded and carried unan-imously.

President Gompers: The chair asks the opportunity to say a word which I think is of immediate importance. In a cursory way I learned of a situation which existed and still exists in the legislature of the State of Pennsylvania, a situation by which appar-ently the Governor of the State of Penn-sylvania is interested in trying to have the legislature enact a proposition that shall fur-ther curb the rights of the working people and the masses of the people of the State of Pennsylvania. Under the leadership of some of the members of the legislature against that procedure, the proposition for further restriction of the rights of the people was defeated by a narrow margin of votes. This morning the information was conveyed to me that under the whip and spur of those in author-ity, a further attempt will be made on Monday in the legislature of the State of Pennsylvania to resurrect and pass such a bill as I have made reference to. I have drafted an expression of this convention upon the subject, and I now ask the unanimous consent of the convention to introduce that expression in the form of a resolution.

Consent was granted and the following res-olution was submitted:

Resolution No. 228—By Delegate Samuel Gompers, of the Ogar Makers' Delegation:

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor urgently ap-peal to the members of the Pennsylvania's legislature to protect the rights of the workers and the masses of the people of that great state from further infraction and invasion, and to vote against any bill or measure which is, or may be brought before that legislature having for its purpose the causes against which this resolution protests.

On motion of Delegate John H. Lewis, United Mine Workers, the resolution was unanimously adopted.

Delegate Woll, Photo Engravers: I was astonished at the information conveyed a few moments ago of the introduction of a bill in Congress which contemplates calling a con-ference of representative employers and em-ployes and others to determine wages, hours and conditions of employment which should ex-ist in our industrial life. We have been meeting here for the past two weeks, de-termining what labor's attitude would be in many of these questions, and I think this convention cannot afford to have any one outside the ranks of labor speak in its be-

half on any question affecting its rights. I think Congress ought to be advised of that position, that only duly accredited representatives of the labor movement can and ought to be heard, and I move that the President of the American Federation of Labor be directed to communicate these sentiments to Congress.

The motion was seconded by Delegate Shay, Theatrical Stage Employees.

Delegate John H. Walker discussed the question briefly, expressing the opinion that the men and women within the ranks of organized labor were best fitted to determine the problems confronting them in their daily lives, and to suggest who should represent them when their affairs were being considered.

Delegate Furuseth expressed disapproval of the commission plan of dealing with the problems of labor and said he believed the convention should protest against the whole scheme as being impracticable.

Delegate Woll, while expressing approval of the War Labor Board and similar boards

during the time of war, believed that such commissions or boards were not desirable or necessary in time of peace.

Delegate Grow, Machinists, said that he was unalterably opposed to the formation of commissions that would lay the foundation for organized labor's future activities, and that he saw in this plan a dangerous condition arising.

Delegate Gorenstein, Ladies' Garment Workers, moved that the entire subject matter be referred to the Executive Council for action. The motion was seconded and carried.

Vice-President Duncan: Section 1 of Article 5 of the constitution provides that the election of officers shall occur at the end of the convention. It is now a half hour past the time of adjournment, and I therefore offer a motion that after announcements have been made, this day's session recess until 9.30 o'clock Monday morning, June 23rd.

The motion was carried and the convention took a recess at 6.05 P. M.

TWELFTH DAY--Monday Morning Session

Atlantic City, N. J., June 23, 1919.

The convention was called to order at 9⁰⁰ a. m., Monday, June 23d, President Gomper, in the chair.

Absentees—Russell, Croaff, Koch, Mordecai, McDonald, Fox (C.), Brelsford, Wrenn, Anderson, Hall, Grafton, Donogue, Ott, Fenton, Iglesias, Murphy (J. F.), Gann, Boncer, Rogers, Fox (Harry), Bons, Jones (E. E.), Rutherford, Fisher, Howard, Schildt, Harrison, Ely, Lennon, Coughlin, Lacey, Mahoney, O'Leary, Davis, Hoffman, Niemeier, Fitchie, McFadden, Harlin, Owens, Bryan, Yarrow, O'Donnell (S.), Tucker, Dill, Hooper, Carrick, Mason, Fink, Wessell, Canfield, Deutelbaum, Griffith, Murphy, Franklin, Carroll, Woodman, Wagner, Canfield, Gallowsay, Taylor, Moran, Willis, Tracy, Neu, Priestly, McKeown, Argo, Nuzum, Gregson, Noble, Bittner, Richter, Evans, Breslin, Gildas, Sims, Newmyer, Ingles, Raissa, Gilbert, Ganey, Hoffman, Frampton, Franco, Ogletree, Hilfers, Barnes, Ornburn, Spielman, Daly, Kingsley, Olindest, Thomas, Ryan, Lacey, Giles, Young (O. B.), Crain, Draper, Strickland, Hartford, Hall (John Jr.), Bradley, Maloney, Curran, Wilkinson, Wines, Woracek, Ryerson, Flynn, Sullivan, Ashman, Boyle, Burr, Wood, Hannon, Wilkinson (John), Simpson, Dawson, Enright, Colpoys, Donahue, Lawson, Stehmeyer, Hogan, Cooper, Mezzacapo, Pinke, Harte, McDougall, McGill, Oplinger, Crawford, Burk, Canady, Ringer, Patterson, Brogan, Grass, Clark, Staley, McNeice, Badgett, Bledow, Goldsmith, Colvin, Setzer, Bauman, Brinston, Huston, Quesse, Mason, White (C.), Mullen, Morris, Johnson (E. D.), Tourison, Schultz, Shea, Middleton, Gould, Miller, Catterson, Berger, Weinstock, Birch, Elliott, Herbert, Fitts, Richardson, Coogan, Leonard, Chambers, Rice, Eklund, Campbell, Esleek, Vaughan, McKimmon, Lane, Jackson, Thompson, Helgesen, Rincker, Spacey, Clarke, Burns, Holm.

The Committee on Credentials read a request from the Boot and Shoe Workers' delegation asking that Mr. Joseph E. Woracek be seated in the place of C. L. Batne, who had been called from the city to keep an important appointment. The committee recommended the seating of Mr. Woracek. The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Delegate Frey, Secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 223—By Delegates A. C. Hughes, Coopers' International Union; J. L. Lewis, United Mine Workers; Thomas Red-

ding, Sheet Metal Workers; M. F. Tighe, Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers; S. Heberling, Switchmen's Union of North America:

WHEREAS, The authorities of various towns in the Pittsburgh District, disregarding the fundamental laws and customs of our country, have arbitrarily prohibited the American Federation of Labor from holding meetings for the purpose of organizing workers in the iron and steel industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-ninth Annual Convention of the A. F. of L. protests vigorously against this outrageous and illegal action; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the executive officers of the A. F. of L. stand instructed to take the necessary steps to bring about a Congressional or other investigation of the suppression of the rights of free speech and free assembly in Western Pennsylvania.

Your committee recommends the adoption of this resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

The question was discussed by Delegate Hughes, who spoke briefly of the progress of the work of the National Committee for organizing the steel and iron industry. He called attention to the statement in the address of Mr. John Fitzpatrick, who addressed the convention on June 21st, that the Mayor of McKeesport, Pa., had placed a ban on street meetings addressed by members of the committee and organizers, and stated that the ban had been lifted by the mayor.

The motion to adopt the recommendation of the committee was carried unanimously.

Resolution No. 43—By Delegate George Sauter, of the Central Labor Union, Wilmington, Del.

RESOLVED, That the Wilmington Central Labor Union goes on record as favoring the continuation of the Government system of supervision of the railroads because of the fact that never before in the history of the United States did the railroads extend to their employees the fair treatment that was the employees' just due; and furthermore, because the Government supervision during the war was conducted during a period when it would have been utterly impossible to have the railroads make money. If the railroads are returned to private control, we believe the different railroads should pay in full for the

repairs made during the period of Government supervision, as well as additional trackage, equipment, etc.

Inasmuch as the convention has already acted upon the subject matter contained in the first part of the resolution, your committee recommends the adoption of the following portion of the resolution:

"If the railroads are returned to private control, we believe the different railroads should pay in full for the repairs made during the period of Government supervision, as well as additional trackage, equipment, etc."

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 67.—By Delegates J. W. Kline, International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers; A. O. Wharton, International Association of Machinists; John J. Hynes, Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance; Milton Snellings, H. M. Comerford; T. Healy, International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen and Oilers.

WHEREAS, The Mayor of Toledo, Ohio, has seen fit to utilize returned soldiers as citizen police in a labor controversy, which action was entirely uncalled for and unnecessary; and

WHEREAS, The utilizing of returned soldiers in the uniform of the army of the United States in such a capacity will bring disgrace and discredit to a uniform which all American citizens respect; and

WHEREAS, The uniforms of the army and navy of the United States should be used only in such a manner as to command the respect of the citizens of the United States; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled renounces the action of the Mayor of the City of Toledo in employing returned soldiers in the uniform of the United States army as citizen police in a labor controversy, which really means using the uniform of the United States as a protection for strikebreakers; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the convention protest to the Secretary of War against the uniforms of the army or navy being used for such purpose; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Secretary of War be requested to take immediate steps, by legislation or otherwise, to prevent such use of the uniform of the United States army or navy and to provide proper and adequate punishment for those who so use or cause to be so used such uniform.

Your committee recommends that the words "desire to" be struck out of the second whereas and the resolution adopted as amended.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 106.—By Delegate George H. Wrenn, of the Massachusetts State Branch of the American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Director General of Railroads has recently issued an order forbidding railroad employes from engaging in politics and warning them on pain of immediate dismissal scrupulously to abstain therefrom; and

WHEREAS, This order has a tendency to infringe upon and to a certain extent abridge the constitutional rights of millions of American citizens because it is an extension on a vast and far-reaching scale of an old policy which has hitherto attracted but little attention because it affected but a comparatively small number of men but which in its effects has sufficiently revealed the danger and unwisdom of its further enlargement; and

WHEREAS, We believe it is unjust and unnecessary to deprive any class of American citizens of any of the rights of citizenship or to set them aside a body of partially disfranchised citizens; and

WHEREAS, We believe that the present is of all times the least fitting conjuncture for the promulgation of any order which in the slightest degree smacks of autocracy or which unnecessarily tends to curtail the rights of any class of American citizens; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the convention of the American Federation of Labor, direct the Executive Board to endeavor to secure a conference with the Director General of Railroads and represent to him the feelings with which organized labor views an extension of the old bureaucratic policy and in so doing endeavor to prevail upon him to rescind this recent order; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council not only endeavor to secure the rescinding of this particular order but also strive to have their political rights restored to those Federal employes now affected injuriously by similar but older orders.

Your committee recommends the adoption of this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Secretary Morrison in the chair.

Resolution No. 214.—By Delegate M. W. Atkins, Order of Railroad Telegraphers.

WHEREAS, The Commercial Telegraphers' Union of America has been compelled to declare a nation-wide strike against the Western Union and Postal Telegraph Companies, in support of the fundamental principles of trade unionism, i. e., the right to organize; and

WHEREAS, The aforesaid corporations have stood, and now stand, squarely opposed to the right of their employes to affiliate themselves with the organization of their craft, the Commercial Telegraphers' Union of America, which is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, This arbitrary and unwarranted action on the part of these employing companies is in direct contravention of the spirit of American democracy and independence; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-ninth Session of the American Federation of Labor, that this autocratic policy of the Western Union and Postal Telegraph Companies toward its union employes be condemned as intolerable to this great body of representative American labor; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse fully the strike now in progress and the spirit of true Americanism displayed by the members of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union in walking out of their offices unitedly in support of the right to organize, a right that

is now universally recognized except by these avowed enemies of trade unionism.

Your committee recommends the adoption of this resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Manion, Railroad Telegraphers: This resolution was presented to the convention prior to the time action was had on the points at issue with the telephone operators. Since the introduction of the resolution the Postmaster General has laid down certain principles to govern the employment of telephone operators coming under the supervision of the Government.

I, therefore, move as an amendment: "That a committee of two be appointed by the chairman of this convention to lay the matter before the Postmaster General and ask that the principles laid down by him for the government of telephone employees be extended to include the telegraphers employed by the Western Union and Postal Telegraph companies."

The amendment was seconded and carried, and the recommendation of the committee as amended was adopted.

Resolution No. 220—By Delegate Colpoys, of the Central Labor Union of Washington, D. C.

WHEREAS, There will be held in the city of Washington, D. C., on Independence Day (July 4), 1919, a great Pageant and Parade, to be known as "The Call to Peace"; and

WHEREAS, All the friendly Nations of the World have signified their intention to participate in this grand pageant and parade, and be represented by beautiful and historic floats symbolic of their nationality; and

WHEREAS, Organized labor of the United States of America, through the American Federation of Labor is invited to participate in this grand pageant and parade, and be represented therein by a float symbolic of their attitude towards "The Call to Peace"; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor is recognized as the greatest potent factor in the entire world for the making possible of "The Call to Peace"; and

WHEREAS, There can be no more fitting or appropriate time for the American Federation of Labor to demonstrate to the world in a practical way that the symbol of "Peace" is the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the Thirty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Atlantic City, N. J., instruct the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor to furnish to the committee of the Central Labor Union of Washington, D. C., selected to represent "Labor" in this grand pageant and parade, the necessary float symbolic of the aims of the American Federation of Labor toward "The Call to Peace," and render to this same committee such further necessary aid and financial assistance as may be necessary to have organized labor make the grand appearance in this pageant and parade, as will be compatible with the desires of the delegate to this convention; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of these resolutions be spread upon the minutes of this

convention and that copies be sent to President Woodrow Wilson, to Secretary Lane, to Hon. John Barrett and to the President of the Washington Central Labor Union.

Your committee recommends that the question of the American Federation of Labor being represented in the parade referred to in the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 221—By Delegate John F. Murphy, of the Rhode Island State Branch.

WHEREAS, In the State of Rhode Island there is a pernicious law which deprives the citizens of that State of the right of suffrage without owning real estate; and

WHEREAS, The labor movement of that State, through its chosen representatives at the last convention of the State Branch of the A. F. of L. protested against this un-American law, and has repeatedly held protest meetings, and demonstrations at the State Capitol; and

WHEREAS, Rhode Island is the only State in the Union where this property qualification law exists; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to this Thirty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirm the previous action of this body, and condemn those responsible for the continuance of the property qualification law which deprives many thousands of loyal American citizens in that State of the right to choose who their representatives shall be; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to render all the aid in their power for the repeal of this nefarious law.

Your committee recommends the adoption of this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 222—By Delegate Seymour Hastings, of the Motion Picture Players' Union, No. 16,377.

WHEREAS, The Motion Picture Corporation of Los Angeles, California, owned and controlled by members of organized labor, is preparing to produce motion pictures for exhibition to the public through the motion picture theatres of the world, to acquaint them with the problems of labor and thereby obtain the support of public opinion in stabilizing conditions and defeat the efforts of employers to reduce wages from present standards; and

WHEREAS, The Second Triennial Convention of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, at Columbus, Ohio, after thoroughly acquainting themselves with the plans of this company, passed resolution, unanimously, on June 3, 1919, approving such pictures, depicting the activities and problems of labor, thus assuring this movement the full support of their members; and

WHEREAS, The officers of this company are all union men and will employ union labor exclusively in all departments; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of

Labor, endorse the plans of this company, to produce motion pictures in the interest of labor, and recommend that the members of all unions affiliated with this Federation give their support and aid in every proper way.

Inasmuch as the convention has already referred a resolution of similar import to the Executive Council, your committee recommends that this resolution take a similar course.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 195—By Delegate James A. Duncan, by instructions of the Seattle Central Labor Council.

WHEREAS, To the deep regret of the workers of the State of Washington, President Wilson has recommended the repeal of the national dry law, which is to go into effect on July 1st; and

WHEREAS, Several thousand workers represented in this body have been, like President Samuel Gompers, of the American Federation of Labor, anti-prohibitionists for forty years, but, unlike Mr. Gompers, have had their minds changed by first knowledge of the beneficial results of dry laws; and

WHEREAS, We believe it is practically the unanimous view of the workers of Washington that the right to manufacture and sell booze is neither worth fighting for nor worth having won; and

WHEREAS, Prohibition in the State of Washington has raised the standard of living by diverting a large percentage of wages formerly wasted in drink to the purchase of better food, better clothing and better shelter, giving the workers additional fighting power in the struggle with employers for the full product of their toil, and has cleared the brains of the workers to meet the problems which confront them; now, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That after four years of experience with prohibition, the Central Labor Council of Seattle and vicinity is convinced that the best interests of labor will be conserved by the prohibition of the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors; that we protest against the repeal of the national dry law, and urge organized labor in all its branches to aid in its enforcement; and, further, be it

RESOLVED, That this Council's delegate to the A. F. of L. convention be instructed to introduce this resolution and urge its adoption.

Adopted by the Central Labor Council of Seattle and vicinity, May 28, 1919.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Your Committee recommends non-concurrence with the resolution.

The recommendation of the Committee was adopted unanimously.

Resolution No. 229—By Committee on Resolutions:

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor believes that our nation should become the leading maritime nation of the world and never should be dependent again

upon foreign tonnage, and to that end earnestly urges Congress to adopt plans enabling the men employed in the shipyards to be constantly employed.

The resolution was adopted unanimously.

Resolution No. 225—By Delegate John B. Lennon of the Bloomington Central Labor Union:

RESOLVED, That some members of this council be and are hereby directed to meet with representatives of organizations of discharged soldiers, sailors and marines with the object in view of co-operation in securing employment for the returned men and also with the object in view of bringing about a co-operation between the Federation and soldiers organization that will protect the boys in securing of union wages, hours and conditions of employment.

Your committee recommends the following as a substitute for Resolution No. 225.

That this convention give its hearty approval of the efforts made by ex-soldiers, sailors and marines to protect themselves from the attempts made by unpatriotic employers to take advantage of their necessities to exploit them; that the Executive Council be instructed to do all within its power to assist ex-soldiers, sailors and marines to secure employment under fair conditions, and that all national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, State Branches and Central Bodies be requested to give full co-operation to that end.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Secretary Frey: The committee, on its own behalf, introduced several resolutions. I desire to make a statement in regard to the one I will now report on.

The convention last week instructed the Committee on Resolutions to bring in a report defending Mr. Basil Manly from an attack made upon him by the organized employers of New Jersey, and reply to some of the statements made against Mr. Manly at that time. Your committee had no alternative but to carry out the instructions of this convention; but your committee could not escape the fact that Mr. Manly is not the only individual who is attacked by the employers. The officers of this Federation, the officers of international unions and public men who stand for the principles of trade unionism have had similar attacks made upon them.

On Saturday the same matter was brought before the convention relative to a bill brought before both branches of Congress providing for some joint commission composed of members of labor, members of the employing interests and representatives of the public. At the head of the list was the name of Frank P. Walsh, the head of this Federation being in a subordinate position. It is impossible for your committee to report this without calling your attention first to the fact that Mr. Basil Manly is apparently the sponsor for that bill. The current reports are that he had a large part in framing that measure, and merely persuaded Mr. Poindexter to introduce it.

Mr. Manly did not consult with any member of organized labor or any member of the War Labor Board regarding labor, he appar-

enty has taken it upon himself to undertake the matter that has just been referred to. It is one of those cases where we would be justified in saying we are not afraid of our enemies, we can always face them, but the good Lord deliver us from our friends. I think it is necessary to have said this much before reading the report which the committee brought in, which is as follows:

Resolution No. 230—By Committee on Resolutions:

Your committee was instructed to take cognizance of the attack made by the Manufacturers' Council of New Jersey upon Mr. Basil M. Manly, coupled with their request to President Wilson that Mr. Manly should be removed as Joint Chairman of the National War Labor Board.

The cause for the attack and request was apparently some remarks which he recently made in explanation of data collected relative to war-time profiteering by a number of well known corporations, who at the time of their incorporation found it convenient to secure their charters from the State of New Jersey, rather than from the states where their particular plants were located. Evidently the Manufacturers' Council of New Jersey believed that public representatives should refrain from telling the truth and be prevented from doing this when the truth is unpalatable to them. Perhaps they were actuated by a desire to have public attention detracted from the refusal of one large corporation in New Jersey to abide by the decision and award of the National War Labor Board, giving improved conditions of labor to its employees, or the notorious fact that most prominent among the large corporations in several states who refused to carry out awards and decisions of the National War Labor Board, were those who had secured their charters from the State of New Jersey.

The attack upon Mr. Basil M. Manly is not different in purpose or character to those made upon public men.

Mr. Basil Manly requires no defense at the hands of this convention. To attempt to defend him would make it appear that we believed this necessary. His record as Chairman of the National War Labor Board is an open book. His speeches and written articles are widely known. The public work he performed during the years preceding the war and his activities since then are too well known to this convention and to the public to make special reference to them at this time a necessity.

Your committee further more does not believe it essential in the present instance to prepare and present an indictment of the Manufacturers' Council of New Jersey. Their recent action saves your committee the trouble for the association has indicted itself, and its failure to insist that its members, the manufacturers of New Jersey and the corporations holding charters from New Jersey who have refused to do so should comply with the award of the National War Labor Board so that they could go before the public with clean hands, condemns them.

The resolution was adopted unanimously.

Resolution No. 231—By Committee on Resolutions:

RESOLVED, That lady delegates and the wives of delegates attending this convention

adopt this method of expressing their sincere appreciation for the many kindnesses and courtesies which have been shown to them during their stay in Atlantic City, and for the unfailing evidences of interest in their welfare, which have been indicated at all times.

The resolution was adopted unanimously.

Resolution No. 232—By Committee on Resolutions:

RESOLVED, That this convention now express its warm appreciation for the presence of Governor Wm. R. Runyon, on the convention's opening day, and for the address of welcome which he delivered.

That we express our highest esteem for Mr. Harry Bacharach, Mayor of Atlantic City not only for the kindly and sincere nature of the welcome which he extended to the delegates, but also for the interest which he has taken in our welfare during our sojourn in Atlantic City.

That we convey to Brother Arthur A. Quinn, President of the New Jersey State Federation of Labor our sincere thanks for the welcome which he extended to this convention and for the efforts which he made to assist in the work which the convention had to perform.

That we now convey to the representatives of the press, who have been present during the convention, our acknowledgment of their efforts to supply accurate information concerning the convention's work and for their evident efforts to grasp and understand the underlying factors affecting our trade union movement. Furthermore we thank them for the "strike" which they staged for our benefit and amusement, and compliment them upon the united action and influence which they manifested during this interesting event.

RESOLVED, That we return to our respective duties with renewed determination to extend the influences and apply the methods and policies of the American Federation of Labor.

The resolution was adopted unanimously.

Secretary Frey: This completes the report of the committee which is signed:

JAMES DUNCAN, Chairman,
G. W. PERKINS,
GEORGE F. HEDRICK,
B. A. LARGER,
C. L. BAINE,
JOHN A. VOLL,
MARTIN F. RYAN,
A. A. MYRUP,
J. W. MORTON,
J. A. FRANKLIN,
JAMES L. GERNON,
JOHN MOORE,
JOHN L. HART,
H. C. COMERFORD,
JOHN P. FREY, Secretary.

The report of the committee as a whole as amended was adopted.

Vice-President Duncan in the chair.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LAW

Chairman Tobin, for the committee, submitted the following report:

Resolution No. 121—By Delegates Matthew Woll of the International Photo-Engravers' Union; Walter W. Barrett, T. W. McCullough William Young, J. W. Hays, of the International Typographical Union; George

L. Berry of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union; Walter N. Reddick, of the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; Charles A. Sumner of the International Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union; John J. Manning of the United Garment Workers:

Amend Section 3, Article XI of the Constitution by adding thereto the following:

"Local unions shall be entitled to representation in Trades Assemblies or Central Labor Unions as follows: A union with less than 50 members, 1 delegate; a union with 50 members and less than 100, two delegates; a union with 100 members and less than 200, three delegates; a union with 200 members and less than 350, four delegates; a union with 350 members and less than 500, five delegates. Any union having 500 or more members shall be entitled to one additional delegate for each 500 members or major fraction thereof up to 5000 members. A union having more than 5000 members shall be entitled to one additional delegate for each 1000 or major fraction thereof.

The section as amended to read as follows: "Section 3.—Where there are one or more local unions in any city belonging to any national or international union affiliated with this Federation they may organize a Trades Assembly or Central Labor Union, or shall join such body if already in existence. Local unions shall be entitled to representation in Trades Assemblies or Central Labor Unions as follows: A union with less than 50 members, one delegate; a union with 50 members and less than 100, two delegates; a union with 100 members and less than 200, three delegates; a union with 200 members and less than 350, four delegates; a union with 350 members and less than 500, five delegates. Any union having 500 or more members shall be entitled to one additional delegate for each 500 members or major fraction thereof up to 5000 members; a union having more than 5000 members shall be entitled to one additional delegate for each 1000 or major fraction thereof."

Your committee recommends that the subject matter of this resolution be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for the purpose of making an investigation as to the present form of representation and election of delegates to central bodies. In view of the fact that there is no law now governing representation in central bodies and also because of the fact that there is a great difference in the forms of representation in many central bodies throughout the country, your committee believes that if the Executive Council will make an investigation and bring in its report to the next convention that then the convention will be more thoroughly informed as to how to proceed in regard to the adoption of the change in the constitution as contained in the above resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

The committee amended Resolution No. 119 by substituting the word "revoke" for the word "suspend" in the second to the last line and by striking out the last four words. The amended resolution reads:

Resolution No. 119—By Delegates Matthew

Woll of the International Photo-Engravers Union; M. G. Scott, Walter W. Barrett, T. W. McCullough, J. W. Hays, of the International Typographical Union; George L. Berry of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union; Walter N. Reddick of the International Association of Bookbinders; Charles A. Sumner, of the International Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union; John J. Manning of the United Garment Workers:

Amend Section 5, Article XI, of the Constitution by inserting in the fifth line after the word "strike" the words "or to take a strike vote." Also by adding to the same section the following: "A violation of this law shall be sufficient cause for the Executive Council to suspend the charter and expel the organization." The Section as amended to read:

SECTION 5. No Central Labor Union, or other central body of delegates, shall have the authority or power to order any organization, affiliated with such central labor union, or other central labor body, on strike, or to take a strike vote, where such organization has a national organization, until the proper authorities of such national or international organization have been consulted and agreed to such action. A violation of this law shall be sufficient cause for the Executive Council to revoke the charter.

Section 5 of the constitution as amended reads as follows:

SECTION 5. No Central Labor Union, or other central body of delegates, shall have the authority or power to order any organization, affiliated with such central labor union, or other central labor body, on strike or to take a strike vote, where such organization has a national organization, until the proper authorities of such national or international organizations have been consulted and agreed to such action. A violation of this law shall be sufficient cause for the Executive Council to revoke the charter.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution as amended.

It was moved and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

Delegate Sillinsky: I just want to be informed if the privilege of one central body circulating letters to other central bodies is abridged in this resolution.

Chairman Tobin: The only change in the constitution as it now reads is by adding the words "revoke the charter," that it shall be sufficient cause to revoke the charter. The present law gives the Executive Council that power, but the words were not contained in the constitution relative to sending literature throughout the country, as referred to in the committee's report last Saturday.

Delegate Gorenstein, Ladies Garment Workers, objected to statements in some of the newspapers that the measure proposed in Resolution No. 119 constituted a fight between the Radicals and Conservatives, and that it was a measure which the Radicals pressed further than others.

Delegate Grow, Machinists: I would like to ask for a point of information: in case a Central Body desires to move for economic

improvement and a majority, or two-thirds of the affiliated organizations and their International Unions have sanctioned that movement to the extent of a strike, and one-third or less of the organizations affiliated refuse to go along, is there any power to compel or force the minority to go along with the majority in case a strike is necessary, or in case of a lockout?

Vice-President Duncan: The purport of the situation would be that in the event of such a situation arising, the International officers of the organizations refusing to co-operate would be communicated with and their influence would be used to have the movement as nearly unanimous as possible.

Delegate Grow: If the minority, so-called of the Internationals were to refuse to co-operate, would the Central Body then be forced to refrain from requesting and forcing those minority organizations to go along with the majority?

Vice-President Duncan: They would not be restrained from endeavoring to have them go along, but I don't know what they might do to force it. If there is such a thing in the minds of the Radicals as free speech, free action, etc., it would not be a good thing for the Radicals to try and force such a thing down the throats of those who don't believe in it.

Delegate Hays, Typographical Union, in discussing the question, said in part:

When this resolution was presented to the convention on Saturday a delegate took the floor and said he knew the resolution was aimed at Seattle. I want to say in reply if the coat fits him he is perfectly welcome to put it on, but this resolution is not aimed at Seattle any more than it is aimed at other jurisdictions in territory covered by the American Federation of Labor. There is at the present time, especially in the territory to the north of us, the Dominion of Canada, and spreading to more than one jurisdiction in the United States, a special effort being made through Central Bodies to order International Unions on strike, not for the purpose of getting anything particularly for the Local Unions that are affiliated with the International Unions, but for the purpose of stirring up trouble and getting those local Unions away from the international trade union movement. The aim is to alienate the Local Unions from their International Unions, and in that manner alienate them from the American Federation of Labor. It is a question of the life or death of the international trade union movement and the American Federation of Labor, and I want to say right here and now that as far as the International Typographical Union is concerned—and I think this will apply to all the rest of the International Unions we are not going to stand for any foolishness of that kind, and we don't care who likes it or who doesn't like it. As far as we are concerned, we are going to fight it and fight it hard.

We have had a considerable amount of trouble and it has cost us considerable money recently in the city of Winnipeg, where our members are not able to work, although they didn't go on strike, but because of the strike

of other people in that jurisdiction. We were successful in all that jurisdiction in our Local Unions refusing to vote or to vote against the strike, but it appears that a vote against, or a refusal to vote is no protection to the organization so far as a Central Body is concerned. In Winnipeg our Union refused to take a vote at all, but the Central Body decided that the vote had been carried because the other Unions had voted in favor of it, and therefore the Typographical Union was bound to strike. The same thing applied to the Pressmen, who afterwards were drawn out on strike by the argument that the other Unions had voted for it.

And what was the strike for? The strike ostensibly was in behalf of some metal workers who had been unable to secure recognition for the union, but after the strike was on and everything was in a chaotic condition, it was discovered that was nothing but the excuse for a general strike, and the arguments that were made before the strike gatherings and before the local unions by the people responsible for the strike were that "we want you with us and we want to get you away from your International Unions. We want the 'one big Union,' and We want that 'One big Union' today." One of the leaders in that difficulty, referring especially to me, said: "I realize the position Mr. Hays is in. He represents an International Union, and he is paid to come here and make that kind of an argument, and I don't blame him, because that's the way he makes his living." When I asked him what he represented and how he made his living he said I insulted him and jumped off the platform.

The fact remains that the movement has for its main object the alienating of the Local Unions from their Internationals, and alienating so much as possible the entire labor movement from the American Federation of Labor, and going out on a new proposition that to me is no more than a wild eyed proposal; it is ridiculous to take the people away from the one thing that can be of benefit to them and try to get them into something that will not be a benefit to them. If I know the trade union movement at all, I will say again that the Typographical Union is not going to stand for any foolishness of that kind and that we are going to do something, if this Federation does not take some action, to stop things or that kind in the Central Bodies.

Delegate James A. Duncan took exception to the statement made by Delegate Hays that he (Delegate Duncan), had stated that the report made by the committee on Saturday was aimed directly at Seattle. He stated that the chairman of the committee had read circular letters from Vallejo, California, containing circulars issued by the Seattle Central Body, and that he was therefore justified in the statement he had made.

He claimed that Delegate Hays had given some wrong impressions relative to the strike in Winnipeg, stating that he had visited that city en route to the convention to learn the true facts in connection with the strike, and that he found there never was a time since the inception of the strike that it could not have been settled insofar as the workers were concerned, on the basis of the right of the workers to bargain collectively.

Continuing, he said: If that principle is at stake in any city, Internationals or no Inter-

nationals, if the unionists of that city have any red blood in them at all they are going to rise up in their might and quit work until their right in that elementary principle is recognized. I spoke to eight or ten thousand people in Victoria Park myself, and I placed myself squarely on record as being violently opposed to the "one-big-union" idea, but so long as they keep the issue clear with regard to the right of the workers to organize and to bargain collectively, I venture to say that the majority of the workers all over the United States and Canada are with them. I don't like their "one-big-union" movement, but to join hands with the bosses in calling them Bolsheviks when they do go out to put that principle into effect is something that we ought to go slow on.

As far as the amendment suggested is concerned, I am satisfied that it doesn't put any more teeth into the constitution than were there before, and often times Local Unions, if you please, in spite of International Unions, rise up in their might and go on strike. So I say that it will all depend on the merits of the case involved whether or not anything is written into the constitution that will be strictly observed to the letter.

Delegate Grow, Machinists, concurred in the views expressed by Delegate Duncan and said that in his opinion, regardless of law, the workers would protect their economic interests in the way that seemed best to them.

The report of the committee was adopted. Chairman Tobin: This concludes the report of the Committee on Law, which is respectfully submitted and signed:

DANIEL J. TOBIN, Chairman,
JAMES P. HOLLAND,
FLORENCE ETHERIDGE,
THOS. F. FLAHERTY,
D. A. CAREY,
EDGAR S. HURLEY,
TIMOTHY HEALY,
JOSEPH PROBSTLE,
DENNIS LANE,
J. A. ROSS,
MARTIN T. JOYCE, Secretary.

The report of the committee as a whole, as amended, was adopted.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON SHORTER WORKDAY.

Delegate J. W. Hayes, secretary of the committee, submitted the following:

Resolution No. 172.—By Delegates C. W. Grow, Wm. Schoenberg, H. W. Brown, John J. Connolly, of the International Association of Machinists:

WHEREAS, The necessity of a shorter work day and a shorter work week is most essential to the full economic life and welfare of the workers; and

WHEREAS, The securing of the shorter workday and week can only be accomplished by and through the proper co-ordination of all the elements of Organized Labor of this country, affiliated with the A. F. of L.; and

WHEREAS, The only practical method of inaugurating such shorter hours of toil in all American industry where it has not as yet been established, is by inaugurating a campaign under the direct supervision of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. in conjunction with the Presidents of all affiliated National and International Organizations; and

WHEREAS, This campaign should begin immediately following the adjournment of this Convention; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. is hereby authorized and instructed to call a conference at an early date in the City of Chicago. The Delegates to be composed of the Presidents of all affiliated National and International Organizations; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this conference is directed to take up the shorter work day, to consist of not more than eight hours for the first five days of the week and not to exceed four hours on Saturday.

RESOLVED, That this conference shall exert its full influence and power to establish within the shortest possible time, the intents and purposes as set forth in this Resolution.

Your committee agrees with the declaration made in the resolution that there is necessity for a shorter work week, and that this shorter work week can only be accomplished for the general labor movement by the co-ordination of all the branches of organized labor of the country.

It agrees also that in order to inaugurate a campaign to bring about the desired result on a shorter work week proposition the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor should co-operate with the officers of international and national unions when efforts of those organizations along the lines mentioned are being put forth. It also agrees that a campaign on the shorter work day cannot begin too soon, but it does not feel that it would be wise at this time to instruct the Executive Council to call a conference at a specified place of the presidents of all affiliated unions or that this convention should give directions to such a conference if one is called.

Your committee therefore recommends that this convention declare in favor of the 8-hour-day as a maximum work day and the 44-hour week, and instructs the Executive Council to use its best efforts in assisting any organization that is endeavoring to inaugurate these working hours.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolutions Nos. 114 and 168 were reported upon jointly. They are as follows:

Resolution No. 114.—By Delegate George H. Wrenn, of the Massachusetts State Branch.

WHEREAS, The Post Office Department has instituted a policy under which the working hours of railway mail clerks have been lengthened at a time when the hours of workmen everywhere have been shortened—a policy which has seriously affected the home life and social conditions of a large number of postal employees in New England; and

WHEREAS, Railway Postal Clerks are the only employees from whom the government expects and demands unlimited hours of service; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention requests the Congress to repeal that section of the postal laws (Section 1599) which says that "the entire time" of railway mail clerks is subject to the control of the Post Office Department, and to substitute in its stead a new section, establishing a standard day for railway mail clerks in which the hours to be

required for them shall be clearly defined; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That in fixing the standard consideration be given and all credit allowed for the work which these clerks are obliged to perform for the Government in their own homes when off road duty; and also that a reasonable limit be set to the time that they may be detained between trips at the outward terminus of their runs, and that every minute which it shall be necessary to detain them beyond that reasonable limit shall be counted as a part of their working time whether or not they are actually performing service.

Resolution No. 163—By E. J. Ryan, H. W. Strickland, R. E. Plymale, Railway Mail Association:

WHEREAS, The working hours of Railway Postal Clerks are being lengthened at a time when the hours of workmen everywhere are being shortened, and as these men complain that an uncommon and unwarrantable hardship is thus being imposed upon them, that their health and safety are being sacrificed; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has always contended and has at length successfully demonstrated that neither efficiency nor economy is promoted by such methods—a fact which has been strikingly proved and candidly admitted again and again; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Convention of the American Federation of Labor request the United States Congress to establish a standard day of road duty applicable to the Railway Mail Service; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That due credit be given for the duties necessarily performed in this service while not on road duty so that the average of aggregate duty will not exceed the Governmental standards that have been determined and are now applicable to the employees of the Government controlled transportation companies.

Your committee held quite an extended hearing upon these resolutions, which have for their object the establishment of a standard day of road duty in the railway mail service and also the making of provisions that time employed by a railway mail clerk in applying himself to necessary study while off the road in order to be able to meet the frequent examinations called for under the Postal laws be credited so that the total number of hours employed will not exceed the Governmental standards that have been adopted for the people in train service.

Your committee found that the condition existing in the employment of railway mail clerks was most deplorable. It was brought out that there was no limit to the number of hours that a clerk might be called upon to remain on service, and that where regular runs were assigned to a clerk he might be ostensibly off duty for certain days, but that while he was not on duty it was necessary for him to devote the most of his time to the study of the business for the reason that he is required to pass examinations at stated periods, and under the requirements of the

Postal service in these Civil Service examinations unless a high average of efficiency is shown the employee is demoted or discharged. When this is taken into consideration it is found that the Postal clerk in many instances has practically no time off, and that there is nothing about the industry which puts it in a class that can be termed a stabilized business. It was further shown that other classes of railway employees had standard days of work and extra pay for overtime that was not enjoyed by the Postal clerks.

Your committee therefore recommends the adoption of the resolutions as read.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Your committee recommends the following substitute for Resolution No. 167:

WHEREAS, It is the declared policy of the American Federation of Labor that there should be no discrimination in the employment of women, and that where women are employed they shall receive the same wages and have the same conditions under which to work as are given to men. It is, however, realized that there is necessity for the protection of the health of women workers; that unless this protection is given them the race cannot continue to progress as it is desired that it should.

It is therefore the opinion of your committee that necessary laws for the protection of the health of the women in industry should be passed, and that one of the most potent laws to this end is that which provides for the shortening of the work day and the work week. Your committee believes that if these points are kept in mind there will be no necessity for discussion as to the moral effect of any hours of work upon female employees.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 93—By Delegates E. J. Ryan, Railway Mail Association; Edward J. Gainer, National Association of Letter Carriers; Thomas F. Flaherty, National Federation of Postal Employees.

WHEREAS, The Eight-Hour Law, regulating the hours of work for post office clerks and city letter carriers, and railway postal clerks assigned to terminal and transfer offices, provides that only in emergencies shall overtime be imposed, and for such overtime the regular rate of pay shall be paid; and

WHEREAS, It is the trade union principle, a principle now almost universally in effect in private industries, on Government contract work and in many branches of the Government service that overtime work must be compensated for at a higher rate of pay; and

WHEREAS, In the absence of any such penalty for work in excess of eight hours in the postal service, the practice has developed of imposing excessively long hours of work daily upon the experienced men instead of keeping the working force recruited to a proper standard; and

WHEREAS, This excessive overtime is breaking down the health and morale of the men in the service, it is the direct cause of the resignation of many employees, and is impairing the efficiency of the service; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-ninth Convention of the American Federation of Labor pledges its support to the Affiliated Postal Employees in their efforts to insure a more strict observance of the letter and spirit of the postal Eight-Hour Law by securing legislation establishing a rate of time and one-half for all work done in excess of eight hours.

In recommending that the above resolution be adopted your committee desires to emphasize the fact that it appears to be necessary to provide for price and one-half or double price for time worked over a specified number of hours and time worked on Sunday and holidays in order to so far as possible prevent the working of members of labor organizations beyond what are recognized to be reasonable hours and those named in contracts and wage scales. The employers of labor frequently ridicule the penalizing of overtime with the statement that it is inconsistent for labor organizations to demand a shorter work day and then provide for a different price for time worked beyond the hours named.

This is a specious argument and put forth only for the purpose of confusing and clouding the issue. The increased price for overtime, Sundays and holidays is made for the purpose of, so far as possible, preventing the working of people during these times and hours. Practically all, if not all of the International unions have been able to secure the adoption of overtime rates in contracts with private employers, and your committee can see no possible reason why the Government under which we live should not give to its employees at least as good conditions, as good wages and as short hours as is given in any of the industries conducted by citizen employers of labor.

We recommend the adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 105—By Delegates of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America:

WHEREAS, Public opinion demands that the Government be a model employer and that the wages and working conditions of men in its employ be at least equal to the wages and working conditions of men in the employ of the most liberal private employers; and

WHEREAS, The forty-four hour week has been established in the larger industries and accepted by progressive business men; and

WHEREAS, Experience has demonstrated that piece work means poor work and is undesirable from every point of view; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to use their good offices with the Secretary of the Navy to the end. (1) That the forty-four hour week shall be established in all Navy Yards; (2) that all piece work shall be abolished in Navy Yards; and (3) that no workman shall be required to do any work other

than that of the craft under which he is classified.

These resolutions seek to instruct the officials of the American Federation of Labor to endeavor to induce the Secretary of the Navy to put a stop to the present system of doing piece work in the Navy yards, inaugurate the 44-hour week and impose no tasks on workmen at any work other than that of the crafts under which he is classified.

The hearing of your committee brought out the fact that artisans who entered the Navy yards as qualified for certain work and expecting to be employed at that class of work were put on regular service in the Navy and people without experience put upon the work at which the experienced man should be employed. It appears to your committee that this is not only an injustice to the skilled employee who goes into the Navy yards, but it is a pernicious and expensive system for any Government department to follow.

We therefore recommend the adoption of this portion of the resolution.

As your committee has already made a favorable recommendation on the 44-hour week we recommend the adoption of that portion of the resolution referring to this subject.

Referring to that portion of the resolution which says "that all piece work shall be abolished in Navy yards," your committee desires to emphasize the fact that it believes the system of putting artisans upon a piece basis is most objectionable in private industry, and when put into effect in Governmental departments is wholly unsuccessful and without justification. There can be no question that the proper method to be employed in Government departments is upon a fixed price for certain hours of work, and this convention should do everything it can to bring about this desired reform.

Your committee therefore recommends that that portion of the resolution referring to piece work in the Navy yards be endorsed and the Executive Council be instructed to lend such assistance as it can in carrying out all the provisions contained in the entire resolution.

Delegate McGowan, Boiler Makers, offered an amendment to the report of the committee, that the words "or War Department" be included in the proper places in the recommendation.

The amendment was seconded and carried.

The report of the committee as amended was adopted.

Resolution No. 160—By Delegates C. M. Grow, H. W. Brown, John J. Connolly, Wm. Schoenberg, of the International Association of Machinists:

WHEREAS, Since the very inception of the organization of the A. F. of L., an untiring campaign has been conducted by the Federation and its affiliated organizations for the establishment of the universal eight-hour

work day for the men and women who toil; and

WHEREAS, The great educational and economic campaign that has been consistently carried on has been the means of concurring a great benefit upon millions of workers and their families; and .

WHEREAS, Tremendous changes have taken place in the industries of this country and of the world, due to the introduction of new machinery, tools, processes and methods of efficiency, and production of commodities which has increased to a great degree; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. and its affiliated National and International organizations conduct in the future a campaign of education to establish the Universal Six-Hour Day in the industries covered by the jurisdiction of the A. F. of L. and its affiliated organizations.

Your committee, in giving consideration to Resolution No. 160, took up in connection therewith that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption, "The Shorter Work-Day," and that portion of the Reconstruction Program of the Executive Council under the caption, "Hours of Labor."

The shorter work-day portion of the Executive Council's report reads as follows:

The Shorter Workday

In another section of this report, that is, the Reconstruction Program of the American Federation of Labor, which has been approved by us, the subject of hours of labor is considered. In view of the several resolutions of the St. Paul Convention dealing with the subject of the eight-hour day and the directions of the convention that the Executive Council should continue its work along the line of the shorter workday activities, we feel it necessary to make further reference to the subject, for there is nothing in which labor is more vitally interested than in fewer hours of daily toil whereby are afforded leisure for rest and recuperation and opportunity for the things that make life worth living.

In the statistical section of this report record is made of those organizations which have been successful during the year in establishing the shorter workday. In every way within its power the A. F. of L., through its executive officers and organizers, has assisted the organizations that have made the struggle for the shorter workday.

There is nothing spectacular in such work. It is the steady onward progress day by day. Particularly in the textile industry has progress been made. Many of the workers of that trade now enjoy the forty-four-hour week. Other organizations have conducted vigorous and fruitful campaigns for the eight-hour day or the forty-four-hour week.

Few other years have shown a more satisfactory progress in the reduction of the length of the workday than the year just closed. It is significant that the practical value of the shorter workday was shown most emphatically during that period of the nation's life when the utmost in production was required to satisfy the demands of war.

The satisfactory results, not only in health and comfort and the general well-being for the workers, but in volume of production as well were demonstrated during the war

beyond all question. The rapid trend toward the general establishment of the shorter workday developed during the war must not be allowed to wane during the period of reconstruction.

In order that the subject may be dealt with most comprehensively and completely to the end that the most constructive suggestions may be placed before the convention we recommend that the entire subject be referred to the committee on shorter workday with instructions to report to this convention for consideration and action.

That portion of the Reconstruction Program under the caption, "Hours of Labor," is as follows:

Hours of Labor

Reasonable hours of labor promote the economic and social well-being of the toiling masses. Their attainment should be one of labor's principal and essential activities. The shorter workday and a shorter work week make for a constantly growing, higher and better standard of productivity, health, longevity, morals and citizenship.

The right of labor to fix its hours of work must not be abrogated, abridged or interfered with.

The day's working time should be limited to not more than eight hours, with overtime prohibited, except under the most extraordinary emergencies. The week's working time should be limited to not more than five and one-half days.

In giving consideration to a shorter workday at this time there are many things to be taken into consideration. In the first place it must be realized that during the war five million of the most active young men in the country were taken from industries for war service. In spite of this the production of the country during the war period was greater than it had been at any other given period in history. Of course this great production was materially assisted by the introduction of women into the factories, and to a large extent the elimination of the liquor industry and taking over of people previously engaged in that work for war production.

Labor organizations for many years have been fighting to secure the 8-hour day, once known as the shorter workday. This 8-hour day meant 48 hours of labor per week. Because of the changed conditions brought about by the war a number of the industries have been able already to introduce the 44-hour week, continuing the 8-hour day with a half holiday on Saturday.

Only twelve years ago the International Typographical Union expended more than four million dollars in securing for its members the 48-hour week in the printing industry. At the present time that organization is negotiating for and will probably receive, the 44-hour week through conciliation and without the expenditure of any sum of money. The garment working trades have succeeded in securing the 44-hour week. Other industries have done or are doing likewise. Your committee believes it will be but a short time till the 8-hour day with a half holiday on Saturday, meaning a 44-hour week, will be the universal hours of labor and adopted in all industries.

While this is most desirable and your committee recognizes that the Executive Council has used all its available power for the purpose of assisting in bringing about a 44-hour work week in all of the

crafts it advises this convention to go even further than this.

There is at the present time a large volume of unrest among the workmen on this continent. There can be no doubt but that there are two reasons for this unusual condition—first, the high cost of the necessities of life; second, unemployment.

Until wages are so adjusted that the earnings of labor will buy the same amount of the necessities of life that could be purchased by the earnings previous to the war, this unrestful exhibit by the working people has a foundation for its existence that cannot be set aside. Previous to the war the dollar earned by labor would buy a certain amount of a certain quality of food and clothing. The dollar earned at the present time will also buy a certain amount of a certain quality of food and clothing, but it will not buy the same amount that the dollar earned previous to the war would buy. Until this gap is bridged and the wages increased so that the same amount of the same quality of goods can be bought with the dollar of today as was possible before the war, the condition of the laborer will be less desirable than in the pre-war period. Manufacturers and employers of labor should recognize this fact and increase the wages to this point without any controversy.

Regarding unemployment. It is almost impossible to peruse a daily paper without finding somewhere in its columns a statement that every effort should be put forth to secure employment for soldiers returning from across the sea or from the camps maintained in this country. This is a most laudable effort and meets with the approval of all classes of people. However, for the general good of the community work must also be provided for civilians as well as ex-soldiers. If there is not sufficient work in the country to give the returned soldiers steady employment and at the same time give continuous employment to all other people seeking work, then conditions must be so changed that all of these people can be taken care of. This can best be done by the shortening of the hours of labor.

There is no doubt but that in the near future many organizations will determine that in order to take care of all of their members gaining a livelihood by employment at their trade it will be necessary to inaugurate a six-hour day.

Your committee therefore recommends further that the Executive Council lend its assistance in the fullest degree to any organization seeking to establish a shorter workday that will provide for the employment of all its members. The organization itself must necessarily be the judge of what should be the length of the workday in the industry over which it has jurisdiction. When it has decided and established its claim to shorter hours, no matter what they may be, then the American Federation of Labor should lend its fullest assistance and your committee so recommends.

It was moved and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate Grow Machinists, spoke briefly in support of the shorter workday, referring to it as the only reasonable thing that could be adopted in this and other countries in the interests of "industrial emancipation."

Delegate Barnes, Cigar Makers, in dis-

cussing the question, referred to the present high cost of living and quoted figures to show that the prices on the ordinary commodities of life had more than doubled in recent years.

Delegate Maire, Window Glass Workers, spoke in favor of the report of the committee, but did not believe it went far enough. He stated that the Window Glass Workers had reduced their working time from seven hours and forty minutes per day to five hours and thirty minutes, and that more work was turned out under the shorter hours than under the old system.

Delegate Tracy, California State Federation of Labor, favored the shorter workday and a campaign of education in its interests among union members themselves. He referred in particular to those whom he characterized as "over-time hogs," who have no concern in the organization other than the amount of money in their pay envelopes.

Vice-President Green, chairman of the committee, discussed the report briefly and stated that the committee had given very careful consideration to the subject because they realized that the present was the most opportune time in the history of the labor movement to press forward with vigor and strength towards the realization of a shorter workday. He said further, in part: "Now is the psychological time, because forces hitherto opposed to a shorter workday have reversed their opinion and are now favoring the shorter workday for the working people in every industry. I want to say just a word in reference to my own organization, the United Mine Workers of America. When we began our movement for the eight-hour day our employers and those associated with them in opposition to that movement argued that a shorter workday would tend to decrease production. We argued that such was not the case, but that a shorter workday accorded to the men who mined the coal would tend to increase production. If there was any additional proof necessary in order to support that claim, our experience during the war has done so and has established that fact beyond contradiction and beyond argument."

The war made its demands upon the coal-mining industry. It took from our industry at least one hundred thousand men, and yet the production of coal increased beyond any figure hitherto thought of. The greatest production of coal in the history of our country was reached with a hundred thousand less men, and upon the basis of an eight-hour day. Now these men have returned and are returning, they are coming back to the mines, and I venture to say that there is no industry that has suffered more from unemployment since the armistice was signed than the United Mine Workers of America. Throughout the States of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, West Virginia, Illinois, and the States further west, we have had thousands and thousands of men who for weeks and weeks haven't performed a single day's work, simply because their services were not required—unemployment, no demand for the product.

I believe that in order to take care of the men who were associated with the industry all during the war, and in order to take care of our fellow workers who are returning, we have reached the time when we must demand a further reduction in the hours of labor. It is the very serious pur-

pose of the United Mine Workers of America to press for a further shortening of the hours of labor which we now have in order to furnish employment to the thousands of mine workers in the industry.

I presume what I have said of the mining industry applies with equal force to every other industry represented in this convention, and so I believe, in adopting the committee's report, we will have adopted a broad, constructive, aggressive policy pledging this great movement to the organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor who find that the conditions in the industry over which they have jurisdiction justify them in pressing forward for a shorter workday, even below the eight-hour standard, or 44 hours per week.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Overtime Work

The Executive Council in its report "Hours of Labor," says, "The day's working time should be limited to not more than eight hours with overtime prohibited except under the most extraordinary emergencies."

Your committee agrees fully with this statement and desires to, as much as possible, emphasize it in this report. We believe that no matter what workday may be established, sufficient remuneration should be received by the workers to make it possible to live comfortably without working overtime or on Sundays or holidays.

It may be true that in certain industries "extraordinary emergencies" arise that at times make it necessary for a certain amount of overtime or Sunday work to be done. In order to as much as possible prevent these "extraordinary emergencies" arising it is necessary to provide a special rate of pay for this overtime work. It has been found necessary in most of the industries to provide for time and one-half or double time for this class of work, and in some of these crafts it would be disastrous to eliminate such provisions.

Your committee recommends, however, to all national and international unions that they impress upon their subordinate unions as strongly as they possibly can the necessity for preventing overtime work.

It was moved and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate Gorenstein, Ladies' Garment Workers, offered the following amendment: That it be the declaration of this convention that overtime work should be discouraged and therefore penalized, and that double time for such overtime work be demanded.

The question was discussed by Delegate Grow and Schoenberg, of the Machinists, and by Delegate Gorenstein, Ladies' Garment Workers.

The amendment offered by Delegate Goldstein was adopted, and the report of the committee as amended was concurred in.

Saturday Half Holiday

The Executive Council in its report under the head "Hours of Labor" says that "the week's working time should be limited to not more than five and one-half days." Your committee agrees fully with this statement, providing that the maximum day's work shall be not more than 8 hours. It believes that with the 8-hour day as the maximum workday, so that with a five and one-half day week, but 44 hours shall be worked, the Saturday half holiday is a most

desirable achievement. In cases where the work week can be reduced to less than 44 hours your committee believes it would be of advantage to the worker to so have these hours distributed so as to provide for a full Saturday holiday, making the work week a 5-day week, still with a maximum eight-hour day.

The report of the committee was adopted.

In conclusion your committee desires to call special attention of all the delegates to the probability that the next year will see the most critical times that labor organizations have ever passed through. The world has just emerged from a trying war period. During that period organized labor illustrated its great value to society as well as to its membership. It conducted itself in every respect with great credit. If it can do as well during the next year it will have passed from the period of uncertainty to one of absolute stability. There is no one thing that can do so much to thoroughly and completely stabilize the conditions of the trade union movement as can the shortening of the hours of labor to that point which will insure continuous and remunerative employment to every human being who must toil for a livelihood. The officers of international and national unions should bear this in mind and so direct their energies as to assist in every way in bringing the industrial workday to the point necessary to insure that there will be not one case of compulsory unemployment.

Respectfully submitted,

WILLIAM GREEN, Chairman,
J. W. HAYS, Secretary,
GEORGE LEARY,
THOMAS REDDING,
CHARLES MCGOWAN,
BENJAMIN SCHLESSINGER,
JOHN J. LYNCH,
E. J. GAINOR,
JOHN H. PRUETT,
CARL BERGSTROM,
LEWIS WEYAND,
E. J. MCGIVERN,
A. R. LINN,
EDW. I. HANNAH,
ANTHONY J. CHLOPEK,
Committee on Shorter Workday.

The report of the committee as a whole, as amended, was adopted.

Report of Special Committee on Jurisdiction Over Construction of Reinforced Concrete Ships.

Delegate Hutcheson, chairman of the committee, submitted the following:

Your committee finds, after hearing the representatives of all trades interested, that the construction of reinforced concrete ships is performed in the same manner as is the construction of reinforced concrete buildings. We therefore recommend that all construction work on reinforced concrete ships shall be performed by the trades having jurisdiction over the construction work on reinforced concrete buildings.

Respectfully submitted,

WM. L. HUTCHESON, Chairman.
JOHN CARROLL,
GEORGE JONES,
P. J. MORRIN,
ADAM WILKINSON,
F. J. McNULTY, Secretary.

It was moved and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate McGowan, Boiler Makers: I desire to offer an amendment to the committee's report—that this convention recognize the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America over those portions of iron and steel ships entering into the construction of concrete ships, which has always been recognized as a part of the jurisdiction of the above organization. (Seconded.)

Delegate Hutcheson: As chairman of the Special Committee, I ask for a ruling from the chair as to whether that is an amendment to the report of the committee, or whether it is a negative proposition. The committee makes no reference to reinforced concrete ships whatsoever.

President Gompers: The Chair does not desire to be placed in the position of deciding the question for this convention, but desires to say this: The installation of boilers in buildings of reinforced concrete does not deny that jurisdiction to the Boiler Makers' organization, does it?

Delegate Hutcheson: It does not.

President Gompers: It seems that there really is no necessity for this specific statement. The proposition is not to determine the interior of these concrete reinforced ships, but is in the building of the ships, any more than, so far as my understanding goes, would the report of the committee interfere in the upholstering or in other mechanical devices, simply in the question of the building of the ship and the amendment is not necessarily germane to the question under consideration.

Delegate McGowan: Do I understand that you have ruled the amendment out of order, Mr. Chairman?

President Gompers: I ruled that it has no application to the question under consideration.

Delegate McGowan: The statement of President Gompers is absolutely correct to this extent: That it is not being carried out in the construction of the concrete ships that are now being constructed. Our international Union has been deprived of and driven off these portions of steel ships that still remain in the construction of reinforced concrete ships. Our organization has been deprived by other organizations who never were in the shipbuilding industry until the reinforced concrete ship was built. There are many portions of the concrete ship that are not made of concrete, the coal bunkers, the steel plates, in some instances the angle irons and channel irons, and things of that kind that enter into the construction of the ship that is not concrete, but is work that has always been done by, and recognized as part of the jurisdiction of our International Union.

I want to say, while I hesitate to consume the time of this convention at this

late date, that when a group of trades depart from their original industry and enter into another industry that has been under the control of other organizations for years, simply upon the grounds that a concrete ship is a floating building, they are doing so on a far-fetched argument, in my judgment. At the time of the world war breaking out, the entire forces in the shipbuilding industries in this country were less than 40,000, including supervisory portions and all. That industry has expanded to upwards of 400,000 during the past four or five years. It became necessary, due to that rapid expansion, that all of the organizations had to let down their bars and let into that industry all of those who wanted to come in and assist in building that bridge of ships across the Atlantic Ocean.

Our organization suffered more by that condition than any other international union, and I am going to say to you that we have a big enough task on our hands to save our organization from the infusion of all these new elements into our organization and from all of the ideas transplanted from other organizations, and I trust this convention will recognize the justice of our claim.

We don't want the pouring of the concrete or any of the work that is not purely work that comes under the jurisdiction of our organization and has always been done by us.

Delegate Hutcheson: The committee, when dealing with this subject, had before them representatives of the various building trades, together with representatives of the Boiler Makers and Iron Ship Builders' organization. The matter was gone into in detail and the committee only dealt with the matter of the reinforced concrete on the ship.

Prior to the war the reinforced concrete ship was unknown. It was originated during the war emergency, and the first ship that was built, the ship "Faith," in the harbor of San Francisco, was built by building tradesmen who are familiar with the work and know how to build reinforced concrete buildings. The feeling and belief of your committee was that whether the work be on a structure after it was completed, the foundation of which would be water, or whether the work be on a structure the foundation of which might be of the same material to stay permanently in a place, that the nature of the work was exactly the same.

Your committee did not contend, nor has it any desire to say that the Boiler Makers cannot learn to do reinforced concrete work on ship construction, but we felt that the men who are familiar with reinforced concrete construction work on buildings were the best adapted to do it on the ship, and therefore we recommended as was read to you. In dealing with that we didn't deal

with the fitting out of the ship, but only with the making of the hull of the ship out of reinforced concrete, and we believe in all justice and fairness to those who know how to do the work, the recommendation of the committee should be adopted.

Delegate Grow, Machinists: A point of information—is it the intention of this committee to divide jurisdictional authority in the shipbuilding industry with the Metal Trades Department?

Delegate Hutcheson: The committee was not aware of the fact that the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor had complete jurisdiction over ship construction.

Delegate Grow: If that is the intention, I would like to be plain. In my opinion the question has not been answered.

Delegate Hutcheson: The committee was only dealing with reinforced concrete ships and was not aware of the fact that the Metal Trades Department had jurisdiction over that work. Otherwise the committee would not need to have acted.

Delegate Grow: I am opposed to the committee's report. For a number of years the shipbuilding industry has been under the control of the Metal Trades Department and its affiliated organizations, and other organizations that are not affiliated with the Metal Trades Department, but are locally affiliated at certain points where shipbuilding is carried on. The same condition exists in the railway industry, and the Railway Department of the A. F. of L. is organized and has done everything to secure the economic improvement and organization for the men employed in the railway industry.

The same thing applies to the building of wooden ships. On the Pacific Coast and almost throughout every district in this country the wooden ships were built under the control and jurisdiction of the Metal Trades Department. Many conferences have been held with Government officials and the United States Shipping Board with the representatives of the Metal Trades Department. They had control of the building of all wooden ships and steel ships, and I feel at this time that the interests of the men employed in that industry, whether it be on steel or wooden ships, or concrete ships, demand that jurisdiction and control over the industry should not be divided, so that authority should be divided between the Building Trades Department and the Metal Trades Department. We have stood as one organization, or a combination or group of trades in protecting the interests of the men employed in that industry.

The Building Trades Department, up to the present moment, if my information is correct, have not attempted to invade that particular branch of industry, and therefore I am of the opinion that the rapid development of this industry calls upon our organ-

ization to break men in to be able to construct these ships with despatch. I am absolutely opposed to dividing authority between the Metal Trades Department and the Building Trades Department in that particular industry, as I would be opposed to any division of authority in the Railway Department. We are the pioneers in this industry, we have organized this industry and have secured the 44-hour week at the expense of time and money, and I think at this time the report of the committee ought to be voted down and the Metal Trades given full jurisdiction.

Delegate Feeney, Elevator Constructors: I desire to ask of the Boiler Makers what part of their jurisdiction claims enters into the construction of reinforced concrete ships.

Delegate McGowan: In answer to Delegate Feeney I will say that, answered in a general way, we are only claiming those portions of the iron ship or steel ship that still remains in the construction of reinforced concrete ships, whatever they may be. They vary in the construction of different ships.

Delegate Feeney: I want to know what those portions are.

Delegate McGowan: I am not prepared to answer that off hand, because as I have stated, the portions vary in the construction of different ships.

May I ask the chairman of the committee a question? Is it the intention of the committee in its report to still lodge that jurisdiction in our organization, to do those portions of the concrete ships that they formerly did in the steel ships? In other words, the coal bunkers, the angle irons, channel irons and things of that kind that remain of the original steel ship?

Delegate Hutcheson: It wasn't the intention of the committee to take from the Boiler Makers any of the work that would be of steel. We are only dealing with the matter of the reinforced concrete.

Delegate McGowan: That is the full intent of the committee?

Delegate Hutcheson: Surely.

Delegate McSorley, Lathers: I desire to ask Delegate McGowan a question. I want to ask him if it is the intention of the Boiler Makers to claim jurisdiction over the fabrication and installation of rods in reinforced concrete ships.

Delegate McGowan: The rods, as I understand it, are hexagon rods of different sizes to which the steel lathing is laced. That is not a part of the jurisdiction of our International Union and we don't claim it.

Delegate Morrin, Iron Workers: Does your organization claim any iron that goes in for reinforcements, whether it is rods, eye beams, angle or channel irons which are used in reinforced concrete construction for that purpose?

Delegate McGowan: With the qualification

made for the benefit of the lathers' organization I will say yes, we do.

Delegate Morrin: Then that puts an entirely different angle on the question. The boiler makers are not claiming the iron ship-building, they are claiming the reinforced construction that is done and has been done by building trades organizations. The iron workers are vitally interested for the reason that they are and have been building concrete ships. The carpenters do the carpenter work and the iron workers do the iron work. We do have claim to, and are doing the reinforced steel construction work on ships, and it was our understanding when the boiler makers came before the committee that they did not claim this class of work. We wish to strenuously object to the boiler makers making this claim now, after the statement that was made before the committee, because our organization was under the impression they were satisfied with the committee's report.

Delegate Brown, Machinists: Having in mind the statement of the chairman of the committee that he believed that the work in the construction of these ships can best be done by the various tradesmen who are experienced in that particular work, I would like to know whether it is the intention or the belief of the committee that the machinists would be denied the right to install machinery.

Delegate Hutcheson: The committee was not aware of the fact that there was any machinery going into reinforced concrete.

Delegate Brown: What I have in mind

is this: In the city where I come from the position taken by the building trades is that no matter whether the building is packed with machinery from cellar to roof, "Mr. Machinist, you can't touch that." I want to know if we are going to be placed in the same position as we are in the city of Newark. I have in mind one building, a five-story building equipped by and for machinists and used by machinists, and the building trades would not allow us to install those lathes, boring machines, etc.

Delegate Hutcheson: I thought I made it clear to the delegate that the report of the committee only deals with the hull of the ship, and not the fitting out of it.

Delegate Hynes, Sheet Metal Workers: I simply desire to announce that the Sheet Metal Workers claim all sheet metal work of No. 10 gauge and lighter going into these ships.

The report of the committee was adopted.

The boiler makers' delegation and the machinists' delegation asked to be recorded as voting against the adoption of the report of the committee.

Vice-President Duncan offered a motion that the convention adjourn until 2.30 o'clock and that the report of the Committee on Adjustment be heard at that time as a special order of business. (Motion seconded.)

Delegate James A. Duncan moved to amend that the convention remain in session until one o'clock. The amendment was lost.

The motion of Vice-President Duncan prevailed, and the convention adjourned at 12.30 o'clock to convene at 2.30 p. m.

TWELFTH DAY--Monday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2.30 p. m., Monday, June 23d, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Russell, Croaff, Koch, Mordecai, McDonald, Fox (C.), Brelsford, Wrenn, Anderson, Hall, Grafton, Donogue, Ott, Fenton, Iglesias, Murphy (J. F.), Gann, Boncer, Rogers, Fox (Harry), Banz, Jones (E. E.), Rutherford, Fisher, Howard, Schildt, Harrison, Ely, Lennon, Coughlin, Lacey, Mahoney, O'Leary, Davis, Hoffman, Niemeier, Fitchie, McFadden, Harlin, Owens, Bryan, Yarrow, O'Donnell (G.), Tucker, Dill, Hooper, Carrick, Mason, Fink, Wessell, Canfield, Deutelbaum, Griffith, Murphy, Franklin, Carroll, Woodman, Wagner, Canfield, Galloway, Taylor, Moran, Willis, Tracy, Neu, Priestly, McKeown, Argo, Nuzum, Gregson, Noble, Bittner, Richter, Evans, Breslin, Gildas, Sims, Newmyer, Ingles, Ralase, Gilbert, Ganey, Hoffman, Frampton, Franco, Ogletree, Hilfers, Barnes, Ornburn, Spielman, Daly, Kingsly, Clineinst, Thomas,

Ryan, Lacy, Giles, Young (C. B.), Crain, Draper, Strickland, Hartford, Hall (John Jr.), Bradley, Maloney, Curran, Wilkinson, Wines, Woracek, Ryerson, Flynn, Sullivan, Ashman, Boyle, Burr, Wood, Hannon, Wilkinson (John), Simpson, Dawson, Enright, Colpoys, Donahue, Lawson, Stehmeyer, Hogan, Cooper, Mezzacapo, Fincke, Harte, McDougall, McGill, Oplinger, Crawford, Burk, Canady, Ringer, Patterson, Brogan, Grass, Clark, Staley, McNeice, Badgett, Bledow, Goldsmith, Colvin, Setzer, Bauman, Brinston, Huston, Quease, Mason, White (C.), Mullen, Morris, Johnson (E. D.), Tourison, Schultz, Shea, Middleton, Gould, Miller, Catterson, Berger, Weinstock, Birch, Ellicott, Herbert, Fitts, Richardson, Coogan, Leonard, Chambers, Rice, Eklund, Campbell, Eskeek, Vaughn, McKimmon, Lane, Jackson, Thompson, Helgesen, Rincker, Spacey, Clarke, Burns, Holm.

Secretary Morrison: I have a letter here from Mr. Bacharach, Mayor of Atlantic City,

regarding his action in sending back money sent to a committee that was supposed to use it for the entertainment of the American Federation of Labor convention. I will read it.

June 16, 1919.

Hon Frank Morrison,
Secretary, American Federation of Labor,
Steel Pier, Atlantic City, N. J.

My Dear Mr. Morrison:

In the presence of Judge Thompson, representing the American Federation of Labor; Mr. Harry Coulomb, representing Messrs. Ginnity, Walters and Freed, and Mr. Arthur Hewitt, representing the Post Office Department, I opened eighty-two letters which had been held by the Atlantic City Post Office in pursuance to my request as Receiver of the American Federation of Labor.

Forty of these letters contained checks amounting to a total of Thirty-two hundred fifty Dollars (\$3250.00). A copy of the sender of these letters and the amounts contained in each letter, is herewith enclosed.

I have returned to the respective donors their checks, signing the letter as Receiver of the American Federation of Labor. Of the balance of the letters, four contained bills, one advertising matter and one from the Detroit Stove Works, asking for the return of their check for \$100; but their check was not among those letters held by the Post Office. Apparently among those letters that had been received previously by Messrs. Ginnity, Walters and Freed, a number of the letters contained statements somewhat as follows:

"We would have no objection to making this contribution, as an indication of our good will towards the Federation. However, articles have appeared in the papers, stating that Mr. Frank Morrison, Secretary of the Federation, has wired the Chamber of Commerce that the Federation has authorized no one to solicit funds for the purpose you mention."

There is no question in my mind that if you had not taken so aggressive measures, that at least \$50,000 would have been collected, as a great majority of those who did contribute thought they were contributing to the American Federation of Labor, as their letters were usually addressed to the American Federation of Labor and the envelopes were usually addressed either to the American Federation of Labor, or Convention Committee, as per enclosed envelopes.

Trusting the action taken by me has met with your approval and that of your associates, I am

Sincerely yours,

HARRY BACHARACH,
Mayor.

Secretary Morrison: I move that the letter be made part of the records of the convention, that Mr. Bacharach be extended a vote of thanks by the convention and that he be so advised by the President. (Seconded and carried.)

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ADJUSTMENT

Delegate Golden, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Longshoremen, Steam Engineers, Marine Engineers

The St. Paul Convention directed that the representatives of the several organizations

should meet in conference for the purpose of adjusting their differences, and that in the event of failure to hold a conference or failure to reach an agreement, the Executive Council should define the jurisdictional rights of the contending parties.

Conference was held. No understanding or agreement was reached. The conferees so reported to us. We thereupon decided that the application of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers for jurisdiction over the men in question on sand boats be denied.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this portion of the Executive Council's Report.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Jurisdiction Over Shipyard Laborers

Upon that part of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

Your committee endorses the agreement entered into by the interested parties, and the action of the Executive Council thereon.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Young, Olympia, Washington, discussed the question, and in doing so related the history of the organization of the shipyard laborers in the shipyards of Seattle and vicinity. He stated that many classes of the laborers and helpers were not organized by the crafts with which they worked, and some were refused charters by the international when they applied for them, and for that reason they were advised to secure Federated charters, and thousands of them did so. He urged that the organizations be allowed to retain their charters.

Vice-President Duncan in the chair.

Delegate Healy, Firemen, moved as an amendment that jurisdiction over oilers, coal passers and ash handlers in the navy yards be given the firemen.

Delegate Leonard stated that all the men working in the pipe-fitting industry or the navy yards, as elsewhere, were under the jurisdiction of the United Plumbers and Gas Fitters, and that organization would claim them.

The question was discussed by Vice-President Duffy, delegate, who stated that in the conference held in Washington, at which the agreement contained in the Council's report was adopted, the longshoremen did not claim jurisdiction over the ship yard laborers, although they had taken them into their organization in some places.

Delegate Bjorklund, Longshoremen, stated that the different international unions had made no effort to organize these men in the shipyards, that these men had been organized to the number of thirty thousand and he would object to their being divided among other organizations.

Delegate Morrin, Ironworkers, called attention to the fact that the organization he represented had many locals composed of men following lines of work mentioned by some of the previous speakers.

Delegate Grow, Machinists, and Delegate Duncan, Seattle, discussed the organization of

the shipyard laborers, the manner in which their wages and conditions had been improved because of such organization, the lack of interest on the part of various international unions until Federal charters had been given these laborers and helpers, and the desire of the internationals to have them apportioned among their organizations since they have been organized.

Delegate Hutcheson, Carpenters, stated that the fasteners, referred to by several of the delegates, belonged to the ship carpenters, and if they were in that branch of the organization they would be protected and their wages increased.

The question was discussed by Delegate D'Alessandro, Hod Carriers and Building Laborers, who explained briefly the claims of his organization to some of the classes of labor affected.

Delegate Wharton, Machinists, stated that the machinists' helpers were taken into the organization he represented, and the organization of these men had not been neglected.

The motion to adopt the recommendation of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 2.—By Delegate Anthony Oliver, of the International Federation of Draftsmen's Union.

WHEREAS, Many hundred of Technical Engineers and Architects have applied for admission to membership in the International Federation of Draftsmen's Unions; and

WHEREAS, Almost all Technical Engineers and Architects are essentially draftsmen and the majority of draftsmen are trained and educated along the same technical lines; and

WHEREAS, The line of demarcation between Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen in most cases cannot be defined; and

WHEREAS, Ten per cent. of the membership in this international federation is made up of technical engineers and architects; and

WHEREAS, The logical branch of the American Federation of Labor to organize these technical engineers and architects is the International Federation of Draftsmen's Union; and

WHEREAS, The name of our international will be changed to meet the broadened jurisdiction; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the jurisdiction of the International Federation of Draftsmen's Unions be and hereby is extended to include all of the Technical Engineers and Architectural Workers in field and office.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Your committee concur in this resolution.

Resolution No. 4.—By Delegates William S. Brown and Robert L. Goelet, of the National Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association.

WHEREAS, Since the application of steam machinery to marine propulsion there has ever been a constantly growing extension of the same, conducive to the many phases of various and complex systems and types of

machinery now in use; with a future field prospective of unlimited continued progressive advancement as will be the result of necessity and engineering skill; and

WHEREAS, The modern marine engineer, being a product of his environment, has of necessity advanced in knowledge of technical and practical engineering commensurate to such requirements and responsibilities as caretaker of present-day marine inventions and installations; and

WHEREAS, This condition, together with the ever-increasing size of ships, units of power and diversity of machinery, has so increased the labors of the marine engineer than it often devolves upon him to perform work on ship while in port which is the rightful heritage of workers of other trades, and which he feels disposed to be relieved and have done by such workers under his supervision, and as he may be willing to become responsible for; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, at this, its Thirty-ninth Annual Convention, appoint a suitable and qualified committee to whom shall be assigned the duty of determining and tabulating the work aboard ships which should be performed by machinists and other craftsmen while ships are in dock or port.

Your committee recommends that this whole subject matter be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, with instructions to arrange a conference, within ninety days of the adjournment of this convention, of the representatives of all organizations at interest, for the purpose of determining the jurisdiction lines aboard ship, affecting each of these organizations.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 6.—By Delegates William S. Brown and Robert L. Goelet, of the National Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association.

WHEREAS, In the development of mechanically propelled vessels there has come into existence a type of ship known as "mother ships" propelled by internal combustion engines; and

WHEREAS, This type of vessel has, as a requirement of commerce, reached such dimensions that necessitated them being placed under the rules and inspection provisions of the United States Steamboat Inspection Service, and to be operated by engineers examined and licensed by such service; and

WHEREAS, The licensed marine engineers of this type of vessel are now governed by regulation working rules and wage scales or the Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association, and are in no way governed by any other labor organization and can by no possible argument be properly subject to their jurisdiction; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, at this, its Thirty-ninth Annual Convention, rule that all Marine Engineers operating under authority of licenses issued by the United States Steamboat Inspection Service, should do so under the cargo, rules, and membership of the Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association of the United States of America.

Your committee reports that representatives of the organizations affected by this resolution have agreed to arrange a conference with the object of endeavoring to come to an

amicable understanding. Your committee therefore recommend that no further action is necessary.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Snellings, Steam and Operating Engineers: Delegate Brown, of the Marine Engineers' Benevolent Protective Association, who introduced that resolution, discussed it with me, representing the Steam and Operating Engineers, and we agreed to meet and adjust between ourselves the seeming grievance. There is no dispute between the two organizations of engineers, and that is agreed to by both of us.

The motion to adopt the recommendation of the committee was carried.

President Gompers in the chair.

Resolution No. 15—By Delegate J. C. Putnam, of the Panama Canal Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The organization on the Canal Zone affiliated with the American Federation of Labor have for years past used their best efforts to protect American workmen on the Canal Zone against constant infringement upon their positions by cheap alien labor; and

WHEREAS, Resolution No. 2, passed by the Metal Trades Convention at St. Paul, Minn., June 6, 1918, was submitted by this Council for this specific purpose; and

WHEREAS, The general conditions complained of in said Resolution remain the same, but are now being aggravated by two organizers, Messrs. Severs and Allen, representing the United Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees and Railroad Shop Laborers, who are on the Canal Zone for the purpose of organizing these aliens into their international as tradesmen of the various crafts in which they are employed, thus encroaching upon the rights of other internationals represented upon the Canal Zone; and

WHEREAS, Several cables have been sent, both to the President of the United Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees and Railroad Shop Laborers and the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, and letters have also been written to both the organizations aforesaid asking for the recall of the two organizers referred to and the suspension of efforts to organize the aliens on the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Panama Canal Central Labor Union is opposed to the organization of these aliens into the trades, or positions of skill, on the Canal Zone by the United Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees and Railroad Shop Laborers, that we demand the recall of the organizers of the above international from the Canal Zone, and that all future organization of aliens in this field be left entirely to the nationals or internationals under whose jurisdiction these aliens properly belong; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled take immediate action which will give the Canal Zone employes relief from the conditions complained of in these resolutions, that the demands outlined herein be complied with,

that Resolution No. 2 referred to above be indorsed and that such action be taken by this convention which will remove the aliens in the employ of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad from all positions above the grade of common labor.

Your committee recommend that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for investigation and action thereon.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Putnam, author of the resolution, spoke at length in favor of some plan to remedy the existing conditions in the Canal Zone. He described the various classes of labor there, their working and living conditions, their wages, and various other matters connected with employment in the Zone. He asked to appear before the Executive Council when the question is taken up for consideration and action.

The motion to adopt the recommendation of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 22—By Delegates D'Alessandro, W. F. Dwyer, John Carley, J. V. Moreschi and J. B. Etchison, of the International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America:

WHEREAS, The National Committee formed at the St. Paul Convention of the American Federation of Labor in accordance with Resolution No. 29 for the purpose of organizing the workers in the steel industry has organized thousands of common laborers both inside and outside the mills, including bricklayers' helpers, plasterers' helpers, men building sewers and streets, who come under the jurisdiction of the International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America; and

WHEREAS, Members of the International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America have been compelled to pay initiation fees to the National Committee, which has refused to transfer these laborers to the International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, but has distributed them to various national and international unions, especially the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in Atlantic City, N. J., instruct the National Committee and the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers to transfer all the laborers mentioned in this resolution to the International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America.

Your committee recommend that the words "and other laborers" in the ninth and tenth lines of the first Whereas be stricken out, and the resolution adopted as amended.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Walker, Mine Workers: The other laborers in this case are usually apprentices for the steel and tin workers, and they are employed permanently by the companies operating the plants.

The chairman of the committee announced that all those interested had agreed to the change.

Delegate Sullivan stated that he did not oppose the recommendation of the committee, but did protest against the introduction of the resolution by the Hod Carriers, as the organization he represented, the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, had never claimed jurisdiction over established organizations.

Delegate Edwards, Iron, Steel and Tin Workers: At a joint meeting of representatives of the Hod Carriers and Laborers and the Amalgamated Association a few days ago we had an understanding that the Hod Carriers did not claim jurisdiction over the men known as "maintenance men" in the steel industry, but that they referred to the construction men. They gave us their word that they did not intend to present a scale to the mill owners at any time in the future which was not satisfactory to us.

The motion to adopt the recommendation of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 27—Delegate George Sauter, of Wilmington, Del., Central Labor Union.

RESOLVED, That the Central Labor Union of Wilmington, Delaware, and vicinity place the matter of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen seeking to force members of various crafts in shops throughout the country into their union. Some of these men have been in organized craft bodies for a number of years, and do not feel that they should take a card again in the Carmen's Union.

Your committee is of the opinion that the subject matter contained in this resolution rests solely with the international unions affected, and therefore recommend non-concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 60—By Delegate Michael A. Broderick, of the Quincy, Mass., Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, A condition prevails in the metal industry of this country that is impractical from an organization standpoint, insofar as it concerns one of the crafts whose occupation is being rapidly expanded because of changing methods of manufacture, namely, the welding and burning processes by electricity and oxy-acetylene gas; and

WHEREAS, It is for the mutual protection of all employed in metal work, irrespective of craft or calling, that all be organized to the greatest possible extent; and

WHEREAS, Because of the prevailing condition in this craft, many workers cannot be organized owing to jurisdictional claims of various national and international bodies in the organized metal crafts; and

WHEREAS, The workmen following the electric and oxy-acetylene welding industry are employed at their trade in shipyards, foundries, auto manufacturing, repair shops, machine shops, blacksmith shops, copper

shops, sheet-metal shops, and structural operations, in fact, in all the industries where metals of any nature are used; and

WHEREAS, All these trades or crafts claim jurisdiction necessitating the electric and oxy-acetylene welders to carry cards in as many different organizations as there are trades involved; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the electric and oxy-acetylene welders be recognized as a separate trade and that a charter recognizing this fact be issued by the American Federation of Labor, because the electric and oxy-acetylene welding process is a distinct trade apart entirely from the other trades in the metal industry; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That committees composed of men following the electric and oxy-acetylene trade be given an opportunity to appear before the proper committees at the above-named conventions to show reasons why the request for charter should be granted, or if the matter is referred to Executive Council of American Federation of Labor that the committee referred to, be given the same opportunity to present its case before the Executive Council.

Your committee recommend non-concurrence in the resolution and reaffirmation of the decision of the Baltimore Convention, which reads as follows:

"We recommend that this convention declare that 'acetylene welding' is a process, and that 'acetylene welder' is a tool, which can no more come under the exclusive jurisdiction of any one trade or calling than can the hammer or the saw."

The recommendation of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Resolution No. 61—By Delegates Milton Snellings, H. M. Comerford, E. L. Edgerton, and Albert Peterson, of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers;

WHEREAS, The International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers have been on strike in brickyards in the City of Chicago and vicinity since September, 1912, and are now on strike; and

WHEREAS, The United Brick and Clay Workers of America have during that period manned the positions struck by the engineers with members of their organization, and thereby helping to break the strike, which have worked a great injury to our membership; and

WHEREAS, The International Union of Steam and Operative Engineers have tried to meet with representatives of the United Brick and Clay Workers of America for the purpose of adjusting this long-standing controversy to which the United Brick and Clay Workers of America have not responded; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Atlantic City, N. J., instruct the United Brick and Clay Workers of America to observe the charter rights of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record to do all in its power to adjust this strike of seven (7) years' duration, for the benefit of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers.

Your committee recommend concurrence in this resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

The question was discussed at length by Delegate Kasten, Brick and Clay Workers, and Delegate Snellings, Steam and Operating Engineers.

The motion to adopt the recommendation of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 83—By Delegates Andrew C. Hughes and James J. Doyle, of the Coopers' International Union.

WHEREAS, Resolution 35 of the St. Paul Convention of the American Federation of Labor, covering jurisdiction disputes between the International Longshoremen's Association, was ordered to be amicably settled through a conference arranged by the president of the American Federation of Labor, between that organization and the Coopers' International Union, covering ship coooperage and coooperage repair work on the docks of Greater New York; and

WHEREAS, President Gompers delegated James E. Roach, his representative, to proceed to New York City to bring about a settlement between the two contending parties; and

WHEREAS, On October 18, 1918, Representative Roach met representatives of both organizations and arrived to a signed agreement, which if lived up to by the I. L. A. would forever harmonize the claims of both organizations; and

WHEREAS, The signing parties representing the I. L. A. had, by their signatures, agreed to put an end of the victimizing of union coopers on all piers of Greater New York, recognizing the union cards of coopers who are known for years as ship, cargo and dock coopers; and

WHEREAS, A short time after the departure of Representative Roach, the two business agents of the I. L. A. again harassed our members by compelling employers to discharge them and put to work members of a so-called union known as Cargo Repairers' Local No. 908, under threat of a strike; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Coopers' International Union demand that the I. L. A. and the representatives of its local unions to abide by their agreement.

Your committee recommend concurrence in the resolution and that the agreement entered into between the Coopers' International Union of North America and the International Longshoremen's Association, on October 18, 1918, signed by the representatives of both organizations, and also by General Organizer James E. Roach, representing the American Federation of Labor, be lived up to in its entirety.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Hughes, Coopers, discussed the resolution and urged that the practice of longshoremen doing the work that belongs to members of his organization be discontinued.

The motion to adopt the recommendation of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 95—By Delegate John J. Hynes, of the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers, F. A.

WHEREAS, For several years a controversy has existed between the Sheet Metal Workers' International Union and the Stove Mounters' International Union; and

WHEREAS, Several conferences have been held without any result; and

WHEREAS, Said controversy is creating much turmoil in the industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor deputize one of their members to make an investigation looking to clarifying the situation in an amicable way.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 97—By Delegates J. W. Kline, International Brotherhood Blacksmiths and Helpers; Louis Weyand, Charles J. MacGowan.

WHEREAS, The National Federation of Federal Employees was organized and chartered by the American Federation of Labor and granted jurisdiction over men and women in clerical capacities and other Federal employees not eligible to any of the existing national or international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, It now develops that the National Federation of Federal Employees is totally disregarding the recognized and established jurisdiction of many international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and is accepting into membership any and all who desire to make application and in some cases the applicants are suspended and expelled members of existing national and international unions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the National Federation of Federal Employees be and are hereby instructed to cease accepting into membership in their organization men and women who properly come under the jurisdiction of other national and international unions those members who are wrongfully members of the National Federation of Federal Employees.

Referred to Committee on Adjustments.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 140—By Delegates John Donlin, Operative Plasterers' International Association; William L. Hutcheson, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America; John J. Hynes, Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance.

WHEREAS, The International Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees claim for their membership jurisdiction over the construction, repair and alteration of all buildings owned by railroads; and

WHEREAS, Said Brotherhood in the past not only has done much of this work, but insists upon doing such building work in the future; and

WHEREAS, Several conferences held between said International Brotherhood of

Maintenance of Way Employees and International Unions of the Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L. availed nothing in the way of an adjustment or understanding; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor revoke the charter of said International Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees.

After hearing this case at great length, your committee is convinced that the United Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees and Railway Shop Laborers have within their membership workers who properly belong to the affiliated building trades and other international unions referred to in the resolution, and feel that while in agreement with the facts as stated in the resolution, the organization affected should be given an opportunity to comply with the recommendation.

We, therefore, recommend that the convention direct the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees and Railway Shop Laborers to cease encroaching on the jurisdiction lines of other affiliated organizations, and to transfer to the respective international unions all those members now within their organization who properly come under the jurisdiction of other international unions, and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to see that this is done within a reasonable time, and in the event that the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees and Railway Shop Laborers fail to comply with same, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is hereby empowered to suspend the charter of the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees and Railway Shop Laborers until such time as they comply with this decision.

The following letter was read following the reading of the resolution and recommendation of the committee:

Detroit, Mich., June 18, 1919.

P. J. Morrin,

General President,

International Association of Bridge,
Structural and Ornamental Iron
Workers,

Chalfonte Hotel, Atlantic City, N. J.

Dear Sir and Brother:

Relative to your complaint that members of our organization are infringing upon the jurisdiction claims of work of your International Association, I wish to assure you that the United Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees and Railway Shop Laborers do not claim jurisdiction over any Bridge, Structural or Ornamental Iron Work or Pile Driving, erection or removal or falsework in connection with such work done by any of the railroads of this country, and further we agree that where any encroachment of your jurisdictional claims is brought to the attention of the international officials of our union we will give it our immediate atten-

tion and stop our members from doing such work.

Trusting that this is satisfactory to your organization and assuring you of our desire to fully respect your jurisdictional claims, I remain

United Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way
Employees and Railway Shop Laborers,
A. E. BARKER, Grand President,
U. B. M. W. E. & R. S. L.

Delegate Morrin, Ironworkers, asked that the above document be made part of the records of the convention and its insertion in the records was ordered.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 148—By Delegate Alice A. Kissam, of the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union, No. 12,646.

WHEREAS, The International Brotherhood of Teamsters has recently organized the clerks in the express offices in New York City; and

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Railway Clerks claims jurisdiction over these express clerks; and

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Railway Clerks has jurisdiction only over clerks in railway offices and these express clerks are not employed in railway offices; and

WHEREAS, Bookkeepers' Stenographers' and Accountants' Union, No. 12,646, New York City, claims that these express clerks come within their jurisdiction, performing work over which they claim jurisdiction; and

WHEREAS, Bookkeepers' Stenographers' and Accountants' Union, 12,646 can do no more for these clerks than can the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks in that there are very few railway clerks in New York City; and

WHEREAS, Bookkeepers' Stenographers' and Accountants' Union No. 12,646 claim jurisdiction over the express clerks and in fact have started arrangements with the International Brotherhood of Teamsters for their transfer to the jurisdiction of Bookkeepers' Stenographers' and Accountants' Union, No. 12,646; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the claim of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks to the right of jurisdiction over the Express Clerks be held in abeyance and that this protest be referred to the proper committee of this convention for a hearing, at which the delegate of the Bookkeepers', Stenographers' and Accountants' Union may have an opportunity to be heard.

Your committee finds that the claims of jurisdiction of both the Stenographers', Typewriters', Bookkeepers' and Assistants' Unions and the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks are so conflicting, it will be necessary to verify same by the official records at headquarters. Therefore, your committee recommend that this whole subject matter be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for investigation and action by said Executive Council.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Secretary Golden: This completes the report of the Adjustment Committee, which is

respectfully submitted and signed by all the members of the committee.

T. A. RICKERT, Chairman,
JOHN GOLDEN, Secretary,
COLLIS LOVELY,
JAMES C. SHANESSY,
WILLIAM QUINLAN,
H. J. CONWAY,
MILTON SNELLINGS,
T. W. McCULLOUGH,
EDWARD FLORE,
A. W. RUSSELL,
JOHN H. WALKER,
SAM TOBIN,
C. L. SHAMP,
J. B. ETCHISON,
WILLIAM E. BRYAN,

Secretary Golden moved the adoption of the report as a whole. The motion was seconded and carried.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON BUILDING TRADES

Delegate Donlin, Chairman of the committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 104—By Delegates of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

WHEREAS, Among the policy holders of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company are many members of organized labor; and

WHEREAS, The company owns buildings in New York City and elsewhere upon which it directly employs a number of painters who are not members of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be directed to use their good offices with the company to the end that it may be induced to employ union men as painters upon all of its construction and maintenance work and to otherwise comply with union conditions.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution 146—After consultation with the representatives of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and the International Association of Machinists they agreed that the resolution be withdrawn, therefore your committee recommends that Resolution No. 146 be expunged from the proceedings of this convention, and that the officers of the two organizations continue their negotiations toward a settlement of the contention.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 159—By Delegate John M. Harrigan, of the Schenectady, N. Y., Trades Assembly.

The Building Trades Council of Schenectady, N. Y., respectfully submits the following resolution for your consideration and earnestly urges the adoption of same:

WHEREAS, It is to the best interests of the building trades that all Building Trades Locals be affiliated with the Building Trades Council in their vicinity; and

WHEREAS, There are a number of Building Trades Locals which either through lack of interest or selfish motives are not affiliated and will not affiliate; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That in the event of the adoption of these resolutions they become effective immediately.

Your committee recommends that the subject-matter contained in Resolution No. 159 be referred to the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Machinists—Carpenters

There is nothing which has developed in this case since our report to the St. Paul Convention so far as we are advised. The representatives of the two organizations have not conferred as to the questions at issue between them.

On the above section of the Executive Council's report your committee recommends that the Executive Council and President of the Building Trades Department continue their efforts to assist the officers of the two organizations to arrive at an adjustment of this controversy.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Carpenters—Sheet Metal Workers

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption your committee reports as follows:

The subject matter is still in the hands of the presidents of the two contending organizations for further consideration, with prospects at this time very favorable for an adjustment.

Committee recommends that more time be given.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Chairman Donlin: This completes the report of the committee on Building Trades, which is respectfully submitted and signed—

JOHN DONLIN, Chairman,
SAM GRIGGS,
JAMES P. NOONAN,
WM. J. MCSORLEY,
D. D'ALESSANDRO,
J. C. SKEMP,
CHARLES M. RAU,
FRANK FEENEY,
JOHN J. HYNES,
J. M. GAVLAK,
WM. J. BOWEN,
P. J. MORRIN,
P. H. MCCARTHY,
SAM GRIGGS,
JEREMIAH HURLEY,
Committee on Building Trades.

Delegate Donlin moved the adoption of the report of the committee as a whole. The motion was seconded and carried.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON BOYCOTTS

Delegate Forrester, Secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Your committee has amended Resolution No. 19 by striking out the two "Resolves," which read:

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be sent by the American Federation of Labor to all farm papers, magazines and Farmers'

Societies of Equity throughout the country for publication.

RESOLVED, That we, the La Crosse Trades and Labor Council request of the American Federation of Labor, that the products of the La Crosse Plow Company, who are manufacturers of farm implements, be placed on the unfair list of the American Federation of Labor; and, be it further

And substituting other resolves, the amended resolution to read:

Resolution No. 19—By La Crosse, Wis., Trades and Labor Council.

WHEREAS, on July 10, 1918, the La Crosse Plow Company, of La Crosse, Wis., discharged one of their employes—one Albert Reichgeld, member of Blacksmiths' Union No. 468—and gave as their reason for so doing, in the presence of U. S. Conciliator G. Y. Harry, that he, Albert Reichgeld, had joined the Blacksmiths' Union, and was active in soliciting others to do the same; and

WHEREAS, Harry Hirschheimer, vice president of the La Crosse Plow Company, admitted to the discharged employe in the presence of a witness, also to our local organizer, E. G. Knutson, and Mr. G. Y. Harry, Commissioner of Conciliation of the Department of Labor, that the discharged employe, Mr. Reichgeld, in his union activities was not using the time of his employer, or the time of the other employes of the plant; and

WHEREAS, It is a clearly established fact that the discharged employe was not using the time of his employer or his fellow employes in his activities and it would therefore be considered as "legitimate trade union activities," according to the principles and policies promulgated by President Wilson's proclamation and established by the National War Labor Board, which clause reads, to wit: "Employers should not discharge their employes for membership in trades unions nor for legitimate trade union activities"; and

WHEREAS, After all honorable means at our command locally had been used we appealed to the U. S. Department of Labor for the services of a Commissioner of Conciliation who arrived about September 26, 1918, and after several conferences with Mr. Hirschheimer failed to secure a settlement through conciliatory methods, this being our last resort to secure a settlement, the matter was then submitted to the National War Labor Board; and

WHEREAS, On March 5, 1919, the National War Labor Board handed down a recommendation as follows: "We recommend that Albert Reichgeld, in this case, who was discharged on July 10th, be offered employment with the La Crosse Plow Company, without demotion, and that he be paid for the time lost since his dismissal, minus any other earnings received by him for services rendered in other employment. We recommend this action because the evidence shows that his work was satisfactory and that his dismissal was due to his union affiliation and activity; and

WHEREAS, Upon receipt of this recommendation from the National War Labor Board our local representative waited upon Mr. Hirschheimer and requested that he comply with the recommendations of the War Labor Board, which he absolutely refused to do; and

WHEREAS, We feel that we have exerted

all means within our power to secure a peaceable settlement of this case, and have failed in our attempt; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates to the Thirty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, do hereby condemn the unfair attitude of the La Crosse Plow Company towards its employes; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of these resolutions be sent by the officers of the American Federation of Labor, to all State and central bodies affiliated, all farm papers, journals and magazines for publication, and also to all Farmers' Societies of Equity and their kindred organizations throughout the United States and Canada, so that it will receive the very widest possible degree of publicity.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution as amended.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 26—By Delegate Seymour Hastings, of the Motion Picture Players' Union, No. 16,377.

WHEREAS, The Motion Picture Producers' Association does not recognize the Motion Picture Players' Union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the producer or producers who do not recognize the Motion Picture Players' Union's right to collective bargaining be considered unfair to organized labor and all trades unionists be requested to withdraw their patronage from any of the 18,200 houses that run their pictures.

Your committee non-concurs in this resolution, but recommends that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor make an earnest endeavor to adjust the existing differences and also a special effort to organize the Motion Picture Players of the entire country with a view to bringing about the proper recognition of the union of these workers.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

The question was discussed briefly by Delegate Hastings, Motion Picture Players, and by Delegate Fitzpatrick, White Rats Actors' Association.

Delegate Shay, Theatrical Stage Employees, announced that his organization decided to be represented when the conference is called.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 28—By Stenographers', Typewriters', Bookkeepers' and Assistants' Union, No. 16,405, of Omaha, Nebraska.

WHEREAS, W. A. Fraser, Sovereign Commander of the Woodmen of the World, has carried on a campaign of discrimination, intimidation and victimization against members of Stenographers', Typewriters', Bookkeepers' and Assistants' Union No. 16,405 since the union was organized in January, 1919, until eighteen union members have been discharged, including all union officers; and

WHEREAS, Members of the Stenographers' Union, organized to get relief from the low salaries paid and the excessively long working day prevailing at Woodmen headquarters, and have used every honorable

means to adjust conditions and get fair treatment; and

WHEREAS, Attempts by committees from the Stenographers' Union and Omaha Central Labor Union to effect a peaceable adjustment and reinstatement of discharged employees has met with flat refusal; and

WHEREAS, Said W. A. Fraser has made the statement that he would spend fifty thousand dollars to crush the union among his office employees, and that none of those discharged would be reinstated, "Regardless of what any damn Union on Christ's earth has to say in the matter"; and

WHEREAS, A challenge has been issued to organized labor by W. A. Fraser in these words: "I wish my one million members of the W. O. W. and the Sovereign Visitor will fight organized labor and its three million members, and all the union papers to a finish. I have issued a challenge and thrown down the gauntlet. If you fellows want to fight, hop to it"; and

WHEREAS, Through the aid of local unions and the Omaha Central Labor Union, the Stenographers' Union has been enabled to carry on a wide publicity campaign among the rank and file of Woodmen members, informing them of conditions and the attitude of their Sovereign Commander, W. A. Fraser; and

WHEREAS, The Omaha Central Labor Union, on April 4, 1919, placed W. A. Fraser, Sovereign Commander of the Woodmen of the World, on the unfair list when all efforts had failed to adjust the controversy; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That Stenographers' Union No. 16,405, and the Omaha Central Labor Union do jointly request the American Federation of Labor Convention to place the said W. A. Fraser on their unfair list and give the widest publicity possible to the arbitrary attitude assumed by W. A. Fraser in dealing with his employees and organized labor; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a special effort be made through the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor to interest all National, State, Central and Local Unions in the controversy between the Sovereign Commander of the Woodmen of the World and the union of his employees, with the purpose of making the protest as wide as the membership of the Woodmen Order.

In conformity with the laws of the American Federation of Labor your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to make a thorough investigation and an effort to adjust. Failing to adjust they shall, if they find the statements contained in the resolution to be true, at once, through the American Federationist and by circular, bring to the attention of all affiliated organizations, International and National Unions, State and Central Bodies, and Trade and Federal Unions this most unfair and un-American attitude of Mr. W. A. Fraser, Sovereign Commander of the Woodmen of the World, and take such further action as may be deemed necessary to bring Sovereign Commander W. A. Fraser and the membership of the Woodmen of the World to a realization that this pernicious

un-American and unfair attitude towards organized labor and the employees in the offices of the Sovereign Commander must be discontinued.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 65—By Delegates J. W. Kline, International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers; T. Healy, International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen and Oilers; A. O. Wharton, International Association of Machinists' Delegation; John J. Hynes, Sheet Metal Workers' International Union.

WHEREAS, The members of various labor unions and other employees of the Willys-Overland Company at Toledo, Ohio, Elyria, Ohio, and Elmira, N. Y., plants have for the past three years enjoyed the eight-hour day with Saturday half holidays; and

WHEREAS, The Willys-Overland Company did, on May 5th, arbitrarily increase the working hours from the 45-hour basic week to the 48-hour basic week while negotiations for a new wage adjustment were in progress; and

WHEREAS, The Willys-Overland Company has in the past met with committees selected by the various unions to negotiate wages and shop conditions, but is now insisting that all committees in future must be selected under a plan prepared by the company; and

WHEREAS, To increase the hours of labor at this time is unfair, undemocratic, un-American and contrary to the necessities of the times; and

WHEREAS, It is the fundamental right of members of organized labor to choose their shop committees at their own time and convenience; and

WHEREAS, The members of organized labor employed by the Willys-Overland Company did insist upon maintaining the conditions established and under which they were working, and as a consequence thereof were arbitrarily locked out by the company; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled emphatically denounces the attitude of the Willys-Overland Company; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That all national and international unions circularize their local lodges, and that the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to communicate with all central labor unions, calling attention to the unfair attitude of the Willys-Overland Company toward union labor.

In view of the fact that a Special Committee has been appointed to inquire into and make an effort to adjust the conditions and matters complained of in this resolution, your committee recommends that it be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, with instructions to assist the Special Committee in its efforts to adjust, and in case these efforts fail to take such action as may be necessary to carry out and put into effect the intent of this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Resolution No. 81—By Delegates Joe N. Weber, D. A. Carey, O. A. Weaver and Jos. F. Winkler, of the American Federation of

Musicians; Charles C. Shay, L. G. Dolliver, F. J. Ryan and John J. Barry, of the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees.

WHEREAS, Certain interests in the theatrical field in response to the efforts of the unions or organizations of the employees to better the conditions of the workers in the theatres threatened to non-unionize their establishments and are now carrying this threat into effect; and

WHEREAS, the activities of the theatrical interests referred to if remaining unchanged will eventually lead to attempts by other theatrical interests to hinder the improving of the conditions of the workers in theatres and furthermore will lead to efforts by the employers in the theatrical field to lower the existing conditions of said workers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council is hereby instructed upon the request for assistance from the organizations interested to render such assistance to the fullest extent in order to protect the interests of the workers in theatres and is further instructed to declare all theatrical interests who maintain an antagonistic policy towards the organized workers in theatres and their organization as unfair to organized labor.

Because of the indefinite nature of this resolution and further because as written it is contrary to the laws of the American Federation of Labor, your committee recommends non-concurrence but offers the following as a substitute, recommending its adoption by the Convention.

RESOLVED, That the attempts of the employers in the theatrical field to make the successful maintenance of unions of and workers in theatres impossible, be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for investigation and such further action as the exigencies of the situation may require or demand.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Resolution No. 115—By Delegates Matthew Woll of the International Photo Engravers' Union; Walter W. Barrett, T. W. McCullough, William Young, J. W. Hays of the International Typographical Union; George L. Berry of the International Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union; Walter N. Reddick of the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; and Charles Sumner of the International Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Union, and Harry V. Dill of the Trades and Labor Assembly, of Kenton and Campbell Counties, Kentucky.

WHEREAS, The American Book Company, of Cincinnati, Ohio, manufactures a large number of school text books, which are in general use in the schools throughout the United States and Canada; and

WHEREAS, The social, economic and political advancement of the citizens of the country in general depends finally on the enlightenment that comes through the free schools, which are the very foundation and support of our free institutions; and

WHEREAS, The books from which the children of the country, on whom its future solely rests, receive their first instructions on which to build their character as men and women should be of a quality beyond reproach in any regard; and

WHEREAS, Unremitting efforts have been made without success to bring about the unionizing of the various departments of the American Book Company's Cincinnati plant, its management absolutely refusing to treat with the representatives of organized labor, or the unions directly involved, but persisting in the practice of employing only non-union labor as being consistent with its policy of control of the text-book trade wherever it may, and thus bringing before the mind of the child at its most impressionable time the product of unfair labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled at Atlantic City, New Jersey, that we heartily condemn the policy of the American Book Company in its general attitude towards organized labor and the unions of the crafts employed in the production of school text-books in particular; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we urge upon all school authorities and purchasing agents for the public schools that they provide only such text-books and other material for the use of the school children of the country as are produced by union labor and under union conditions, to the end that the first inkling of general knowledge obtained by the children, and the first lessons they receive in the glorious history of a free people be not derived from sources tainted by the contamination of scab labor, to the profit of those who refuse to recognize the fundamental principles of justice and fair dealing on which the labor movement of America rests; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we request the editors of the journals or other publications of national and international unions, the American Federationist, and the labor press in general to give to this resolution or its substance the widest possible publicity; and that we urge upon the various state and city central bodies the necessity of giving the vitally important matter of school text-books a prominent place in their program.

Your committee concurs in this resolution and recommends its adoption by the convention.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 216—By Delegate Machinists' Delegation.

WHEREAS, The S. F. Bowser Company, manufacturers of auto service station equipment in Fort Wayne, Ind., have locked out the machinists employed by them and other metal trades workers employed by them, on account of their bona fide trades union activities; and

WHEREAS, This un-American company has taken a determined stand that the locked out workers must, if they desire to return to work, return individually, without a shop committee, and sign the Rockefeller plan of organization; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, emphatically condemn the arbitrary attitude of the S. F. Bowser Company; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., in conjunction with the executive officers of the organization directly affected, are directed to use their full influence and power to force this company to accept the principles of collective bargaining in dealing with its employees.

Your committee concurs in this resolution and recommends its adoption by the convention.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 218—By Delegate A. Greenstein, of the International Jewelry Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, A controversy has arisen between the firm of Robert H. Ingersoll, manufacturers of the "Ingersoll Watch" and the International Jewelry Workers' Union, because of the speed-up system, introduced by the firm, with the object of rapidly increasing its wealth at the expense of overworked and poorly compensated employees; and

WHEREAS, The firm of Robert H. Ingersoll & Brothers, manufacturers of the "Ingersoll Watch," has manifested a most hostile attitude towards organized labor, by locking out all members of the International Jewelry Makers' Union in punishment for being bearers of the union book and insisting in employing only unorganized help in its factories; and

WHEREAS, Repeated efforts made by officials of the International Jewelry Makers' Union, to bring about an amicable adjustment of the existing difficulties have failed, because of the antagonistic attitude the above firm has shown to committees representing organized workers employed in the factories of Robert H. Ingersoll; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates representing the membership of the American Federation of Labor in Thirty-ninth Annual Convention assembled, do hereby serve notice on the firm of Robert H. Ingersoll & Brothers, manufacturers of the "Ingersoll Watch," that unless said firm manifests its willingness to adjust the difficulties between the firm and the International Jewelry Workers' Union and discards with its hostile attitude toward organized labor, it will be put on the unfair list and notice be served to all subordinate organizations and membership affiliated with the American Federation of Labor in the United States and Canada.

The action requested in this resolution being contrary to the laws of the American Federation of Labor cannot be complied with by this convention. Your committee therefore recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor with instructions to make an effort to adjust, and failing in this, they shall take such action as may be con-

sidered necessary to bring the firm of Robert H. Ingersoll & Brothers to a realization that it must discontinue its unfair and un-American attitude towards organized labor and its employees.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted unanimously.

This concludes the report of your Committee on Boycotts.

W. D. MAHON, Chairman,
J. T. MORIARTY,
JAMES B. CONNORS,
HARRY STEVENSON,
VICTOR S. GAUTHIER,
M. M. DONOGHUE,
JOHN M. GILLESPIE,
T. H. FLJOZDAL,
W. W. BRITTON,
W. L. FUNDER BURK,
T. A. MCCREASH,
CHARLES A. CALL,
JAMES J. FORRESTER, Secretary.
Committee on Boycotts.

Delegate Forrester moved adoption of the report as a whole. The motion was seconded and carried.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LOCAL AND FEDERATED BODIES

Delegate Tracy, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Voluntary Financial Assistance

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

Your committee concurs in the recommendation of the Executive Council, believing that local unions and central bodies are imposed upon with many appeals for financial assistance, some of which have little or no merit. In order to conserve the finances of local unions and central bodies, we recommend that the delegates to this convention make a special report to their organizations on that portion of the Executive Council's report.

We therefore endorse the recommendation of the Executive Council and recommend concurrence by the convention.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 47—By Delegates E. M. Baker, H. J. Conway and John B. Schultz, Retail Clerks' International Protective Association.

WHEREAS, During the month of October, 1918, a former local of our International movement, known as Local No. 4 of Butte, Montana, seceded by vote of that organization from its affiliation with their International and since that time have remained their representation in the Silver Bow Trades and Labor Assembly, and also to the best of our knowledge have continued their affiliation with the Montana State Federation of Labor, both organizations working under charters from the American Federation of Labor and

WHEREAS, Every possible effort has been made to obtain the reaffiliation of this local with our International Association or the unseating of their delegates from the Silver Bow Trades and Labor Assembly and the Montana State Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor hereby instruct the Executive Council to demand within a period not to exceed thirty days the unseating of all delegates or representatives from former Local No. 4 of the Retail Clerks' International Protective Association, or any independent organization of salespeople in Butte, Montana, in both of the above mentioned bodies.

In giving consideration to this resolution, your committee would recommend that the time limit set forth in the resolution be extended from 30 to 60 days, which also meets with the approval of the introducers of the resolution.

With acceptance of this amendment your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 103—By Delegate George H. Wrenn, of the Massachusetts State Branch, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Chamber of Commerce of the United States has seen fit to denounce the Federal Trades Commission; and

WHEREAS, This action is what is to be expected from an organization whose aim at all times has been to retain control and supervision of the wealth of the country; and

WHEREAS, The Federal Trades Commission has rendered a conspicuous service to the country in exposing the profiteering of a large section of the business; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the Delegates to the American Federation Convention in regular session assembled, do affirm our confidence in the Federal Trades Commission; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we ask that the existing vacancies now on the commission be filled by men of the type of those now serving, whose efforts in exposing the selfish and vicious practices of many of the large corporations of this country has done much to reassure the people of this country that the farmer, wage earners and all consumers are to have a square deal; and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of these resolutions be sent to the President of this country and the Federal Trades Commission.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution. The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 224—By Luther C. Steward, William E. Junker, M. J. Leonard, Florence Etheridge, National Federation of Federal Employees.

WHEREAS, The U. S. Navy Department has now under consideration a plan to displace the civilian policemen stationed at the various Navy yards and stations by detailing enlisted U. S. Marines to perform these duties; and

WHEREAS, The issuance of such an order would throw a large number of civilian organized employees out of employment, thus causing needless hardships to their families; and therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, now in convention assembled, that it enters a most emphatic protest against the plan contemplated and demands that the present civilian force of policemen be retained; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed to take this matter up immediately with the Secretary of the Navy and take such steps as will retain the present civilian policemen in their positions.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Secretary Tracy: This completes the report of your committee.

Signed,

JACOB FISCHER, Chairman.
R. E. WOODMANSEE, Secretary.
GEO. J. TRACY, Acting Sec'y.
JOHN J. BARRY
DANIEL C. MURPHY
EMANUEL KOVELESKI
ROBERT G. FITCHIE
GEORGE H. WRENN
JACOB HELLER
JOHN T. SMITH
P. M. DRAPER
WILLIAM H. McHUGH
HENRY OTT

Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

Secretary Tracy moved the adoption of the report of the committee as a whole. The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION

Vice President Duffy, Chairman of the Committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 213—By Morris Kaufman and Samuel Leibowitz of the Fur Workers' International Union.

WHEREAS It is the best interest of a labor organization to gain control over all workers of an industry and unorganized centers which are a menace to those where conditions of labor are being regulated and the interests of the workers protected by the virtue of organization; and

WHEREAS, The International Fur Workers' Union of the United States and Canada is vitally interested in the organization of two fur centers, namely, Detroit, Mich., and St. Louis, where working conditions are inferior to other fur centers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled in Atlantic City, in month of June, 1919, directs the Executive Council to render every

possible support and assistance to the International Fur Workers' Union in its efforts to unionize the above-mentioned fur centers.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution when amended by striking out the word "incoming" preceding the word "Executive."

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 219—By Delegates Fred Schmidt, John F. Hart, John Kennedy, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butchers' Workmen of North America.

WHEREAS, The employees of the John J. Jelke, Butterine Co., of Chicago, Ill., have been forced on a strike by the unfair tactics of the concern, and

WHEREAS, The Amalgamated Meat Cutters' and Butchers' Workmen of North America, under whose jurisdiction those employees are organized, have authorized this strike, now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, endorses the action of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor pledges its undivided moral support in the execution of this strike, and instructs its delegates to bring this matter to the attention of their membership at the earliest possible moment.

Your committee concurs in this resolution and recommends its adoption.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 226—By Delegate William Cannon, San Joaquin County Central Labor Council, Stockton, Cal.

WHEREAS, In the City of Rockford, Ill., a group of employers who control the financial and industrial business, have concentrated all of their resources to destroy organized labor, denying the right of the men and women there, to organize into Trades Unions, denying them the right of collective bargaining, refusing to inaugurate the recognized, shorter workday, and a living wage scale; and

WHEREAS, The furniture workers, composed of members of the Carpenters' Union and others, have just passed through a bitter strike, to maintain their organization and at the present time over eighteen hundred members of the International Association of Machinists, are on strike, for the same principle; and

WHEREAS, This group of employers are supported by other employers in the Northern part of Illinois and the Southern part of Wisconsin, in the towns of Batavia, Aurora, Elgin, Janesville, Beloit, Madison and others, in the Rock River and Fox River Valleys, where the workers are not permitted to establish legitimate trade Unions, where the hours of labor are long, and the wages abnormally low; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. be requested to send to the city of Rockford one of their most capable organizers, for the purpose of inves-

tigating the conditions of labor in that place and to the other points mentioned in the foregoing paragraph, with the object in view to bring to the attention of every International Organization affected a report of the exact conditions, as they are found to exist, and that each International Organization interested, be strongly urged to co-operate with the American Federation of Labor to thoroughly organize this section of the country, and establish industrial democracy for the men and women of labor.

Your committee concurs in this resolution and recommends its adoption.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON STATE ORGANIZATION

Delegate Brown, Secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 56—By Delegate Vinton L. Dillon, of the International Molders of North America.

WHEREAS, Many workers left their homes and traveled to different parts of the country during the war to work for the United States Government; and

WHEREAS, As this work is finished and the workers are returning to their homes, we believe it is only just that the Government should pay their transportation home; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the American Federation of Labor, instruct the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to use every honorable means to secure for these workers transportation to their homes after they have completed their work.

Secretary Brown: Sufficient information and facts were not furnished the committee to enable us to endorse the intent of the resolution, and we, therefore, recommend non-concurrence.

Delegates Tobin, Iron Workers: I move that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council. (Seconded.)

Secretary Brown: We found from the information the committee received that in practically every instance where men were sent by Uncle Sam to various places to work their fare was given them, but not until they had been on the job two or three months. Since the Government has paid transportation one way we think they did a good job, and we do not see why we should ask the Government to pay transportation home. We feel that is a privilege that might be very greatly abused.

The motion to adopt the recommendation of the committee was carried.

Convict Labor

Under that portion of the Executive Council's report, under the above caption, your committee reports as follows:

The former efforts of the officers and other members of the American Federation of Labor to obtain the enactment of a proper convict labor law, meets with the approval of your committee. Your committee also is not un-

mindful of the executive order issued by President Wilson on September 18, 1918, which we feel, covered to a great degree, the essential points in the desired legislation. However, we recommend that we, the delegates to the Thirty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor here assembled, reaffirm our position regarding a proper convict labor law, and recommend that the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor continue their efforts until same is enacted into law.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Secretary Brown: This completes the report of the committee, which is respectfully submitted and signed.

J. W. KLINE, Chairman,
BOB WHITE,
E. G. HALL,
STANLEY ANDERSON,
JOHN T. MUGAVIN,
P. J. GUERIN,
ALBERT PETERSON,
MICHAEL MAHONEY,
M. J. GAHAGAN,
C. M. COOK,
GEO. A. WHITAKER,
A. J. JOHNSON,
H. W. BROWN, Secretary.

Secretary Brown moved the adoption of the report as a whole. The motion was seconded and carried.

Fraternal Delegate Finney in the chair.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON UNION LABELS

Delegate Sexton, Secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 1.—By Delegates A. McAndrew and E. Lewis Evans of the Tobacco Workers' International Union.

WHEREAS, During the war period the label trades were all interested in the promotion of freedom and democracy, and set aside for the time being our propaganda and agitation for the union label; and

WHEREAS, The war has ceased and the days of reconstruction are with us, we may now turn our attention to our own interests as trades unionists. The subject that commands our attention now is that of reconstructing the demand for the union label, which we neglected during the anxiety and suspense of the world; and

WHEREAS, The Tobacco Workers' Union label is still on the market, with the label on popular brands of smoking and chewing tobacco, cigarettes and snuff, we, therefore, ask your continued co-operation to make its reconstruction complete and fitting for the trades unionists in days to come; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates to the American Federation of Labor, assembled in convention, in Atlantic City, June 10, 1919, declare it to be our purpose to use our purchasing power to the fullest extent when buying tobacco, cigarettes and snuff, insisting that the blue label of the Tobacco Workers' International Union shall be affixed to all tobacco, cigarettes and snuff we buy.

Your committee concurs in this resolution and recommends its adoption.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Recommendations of Committee

Your committee on Union Labels realize fully the many grave questions which must be considered and disposed of by this convention. Among those of paramount importance we hold that from its very nature the question of the union label, shop card and working button is of prime interest to every member of organized labor.

Making the world safe for democracy and the right to organize and bargain collectively have been advocated and urged upon our people generally for the past four years; and rightfully so, as they are fundamentals upon which we all can agree.

The first has been accomplished on the battlefields of France and Belgium in the great war which has just terminated, and because of the activities of the trade union movement the second is being more clearly and generally recognized.

The trade union label is the embodiment of democracy, and the principle of the trade agreement is apparent when this insignia of labor appears in the shape of a union label on commodities, in a shop window or as a working button, and it is a guarantee that all of the principles of freedom are embodied therein, for the reason that each member of the organization at interest has had his full voice and vote in determining the conditions under which the article was produced.

It also indicates to the general public that the principle of collective bargaining is carried to its full fruition, as otherwise the employer would not be permitted to display this emblem either on commodities or in shops.

Since the cost in bringing democracy to the world was necessary to sacrifice so much blood and treasure, your committee feels that when industrial peace is guaranteed by the emblem of fair conditions, it is obligatory upon every member of a union to do his full share in perpetuating not only the principle of collective bargaining, but also to use his every effort to see that it is extended until all of the workers participate in its benefits.

In the declarations of the Aims and Purposes set forth by the American Federation of Labor, the American Federation of Labor endorses as basic these economic principles: "That no trade or calling can long maintain wages, hours, and conditions above the common level; that to maintain high wages all trades and callings must be organized."

Your committee fully agrees with this fundamental.

Resolution No. 74, introduced by the Cigar Makers' delegation and endorsed by this convention, dealing with the American Tobacco Trust and its subsidiary factories and the conditions of the unorganized workers in that

craft. In relation to that subject we desire to submit some facts of the conditions that obtain in the cigar industry under the control of the American Tobacco Company.

The American Tobacco Trust of the United States and Canada, has under its control sixty-five factories and is adding more to their number of operations. They also operate a chain of cigar stores throughout the country, and because of the very small wages paid in their factories they are able to undersell all competitors. They employ about 30,000 cigar makers, very few of whom are members of the Cigar Makers' International Union. They do not and will not bargain collectively with their employees or consent to operate the industries under unionized conditions. Owing to the low wages paid them a system of blacklisting, fines and punishments, etc., is operated against the employees, and the cigar makers who are employed by the trust factories are now in a rebellious mood and determined to obtain better working conditions and an increase of prices in a number of factories located in various parts of the country.

The employees of the Porto Rico American Tobacco Company have been on strike for the past six months. The employees of the Havana-American Tobacco Company, located in Chicago, have been on strike for about the same period of time. The trust factory in New York City is out on strike, also other factories including the Lorillard, New York City, factories in New Brunswick, Newark, Perth Amboy, and a half dozen more throughout the country are now engaged in strike.

Your committee most earnestly condemn the methods of the American Tobacco Trust for its treatment against the employees and the determined effort on the part of that gigantic corporation to prevent organization among the workers, and their nefarious system of exploiting the workers in that industry, and we, therefore, recommend that one of the greatest assistance that can be rendered to the members of the Cigar Makers' Union and organized labor in general, which will assist in ameliorating those conditions and more speedily effect the work of organizing the members of that craft is for the members of trade unions to demand the Cigar Makers' International blue label on all goods that are purchased when buying cigars.

Unionism is the only hope of the workers. Individuals may go up or down in our present social system, but the workers as a whole can progress upward only through the exercise of unionism. This is beyond dispute, yet few of us have even begun to grasp the great need and value, or the power of unity. Millions of men in America do not dream of the immense financial value to them of unionism; less than four million men realize the power of unity in the shops, and how few they are, compared with the rest of the

workers in America, yet look at what unity has done for them. They have the shortest workday, the highest wages, the best treatment; they have hopes, confidence, self-respect.

Could the organized workers of our country be made to realize the tremendous power that could be wielded through conservation or co-operation in their power of purchase, your committee is firmly convinced that a much more marked advance in the trade union movement would be bound to result.

Statistics indicate that the organized toilers of our country earn more than three billion dollars per year, most of which has been secured through the efforts of their organization, and until such time as these workers refuse to spend their money earned under union conditions for anything except goods made under like conditions, we cannot hope for marked progress in this direction.

The man or woman who enjoys a fair or a high rate of wages with a short workday, has no more right to dispense the money earned under these conditions for the products of non-union labor, the sweat shop, the labor of children, or the labor of convicts, than he would have to take the place of his fellow-men during a strike, for the reason that he is doing by indirection, by refusing to buy union-made goods, that which he would not do in the case of a strike.

Your committee cannot close its eyes to the fact that there is an apparent laxity on the part of members of organized labor in adhering to the principles of trade unionism in purchasing none but articles bearing the union label, and we desire to urge upon the members of organized labor when purchasing goods in the future to be more conscientious in discriminating in favor of union-made products.

The complaint is often heard that it is hard to procure union-made goods. The theory on which union-made goods are sought is that it is similar to looking for a job—in either event it is your duty to search until you get it.

This in no wise excuses the members of a trade union for this laxity in their duty. Your committee also feels that they are lax in another direction, that is, in failing to educate the women of the household as to the objects, aims, hopes and ideals of the labor movement. As is well known, the woman in the household of the average wage earner is the disbursing agent, and we cannot expect her to discriminate against goods made under unfair conditions except she be informed as to why this discrimination should be made, and we urge upon our members that they lose no opportunity to impress upon their women folks, the absolute need of spending money earned under union conditions only for union-made goods.

Another way in which our women folks can be educated is through membership in the

organization known as the Women's Union Label League and Trade Union Auxiliary, an organization composed of the wives, sisters, daughters and sweethearts of trade unionists, which is doing yeoman service in this field of our endeavors.

This organization is giving considerable time, effort and money in the exploitation of and agitation for union-made goods, and any encouragement which can be rendered them by trade unionists should be given freely and unselfishly. National and international unions as well as state federations of labor and central labor unions can be of material aid in union label exploitation by aiding in the formation of union label leagues, whose sole duty it is to agitate among trade unionists and merchants for the sale of union-made goods, thus centralizing this work in a manner to secure the greatest results with the least efforts.

Your committee is pleased to know the progress made during the past year by the Union Label Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, and commends its officers for the great work they are doing.

However, this work cannot be conducted on as broad lines and scope as it should be until every national and international union having a union label, shop card or working button to exploit is in affiliation to this department, and your committee urgently requests that those organizations not now in affiliation take immediate steps to affiliate with the Union Label Trades Department.

Your committee expresses appreciation for the aid rendered in the union label agitation and propaganda during the past year by the several international unions, state federations, central labor unions and organizers, and expresses the hope that this work will be extended considerably during the years to come.

Respectfully submitted,
JOHN MANNING, Chairman,
THOMAS SWEENEY,
A. McANDREW,
LILLY BARBOUR,
CORNELIUS McCUE,
H. S. MARSHALL,
W. R. BOYER,
PETER BEISEL,
ALFRED LAPORTA
C. F. FOLEY,
JAMES E. LACOUTURE,
T. E. GREIFYN,
JAMES E. WINKLER,
DANIEL J. O'DONNELL,
R. S. SEXTON, Secretary.

The report and recommendations of the committee were adopted.

President Gompers in the chair.

At 5.30 the rules were suspended and the convention remained in session to complete the business of the convention.

Chicago Injunctions

Delegate Falkner, Mine Workers: I wish to

make a statement that I wish to have made a matter of record. I have just been advised that Judge Sullivan, of Chicago, has sentenced thirty-two of the striking cigar makers to jail for terms ranging from fifteen to twenty-five days, and fines of \$75 to \$250, for violating an injunction which prohibits peaceful picketing. In most states the courts can rule a state law similar to the Clayton Law unconstitutional. The most effective way to eliminate this evil is to secure the enactment of laws in the various states permitting jury trials for contempt cases where the contempt has been committed outside of the presence of the court. If a sentence is imposed it will be subject to reversal by the higher courts. Under the present law there is no court or division of our government that has any authority to reverse, modify or change the decision of an injunction judge.

At the request of Delegate Perkins the following letter was also made a matter of record:

Chicago, Ill., June 19, 1919.

Mr. George W. Perkins, President
Cigar Makers' International Union,
Care of Alamac Hotel,
Atlantic City, N. J.

Dear Sir and Brother:

We wish to inform you, through this medium (special delivery), since the strike of the telegraphers is still on, the following decision, unprecedented in the history of the labor movement, rendered by Judge Denn's E. Sullivan, to thirty-two cigar makers this afternoon.

The complaint or charges made to the judge by the Havana American Cigar Company were, that the cigar makers are picketing the plant, that they have done nothing, stopped no one and have spoken to no one, to which charges the cigar makers pleaded guilty when the case was called.

The sentences are ranging from 15 to 50 days in jail, and from \$75 to \$250 cash fines, making it a total of 615 days in jail and \$2,875 cash fines.

We have not decided to give up the peaceable picketing, and we hold, that there is no judicial or any power strong enough to stop us from picketing PEACEFULLY.

We write this to you with the following in view: First, to inform you of th's decision, and second, to ask you to present the case of our strike and the question of peaceable picketing before the convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Fraternally yours,

R. YONKELSON, Financial Secretary,
Cigar Makers' International Union, Local 527.

The secretary read the following telegram, which was made part of the records of the convention:

Philadelphia, Pa., June 18, 1919.
Secretary American Federation of Labor,
Alamac Hotel, Atlantic City, N. J.

On behalf of the Irish nation we beg you to convey to the American Federation of Labor our deep appreciation of and gratitude for their unanimous resolution calling for recognition by Congress of the republic set up by the Irish people in accordance with the American principle of self-determination now accepted everywhere as a necessary con-

dition for a lasting peace. We have no doubt that the resolution represents the equally unanimous feeling of the many millions of the American workers whom you represent. God save the sister republics.

P. McCARTAN,

Envoy, Republic of Ireland.

H. J. BOLAND,

Special Envoy, Republic of Ireland.

Year Book

Delegate Frey, Molders: Three years ago in the Baltimore convention the Executive Council was instructed to prepare a year book that would enable the trade unionists of this country to have in one volume the information they should have. At this convention the book was produced. It contains more information than I expected could be put between two covers. It is not only a year book. It is an encyclopedia, covering every activity of the American Federation of Labor since it was organized. The labor movement of no country has any volume as valuable as a history or as an encyclopedia as this year book. The man who did much of the work, Mr. William C. Roberts, is entitled to our most sincere congratulations upon the thoroughness with which he performed his duties. I think it will be highly beneficial to the trade union movement if the delegates, when they return home, will tell the officers of the local unions and central bodies that the sooner they purchase copies of this Year Book the sooner they will have an opportunity to secure the information they want when they are confronted with the various problems they have to deal with.

President Gompers: The chair desires to appoint a committee in regard to the telegraphers' matter, as he was instructed to do.

Committee on Telegraphers' Situation: Delegate W. E. Bryan, Leather Workers; Delegate John H. Walker, United Mine Workers.

President Gompers: The chair has been authorized by the Mexican Fraternal Delegate, Mr. Marones, to announce that he has been called away on a matter that brooked no postponement or neglect. The Secretary will make this a matter of record.

Jeff Davis, President of the Itinerant Workers' Union of America, addressed the convention briefly. In his customary humorous manner, he told of his activities during the year, of his efforts in behalf of the various Liberty Loan campaigns, and of the work of his organization, which he said had looked after more than 100,000 men and had prevailed upon over 8000 runaway boys to return home. He closed his address with the reading of the oath of his organization and by wishing the Federation continued success, pledging the support of his organization at all times.

Delegate James A. Duncan made a motion that the entire discussion on the report of the Committee on Resolution No. 129 be

printed in the proceedings. The motion was seconded, but was lost by a vote of 41 to 46.

Vice President Duncan: If there is no further business before this convention, I move to adjourn sine die. (Motion seconded.)

President Gompers: All the committees have made their reports and every resolution, 233 in number, covering nearly every field of human thought and human activity in the cause of justice, in the cause of freedom, in the cause of democracy, in the cause of humanity, has been treated by this convention. In addition to the 233 resolutions there was the report of the Executive Council covering a multitude of subjects, the reports of several commissions to Europe, the Commission on Industrial Reconstruction, all of them having received the fullest consideration and toleration by this convention.

No delegate who had anything to submit, any thought to contribute, any suggestion or motion to make, has been denied that opportunity. This convention, attended by the largest number of delegates in the history of our Federation, marks also the increase in the membership of our affiliated unions. Just about three years ago I conceived the idea of adopting somewhat of a catchy phrase that might help to induce the activity of our fellow workers. It was "Now for the 3,000,000 mark." The report of this convention shows that the average membership of our affiliated unions for the past year was a little more than three and a quarter million. In the last month of our Federation the actual membership on which per capita tax was paid passed the figure of 3,600,000. The railroad brotherhoods have made their application for affiliation to the American Federation of Labor, and when that is accomplished we will have passed the 4,000,000 mark. It is not necessary until after that affiliation to speak, or to hold out to the alluring gaze of the workers a further mark, but when we have in mind that this convention of the American Federation of Labor, reaching at this moment the zenith of our growth and our movement, and to know the respect we have instilled into the minds of our fellow workers and our fellow citizens, and into the minds of the workers and the peoples of countries outside our own, and when we have in mind the tremendous achievements of our movement in bringing light into the lives of the toiling masses of our country, when we know of the influence we have exerted even with the comparatively small numbers yet organized, it is the harbinger of hope that, as time goes on, if we are to be true to ourselves and true to each other, true to the fundamental principles and true to the high ideals of our movement, it is enough

to inspire any one and all of us to greater activity and greater service.

It is a privilege to live and to be permitted to live in this age, contributing so much of service to our fellows now and for all times to come.

For myself, I may say to you that I appreciate more than I can tell you in words the courtesy you have extended to me while presiding over the convention. I have endeavored to give the best service that is in me, as all of you have done. I am grateful, I am appreciative, I am sure that it is sufficient cause for mutual gratification and appreciation for all those who were privileged to participate in this convention. And for the year to come, aye, for the years to come, let it be our guiding hope to work for a still greater organization, for the organization of

the yet unorganized, the skilled and unskilled men and women, the men and women of whatever color, creed, religion or any other thought which often divides men. In this hope I express to you the earnest desire that you may return to your respective homes and there carry the message to our fellow workers with whom you may come in contact in fact or through the influence of others, carry this message of the wonderful work accomplished and the wonderful plan of work in the making, and which we hope will find its fullest fruition and accomplishment for the year and the years to come.

The motion offered by Vice-President Duncan was carried, and at 5.55 p. m. Monday, June 23, 1919, the Thirty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor was adjourned sine die.

Wm E. Plummer

Assistant Secretary of Convention.

Frank Morrison

Secretary American Federation of Labor.

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